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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA  
ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE A  
SPECIAL  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS  
THIRD SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

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VOLUME 4

NOVEMBER 19, 22, 23, 28  
DECEMBER 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, AND 14, 1938  
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

---

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present also: Mr. Mosier and Mr. Mason.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

You were testifying yesterday, Mr. Sutcliffe. There are one or two questions that the Chair wants to ask you.

## FURTHER TESTIMONY OF C. V. SUTCLIFFE

The CHAIRMAN. I hold in my hand a copy of a letter which you gave me, dated February 8, 1936, addressed to Mr. Henry G. Alsberg, national director, Federal Writers' Projects, Washington, D. C. Who sent this letter?

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. That letter was sent by a Mr. Lucas, who was then the chairman of the American Writers' Association.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to swear that this is a true and correct copy of the letter sent to him?

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. I am. I deposited it myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else was it sent to?

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. It was sent to Mr. Ridder, then in charge of the projects of New York City, and to Harry Hopkins.

The CHAIRMAN. Was one sent to Mr. Aubrey Williams?

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. I do not recall whether one was sent to Mr. Aubrey Williams or not.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter correctly describes the situation that then existed on the writers' project?

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to Communist activities there?

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. Yes, sir; fairly detailed.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there ever an answer received to this letter?

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. Not to my knowledge; there was no answer received. It was ignored entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, in view of what appeared in the paper this morning, that Mr. Aubrey Williams is reported to have made the statement, according to this U. P. story, that "As a matter of fact, I am not so sure that class warfare is not all right," that is no

doubt the philosophy which actuates Mr. Williams and others. That is exactly what we have been talking about. Here he is going before an American audience and defending class warfare. Of course, those who are engaged in racial and religious warfare can use the same argument in favor of that that Mr. Williams undertakes to use in justifying the use of class warfare in this article.

Mr. SUTCLIFFE. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a most amazing statement coming from a Government official in high place. It merely corroborates what we have been trying to show—that of those who are certain that they are for racial and religious tolerance, some of them openly advocate the use of class hatred to achieve some objective.

We will let this letter go in the record in full.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

FEBRUARY 8, 1936.

Mr. HENRY G. ALSBERG,

*National Director, Federal Writers Projects,*

*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. ALSBERG: As chairman of the temporary organization committee of the Federal Writers' Association, I am authorized to inform you of the formation of the Federal Writers' Association by a body of 25 charter members. Forty-two additional applications have been received which will be acted upon at the next regular meeting of the association.

Enclosed is a copy of the aims and purposes of our association. You will find, I am certain, that they are set forth in the most unequivocal and forthright manner and cannot but appeal to every serious-minded and honest-thinking man and woman. The developments which led to the formation of our association are tersely reviewed in the following:

When work was started on the New York Guidebook in October 1935, conditions were in such a state of flux and uncertainty that no immediate appraisal of their duties by the members of the staff was possible. This situation was utilized by an outside organization, called the Writers' Union, which boldly claimed that it alone had brought the Federal Writers' Projects into being and demanded as its rake-off the membership of all writers on the project.

When this first move, to make the Federal Writers' Project in New York the adjunct to a privately conducted racket, failed, because the vast majority of project workers realized the falsity of the union's claims, a different policy was adopted. A local was organized, affiliated with the City Projects Council, but actually completely dominated by the very same Writers' Union. For purposes of a clearer understanding, the two are hereafter in this letter treated as one; for short, called the union.

It is a matter of common knowledge that, roughly speaking, one-half of the present staff are utterly and completely unqualified for the work they have been assigned to. Not only are they unable to deliver decently written copy—many of them cannot even spell correctly the most common English words. The union from the very outset adopted the professed attitude that it is there to protect the jobs of the unfit, the unduly, and the shiftless; no wonder, therefore, that just these elements flocked to the standard of the union, which openly proclaimed that its formation had been authorized—nay, even urged—by President Roosevelt, by Mr. Alsberg, and by Mr. Cronyn.

Matters went from bad to worse. The business office became a hotbed of open Communist propaganda. Stalinists, Trotskyists, and all other sorts of "ists," debated it out during business hours, to the utter disgust of every serious-minded member of the organization. Union members loafed week after week, without attempting an honest piece of work.

The supervisors' attempts to correct the situation were met with open intimidation to have them fired from their jobs through union action in Washington, where the union claimed to have its sponsors. Whatever copy was turned in compared unfavorably with the work of grade-school pupils; but whenever editors refused to accept trash, they were threatened with blacklisting by the union. Office hours and office equipment were used nonchalantly for the preparation of union literature of the most besmirching and arrogant nature. Letters came to the homes of nonunion writers, threatening the loss of their

jobs unless they joined the union. Pamphlets defying the supervisors were distributed in the office. Funds for union support were solicited—even demanded—during business hours. Outspoken Communist propaganda was mailed to the homes of nonunion workers. All this, mind you, using the names of President Roosevelt, Mr. Alsberg, and Mr. Cronyn.

All this time the directors and supervisors were trying hard to clean out this human cesspool. With your encouragement, they worked out a reorganization plan, which was to split the project into several subdivisions, at the same time providing employment for almost 200 additional writers. The most capable men in the organization were selected to act as group chiefs and were instructed to recommend new applicants exclusively on the strength of their qualifications and fitness for the job. In the nature of things, most of these group chiefs were nonunion and non-Communist. In the same nature of things, most of the new workers would have been non-Communist.

When the union got wind of this, a howl of protest went up. Hurried meetings were held. Complaint letters—mostly anonymous—were sent to Washington. Daily grievance committees took most of the executives' time. Then the union announced defiantly that it would stop the contemplated reorganization.

And what happened? Exactly 3 weeks ago a peremptory order came from you, to stop all reorganization work.

From that day on conditions became an absolute disgrace. The union declared that it had your unconditional support against the appointed executives, whom they were going to have dismissed. Orders were flouted. Demonstrations outside the office became daily occurrences. Committees paraded into the State director's office, accusing him of delaying the hiring of new people, when they well knew that the delay was in Washington. Employees who persisted in their refusal to join the union were attacked in abusive language and threatened with loss of their jobs. Every means—however foul—was good enough if it served to promote the definite domination over the project by the Communist-controlled union, and all constructive effort was completely paralyzed in the interests of establishing such supremacy.

When conditions reached this intolerable stage, our association was called to life. And again, what happened? The very next day after we organized, news came that the State director, Mr. Van Olinda, whose removal the union had forecast, was transferred to Washington and Mr. Orrick Johns appointed in his place.

We have not seen Mr. Johns in action, and we take this appointment with an open mind. But we do know that he has been editor for a Communist paper and closely connected with the Communist Party, and the Writers Union claims that he has recently signed as one of their members! The union also more than ever threatens to have all nonunion writers dismissed.

Now here is the situation today: Our association advocates the principle that we owe the Government the best of our work and efforts for the money it is paying us. We advocate promotion on the basis of merit only. We count among us the cream of this outfit, in brains, experience, qualifications, and willingness to work. Our aims and purposes are eloquent proof of this.

On the other hand, the union contends that the Government owes them a living, while they do not owe the Government anything in exchange; that promotions should be made on the basis of union affiliation only. And they count among them all the habitual loafers and the unfit—people who have never written anything that was published; people whose only claim to being writers is based on the fact that they do not wish to enter any trade or profession that calls for honest, hard work, which they dread like the plague. Why, if this outfit were sent to Soviet Russia, whose praises they sing daily, they would be lined up against the wall within 24 hours, and shot for sabotage and inefficiency.

And what is the composite of it? We have here in New York uncounted thousands of Works Progress Administration laborers who work 8 solid hours a day in the icy blasts of winter, week after week—for a paltry monthly wage of \$60. On the other hand we have on this project an aggregation of habitual drunks, loafers, misfits, and political agitators, who flout the very idea of honest work, and yet draw a monthly wage of \$93.50 and up. It is in truth one of the meanest, filthiest rackets that ever existed.

If the opposition press gets wind of the actual conditions on this project—as they are bound to do, if the situation is allowed to drift another week—they will play it up as a national scandal unequaled since the days of Teapot Dome.



It will cause congressional investigation, and its repercussions will carry into the coming election. It will cost you your job. It will cover with disgrace everybody connected with the project, and rob them of the possibility to secure private employment for a long time to come.

Now, this, Mr. Alsberg, we will not stand for. It means our whole future, the future of our loved ones. We have waited over 3 months for you to give us guidance and protection against a racketeering minority. We have waited in vain. We now take matters into our own hands. We declare, here and now, we are going to write the Guide Book! Hell and high water are not going to stop us. If we are forced to fight, we shall carry our fight to the highest authority in the Nation. And we are going to win.

This is strong language. But the time has come when only absolute frankness—carried to the point of brutality—is in place. Rumors are afloat that you have been influenced from a certain side to deliberately delay the reorganization, so that conditions would be driven to a point that would give you an excuse for removing the executives and replace them with men subservient to the interests of the union and of the Communist Party.

At the moment we are not interested in discussing these rumors. Nor do we come to you with absurd and impossible demands of which you have received sackfuls during your intercourse with the union. We do not even demand the removal of the unfit—a dumping place can be found for them, where they will cease to be a paralyzing factor. We demand just one thing, definitely and equivocally: Are you with us or against us?

I take this belated opportunity to thank you, personally, for your kind letter of September 25, 1935, and for your influence in placing me to work on this project.

Sincerely yours,

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Chairman, Temporary Organization Committee  
Federal Writers' Association.*

Copy to Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, Works Project Administration, Washington, D. C.

Copy to Mr. Victor F. Ridder, Works Projects Administrator for New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a number of witnesses here this morning. We are going to have to abbreviate this testimony, because beginning December 5 we are going to hear from some of the most eminent and outstanding leaders in the religious, civic, and fraternal world, heads of very important organizations, and that will take all our time from the 5th to the 16th. On the 16th we will have to wind up these hearings, due to the approaching Christmas and the necessity of preparing our report. Before the 5th, beginning probably the latter part of November, we are going to hear from Miss Ellen Woodward, Miss Hallie Flanagan, Mr. Alsberg, and Mr. Gorman of the Textile Workers, who has requested an opportunity to appear. So we are going to have to abbreviate this testimony considerably in order to get these main highlights in.

Will you step aside, Mr. Sutcliffe, and let Mr. De Sola take the stand?

#### TESTIMONY OF RALPH DE SOLA—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. De Sola, do you recall when the subcommittee of this committee conducted hearings in New York?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes, sir; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall that Mr. Banta, an employee of the Federal Writers' Project, appeared before the committee and testified?

Mr. DE SOLA. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have with you a newspaper clipping dealing with that?

Mr. DE SOLA. No; I don't believe I have. I have a file of those at home, but I do not have one here. No; I haven't got a clipping of that date.

The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon; it is not a newspaper clipping, but yesterday you showed me an article that had been issued over the signature of the Communist Party—

Mr. DE SOLA. Oh, yes; I have two such—one a leaflet issued by the Communist unit of the Federal Writers' Project which appeared on the 20th of January; another an article clipped from pages of the Communist magazine *The New Masses*, of September 27. The page is marked.

Here is another issued about the same time.

(The papers referred to were handed to the chairman.)

Mr. MOSIER. This page, which was issued over the signature of the Communist unit of the Federal Writers' Project, 141 East Twentieth Street, is entitled "For Unity Against the Splitters!"

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That purports to criticize anyone that testifies against the Communist Party, and calls him a splitter; that is true, is it not?

Mr. DE SOLA. Well, anyone who testifies against the party; and that particular leaflet did not have to do with any testimony against the party per se, but rather with an answer that a group of ex-Communist Party members and other people who felt themselves in definite opposition to the Communist Party made. The Communist Party, as you remember, on the Federal Writers' Project issued a shop paper called the *Red Pen*, in which they slandered and maligned the character of a number of workers on the Federal Writers' Project, including myself. With these workers and with some others who were sympathetic to our aims—members of the project—we issued this leaflet. I will let you have the two, and that will fill up the first part of the material you have there.

Then the Communist Party issued the leaflet now on the table, called for *Unity Against the Splitters*, in reply to our reply.

Mr. MOSIER. Then after Mr. Banta had testified before this committee, they issued a leaflet here, called *Birds of a Feather*?

Mr. DE SOLA. That is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. In which they attacked Mr. Banta as "a bungling stool pigeon and errand boy for the most dangerous forces in our country." They say that he "has been fully exposed in the *Daily Worker*," and they print a poster which says on the top, *From Nazi Bund Publication*. The poster is entitled "Behind the Scenes in Soviet America! Come and hear revelations by Edwin P. Banta. Signed, German-American Bund, New York Unit."

In other words, they now charge Banta with being a Nazi exponent?

Mr. DE SOLA. In view of that leaflet, they would seem quite correct in so charging him. I was quite incensed with him at the time, as were a number of other people on the Writers' Project, for having left one group of Fascists or Communists who do not call themselves Fascists, but nevertheless are—let us not be deceived—to go with some other Fascists. He, however, denied that he had been there, and said that that leaflet had been issued without any instructions on his part.

Mr. MOSIER. On the bottom of this circular it says, "Issued by Members of the Communist Party Employed on the Federal Writers' Project."

Mr. DE SOLA. That is correct.

(The papers referred to were marked, respectively, "De Sola Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, November 22, 1938.")

Mr. MOSIER. I hand you a book entitled "The People's Front," by Earl Browder, and I will ask you if you have seen this particular copy of this book and have examined what is written on the fly leaves and the introductory leaves?

The CHAIRMAN. This book has already been introduced in evidence in New York. It is a part of the record and has been proven up.

Mr. DE SOLA. I believe I saw some photostatic copies of pages in the New York papers at the time of the hearing.

Mr. MOSIER. It says:

Presented to Comrade Edwin Banta by the members of the Federal Writers' Unit No. 365, Communist Party of the United States of America, in recognition of his devotion to and untiring efforts in behalf of our Party and Communism, March 2, 1938.

Then, at the top of the inside front cover:

To one of the best Bolsheviks on the Writers' Project! It is one of the real pleasures of a lifetime to autograph The People's Front.

Then there are a large number of signatures.

Mr. DE SOLA. I recall the book. He showed it to me at the time and wanted me to autograph it, and I said I had left the party, in thorough disagreement with the Front, and would not sign it.

Mr. MOSIER. When he was there and working for the party, according to their own writing here, they recognized him as a great fellow worker for communism, but when he appeared before our committee and testified under oath, then they brought out this sheet attacking him?

Mr. DE SOLA. That is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, I just want to mention some of these names that are signed here, to show what they thought of him, at least at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we give this book to the reporter with instructions to copy all the names and the matter that is written in pen preceding the names, in the first part of the book and also the back part of the book.

Do you know how many names are on here?

Mr. DE SOLA. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you count the names, so that the record will show it?

Mr. DE SOLA. Surely. [after counting.] I make it 106. That is a rough count.

The CHAIRMAN. 106 names are signed there?

Mr. MOSIER. I would like the record to show, in addition to the signatures, that there are some quotations in here, some of them signed. They evidently added a little of their own feelings. There are three or four of those.

Mr. MASON. Let them be copied along with the signatures.



The CHAIRMAN. Let the reporter copy all matter written in pen.

Mr. MOSIER. For instance: "To a real builder of the people's front." "With highest admiration for your example of working class devotion." "To the revolution." "To one who has found in communism the fountain of youth."

There is one in red ink: "Next the 'Order of Lenin.'"

Mr. MASON. That is the exuberance of youth?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that indicate that out of the 300 people in the project 106 were Communists?

Mr. DE SOLA. I believe that would indicate something like that.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

To one of the best Bolsheviks on the John F. ———.  
Writers' Project.

It is one of the real pleasures of a life- Judith Weinroth.  
time to autograph "The Peoples' Eugene Konecky—with highest admira-  
Front!" tion for your example of working-  
class devotion.

David (?). Leo Nenimoff—in sincerest friendship.

Allan Titley. Frances Adams.

Samuel (?). Gabriel Fakin—signing up for a good

To a real Bolshevik—Sol A. Becker. comrade.

Theodore Mack. Bernard Hankin—for a real mission-  
ary.

Abe Abramowitz. Michael Rothman to a ———.

Abe Newman. Bea Goldsmith—to a grand bolshevik.

Jay Greenlich. Albert Davidson.

Marion Charles Hatch. Florence Kleinman.

Leon Kempner. Paul Dimond (?).

To a real builder of the Peoples' Front. Philip Edward Montgomery.

Sol Zatt. Paul London.

B. Kaufmann. Lillian Scribner.

C. R. Stephenson. William Weiss.

To "our" Banta—L ? S ?. To a swell fellow—Lillian Krutman.

Elizabeth Cousins. Esther Bocklaw.

Elizabeth Pohamkin. William Garber.

Jeannette D. Pearl. Julia Beller.

Fred Rolland. Walt Anderson—'Salud!

Max Friedman. Joseph D'Amico.

Irja Koski. Best wishes—Marie Anderson.

Presented to Comrade Edwin Banta by Hyman Epstein.

the members of the Federal Writers' Unit 365, Communist Party of the

U. S. A., in recognition of his devo- To the Revolution—Eva Shane.

tion to and untiring efforts in behalf Rheinhart Kleiner.

of our party and Communism.— ——— Gahan (?).

March 2, 1938. To one who has found in communism

the fountain of youth.

Elmer Benckman. Fred Sigman.

Paul H. Konecky. Sam Schwartz.

Dorothy T. Kaufmann. Ruth Reich.

Max Arnold. Melvin C. Shelley.

Maxwell Bodenheim. J. Ben Allen.

Irving Mendelowitz. Allen Norton.

Morris Kamman. H. Wirtz.

William Wood. Lon Gady.

Harry Davis. M. Monks.

Leba Presuer. Sam Rothman.

Philip ———. Morris Kerste.

Ann Rivington. Ruth Ben-Dron.

I. E. Routh. Annabelle Harrison.

Lawrence Jordan. Ruth Crawford—with appreciation of

David Rosenberg to an old friend and his background.

comrade. Betty Nelson.

Irving Nicholson—here's luck. To a regular comrade—Rose Boxer.

Luella Henkel. With supreme compliments—comradely.

Esther Waterman.  
 Phil Jasper to the hardest plugger I know.  
 For a good boy—Ruth.  
 C. V. Kingman.  
 With comradely love—Emmett Gowen.  
 Ralph Heyman.  
 For a long life and a merry one—Claire Roth.  
 February 1938. With warmest comradely sentiments.  
 Christopher Cross.  
 Grace E. Finan.  
 Sincerely and comradely—N. C. Rosen.  
 Philip Sterling—in complete agreement with the sentiments expressed by the others.  
 Next the "Order of Lenin"—Ronald Shilen.  
 Keep plugging the C. P.—Mike Kantor.  
 Rosa Pringle.  
 Dorothy Smith—in admiration of the sort of a Communist I some day hope to be—Y. C. L'r.

To a tried Communist and good fellow—Henry.  
 To an inspiring Communist—Lila Valda.  
 To a new pioneer—Peter Martin.  
 To an eternally young comrade—Nathan Ansobel.  
 Albert Pearson.  
 Robert E. Cullen.  
 To an untiring worker for every comrade on our project—Arthur Clark.  
 No Bolshevik so fine—so true—so grand, etc., etc.—Molly Epstein.  
 Nevin Morrison.  
 Rose Silverman.  
 Abraham Armband.  
 Frieda Egger.  
 Bip Hanson.  
 To the grand old man of the American Revolution to come—Lila C. Temple.  
 Congratulations—Hi Smith.  
 William Ladin.  
 Richard Winaus.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

Mr. DE SOLA. Do you want me for anything else?

Mr. MOSIER. I think not.

Mr. DE SOLA. May I make one remark before I leave?

The CHAIRMAN. What is it? Talk to Mr. Mosier.

Mr. DE SOLA. Well, I would like to talk to all of you. I think it is quite important.

The CHAIRMAN. If you can make it short. We have three or four witnesses.

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes; I will make it quite short.

You are quite well aware from the press that a number of people are against your committee. They believe your committee is un-American in character, and will not help to clear up a situation of people who are plotting and scheming for reaction, but will rather play into the hands of reaction. The only thing that has guided me throughout my testimony is that, as a result of having been a member of the Communist Party and knowing how public opinion is regimented and grooved, both through their various united-front organizations and through their writings, I have not let myself be influenced in any way by anything they have written along those lines.

However, it is my sincere wish that in any recommendation that you gentlemen make to Congress you will not put in anything restricting the legal activity of these people, because, while I am against everything that they stand for, if these people are maltreated as they have maltreated other people when they have held power, it is quite evident then that the liberty of ourselves may be threatened at some future date. If we set a precedent of that nature, I feel that the liberty of America is at stake.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that an organization under the control of a foreign government should be permitted to exist in the United States?

Mr. DE SOLA. No; I do not.



The CHAIRMAN. Don't you see a vast distinction—of course we assume the right of a man to believe in communism?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Americanism is the only "ism" that permits people to be un-American. In other words, what I mean is that we give the liberty of speech and thought and action. But does not that pertain rather to the belief in communism as distinguished from membership in an organization which is under the control of a foreign government?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes, sir; but until it is definitely proven to a good number of people in this country, in fact to the majority of these people, if we limit the activities of other parties, other than the parties that we happen to be members of, I think we are going to endanger our own democracy, because we will be following the same practice that they have followed.

The CHAIRMAN. But you yourself, as well as others, by documentary proof, have shown that the Communist Party of the United States is under the control and dictatorship of Russia—the Soviet Union?

Mr. DE SOLA. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, suppose that the Republican Party or the Democratic Party were under the control of a foreign country do you think that we should permit the foreign power, through an instrumentality of a party within the country, to exist?

Mr. DE SOLA. No; I think you are absolutely right there.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am asking you is this: Is there not a big distinction between the right of a man to believe in communism, socialism, or anything else, and preach it, and his right to join an organization that is under the control of a foreign power which at any moment may become an enemy of our country?

Mr. DE SOLA. Absolutely; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And the same would apply to the German-American Bund. This committee has evidence that the German-American Bund is under the control of the Nazi Government. Now, should we permit an organization which holds allegiance to a foreign power to exist in the United States?

Mr. DE SOLA. We certainly should not. But we have to keep it constantly in mind, I believe—

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you.

Mr. DE SOLA (continuing). That if eternal vigilance is the price of the liberty that we enjoy in this country, we must not, in our efforts to be vigilant, be so vigilant that we set up a practice which may some day work against our own best ends. In other words, it has to be done by a democratic process.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We appreciate your testimony.

Miss Jemison, will you take the stand?

### TESTIMONY OF ALICE LEE JEMISON

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name, please, Miss Jemison.

Miss JEMISON. Alice Lee Jemison.

The CHAIRMAN. You have requested an opportunity many times to appear before the committee and testify, have you not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been waiting here in Washington a long time for the opportunity?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you have business elsewhere that requires you to leave?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have prepared and submitted to the Chair a rather lengthy written statement, have you not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About a hundred pages?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we cannot hear this statement, because we are running now at breakneck speed, if I may express it that way, to conclude with as many of these witnesses as possible, but we do not want to deny you an opportunity to be heard, and I am going to ask you some questions, based upon your statements, abbreviating it as much as possible to get the highlights in it, and then we will permit you to place your entire statement in the record.

Miss JEMISON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry that we do not have the time to go into this matter fully, because it deserves more attention than we are able to give to it.

You are a Seneca Indian, are you not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You belong to what organization?

Miss JEMISON. I am the Washington representative of Joseph Bruner, who is the national president of the American Indian Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this American Indian Federation?

Miss JEMISON. The American Indian Federation is a national, non-partisan, nonsectarian Indian organization, whose members are either Indians or intermarried citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members do you have in this organization, approximately?

Miss JEMISON. Approximately 3,500.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get any regular salary?

Miss JEMISON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get any financial help from the association?

Miss JEMISON. We have a membership fee of a dollar a year, which is supposed to be divided between the district organizations and the Washington office; but the people whom we represent are so destitute that we only have about 300 paid-up members.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you turn to page 7 of your prepared statement? We are going to have to abbreviate this thing considerably.

Have you had occasion, you and your organization, to make a very careful investigation of the Indian Bureau?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And its activities?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some nine officials in that Bureau that you have investigated? Is that true?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir. There were nine whom we investigated, but they are not all in there now. Four of them have been removed.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they been removed or transferred to another department?

Miss JEMISON. One was transferred to another department, one was retired, and two are out of the service entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. The Indian Bureau is under the Department of the Interior, is it not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Harold L. Ickes is the Secretary of the Department of the Interior?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that he has ultimate control over Indian affairs?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; he is fully responsible for the Indian Bureau and what happens to the ward Indians of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The final appeal is taken to him in all matters?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In your brief you set forth that Secretary Harold L. Ickes is and has been for a long time a member of the Civil Liberties Union; is that true?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You set forth also in this brief—or is it a fact that you set forth in this brief—that an introduction was given to Mr. Ickes at a meeting sponsored by the Civil Liberties Union in which the fact was mentioned that he had been one of the charter members, one of the old-time members?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not going into detail, but I am outlining the evidence that you have set forth in your brief to substantiate your statement that he is and has been for a long time a member of the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Civil Liberties Union play an important part in the enactment of recent legislation for Indians?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; before Mr. Ickes and Mr. Collier came into office—

The CHAIRMAN. You need not go into that; is the answer yes or no.

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Nathan R. Margold a member?

Miss JEMISON. He was chairman of the Indian Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a committee set up by the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; for Indian civil rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he later become connected with the Department, or with the Indian Bureau?

Miss JEMISON. He is solicitor for the Department of the Interior.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence have you set forth here to prove that he is a member of the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. I have entered many exhibits of the American Civil Liberties Union, such as their Indian primer [indicating], and some



of their annual reports, in which he is set forth as the chairman of the Indian Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the chief of the Indian Bureau?

Miss JEMISON. John Collier is Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Was John Collier a member of the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. John Collier was questioned several days by a committee of the House in 1935 as to whether or not he was a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and they never found out. However, he stated that he thought the American Civil Liberties Union was a most useful and effective organization, and if he had not contributed any money to it he was very sorry, that it was because he was stingy, and he thoroughly approved the American Civil Liberties Union.

The CHAIRMAN. You set forth in this statement extracts of the testimony of John Collier with reference to his connection with the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; his own testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Allen Harper? Does he hold a position with them?

Miss JEMISON. Allen G. Harper is special assistant to the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he, or is he, a member of the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. He was chairman of the Pennsylvania State branch of the American Civil Liberties Union for 3 years previous to his appointment.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Willard D. Beatty? What position does he occupy?

Miss JEMISON. He is director of the Division of Education of the Office of Indian Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a member of the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. No; he is not a member of the Civil Liberties Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a member of any other organization that you know of?

Miss JEMISON. At the time he was appointed, he was national president of the Progressive Education Association, which was founded by John Dewey, who is a well-known radical professor in Columbia University, and who is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Dr. Beatty has been closely associated with Dr. George S. Count, Dr. Carleton Washburn, and Dr. Harold L. Rugg, and other radical professors who are members of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Robert Marshall; was he affiliated with the Indian Bureau?

Miss JEMISON. He was director of Indian Forestry.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a member of the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. At the time he was employed by the Bureau, he was the Washington, D. C., chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he now chairman of the local chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Miss JEMISON. I am so informed.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he now in the Government?

Miss JEMISON. He was transferred to the Department of Agriculture in May 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Dr. Harold W. Foght?

Miss JEMISON. He was the superintendent employed by Mr. Collier at Cherokee, N. C. He resigned from the service.

The CHAIRMAN. He is no longer in the service?

Miss JEMISON. He is no longer in the service.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Mr. C. D. Stevens; is he no longer in the service?

Miss JEMISON. He is no longer in the service.

The CHAIRMAN. Then let us omit him and Dr. Foght.

What about Mary Heaton Vorcee; who was she?

Miss JEMISON. She was director of publicity; and editor of the magazine, *Indians at Work*, published by the Indian Bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. What was Mrs. Vorcee, before she became connected with the Indian Bureau? What was her professional occupation?

Miss JEMISON. She is a writer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she write a book called *Foot Note to Folly*?

Miss JEMISON. She wrote that while she was in the employ of the United States Government.

The CHAIRMAN. In that book did she recount her 20 years of work with William Z. Foster and other Communists?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; she did.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was her third husband, Robert Minor?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; at one time he was Communist candidate for vice president of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. While Mrs. Vorcee was employed by the Indian Bureau, did she participate in any strike activities anywhere?

Miss JEMISON. Mrs. Vorcee was given a leave of absence from the Indian Bureau in November 1936, and during the time she had that leave of absence, which finally became permanent in 1937, she helped organize the women's auxiliaries of the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. That was while she was on leave of absence?

Miss JEMISON. That is what the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs told Senator Thomas at a Senate hearing; he said Mrs. Vorcee was on leave of absence.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at that time?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you incorporate that statement in your brief?

Miss JEMISON. Yes; she participated in that steel strike and was

The CHAIRMAN. During that time did she participate in any strike activities in the steel strike at Youngstown?

Miss JEMISON. Yes; she participated in that steel strike and was injured, and was in the hospital, and her son was injured in the strike and was also in a hospital during the steel strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us something about this Progressive Education Association, to which certain members of the Indian Bureau belong.

Miss JEMISON. The Progressive Education Association is an association of teachers which was founded by John Dewey, as I said before.

John Dewey is a professor at Columbia University, and is now an honorary president of the Progressive Education Association. He is

a member of many radical organizations in the United States, and is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union. John Dewey has been attacked by Matthew Wold, of the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Leave that part of it out, because the mere fact that somebody denounced him is no particular proof.

Has he written a number of books?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he write a book called, "Educational Movements of Today"?

Miss JEMISON. No, sir; "Educational Movements of Today" was written by Walter Albion Squires, D. D.

The CHAIRMAN. And in that book did he speak about Mr. Dewey?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Read a few extracts from that book.

Miss JEMISON. Dr. Squires says of Dr. Dewey:

His influence has been manifest in the reorganization of the educational system in Soviet Russia, and the leaders of the Soviet Republic recognize him as their guide in educational matters.

Dr. Dewey's influence in public education is a matter of no small concern to the religious interests of America.

In Russia he is recognized as an educational guide. In America his influence is a potent force in the progressive secularization of the public-school curriculum. His attitude is distinctly antireligious unless we change our conceptions concerning the nature of religion.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a full excerpt in your statement, do you not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Serving on this committee with Dr. Beatty, is there a man by the name of Prof. George S. Counts?

Miss JEMISON. There was a committee of the Progressive Education Association which published a pamphlet in 1935, and Dr. Counts served on that committee with Dr. Beatty. Dr. Beatty was the chairman, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Counts is the author of several books, including the Soviet Challenge to America, and Dare the School Build a New Social Order?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have also set forth excerpts, I believe, from that book in your brief?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please turn to page 15 of your statement?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read from the hearings before the House committee the exact language of Mr. Collier at the time, as found on page 15, when he was asked whether he believed in the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir. [Reading:]

Mr. COLLIER. If you ask me if I am a believer in the American Civil Liberties Union, I am compelled to answer why I am. The American Civil Liberties Union is an organization devoted to one cause, the establishment of the constitutional rights of free speech and the free press against all attacks and against the world. I do not care whether it is communism or fascism or Republican or Democrat. I believe that there is no greater feeling in this country now than the encouragement of that liberty. I believe the American Civil Liberties Union has made a superb battle for liberty, without regard to whom it was fighting for.



The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly turn to page 16 of your brief, concerning the testimony of Mr. Roger Baldwin, with regard to the Civil Liberties Union, beginning on page 16, where it starts with a question by the chairman?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir. [Reading:]

The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or alien—it does not matter which—to advocate murder?

Mr. BALDWIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Or assassination?

Mr. BALDWIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government?

Mr. BALDWIN. Certainly; insofar as mere advocacy is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it uphold the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. BALDWIN. Precisely on the same basis as any citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. You do uphold the right of an alien to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. BALDWIN. Sure; certainly. It is the healthiest kind of thing for a country.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all of that. You have also included some of the writings of Mr. Collier in the past, have you not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have given the background of these members of the Civil Liberties Union and of the Progressive Education Association, and afterward the ones whom you have mentioned were given important positions in the Department of the Interior, in the Indian Bureau; is not that the fact?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to their appointment to these offices, had the Civil Liberties Union through its Indian defense committee advocated certain legislation?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For Indians?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many years had they been advocating this legislation?

Miss JEMISON. Since 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the underlying principle of the legislation that they were advocating for the Indians?

Miss JEMISON. The underlying principle of some of it was to have the Indians live in a state of communal bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have in them the question of the destruction of the right of private property, the abolishment of any allotments?

Miss JEMISON. Their idea was to abolish all allotments, and then to prevent any future allotments of Indian property, and keep it held in a tribal institution, where ownership would be common.

The CHAIRMAN. After these men were appointed, was a bill prepared and submitted to the Congress of the United States embracing essentially the features of the bills proposed by the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have set forth the proposals made by the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have also set forth in detail the bills that were introduced and the ones that were passed?

Miss JAMESON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There were some four bills introduced, were there not?

Miss JEMISON. There were four bills.

The CHAIRMAN. And the bill finally passed was the Wheeler-Howard bill?

Miss JEMISON. That was one; they all passed but one.

The CHAIRMAN. The Wheeler-Howard bill, or Indian Reorganization Act of 1934?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Thomas-Rogers bill for Oklahoma Indians?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Also the Indian Arts and Crafts Commission bill?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Indian Claims Commission bill?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wheeler introduced several of these bills?

Miss JEMISON. Senator Wheeler was the chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and he introduced the Wheeler-Howard Act at the request of the Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who handed that bill to him?

Miss JEMISON. I do not know who handed it to him personally, but I know who prepared it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who prepared it?

Miss JEMISON. Nathan R. Margold and Mr. Collier.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the bill carry out the general idea and the principles of the bill previously advocated by the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss JEMISON. The bill incorporated several bills that the American Civil Liberties Union had sponsored in previous sessions of Congress, and it brought them all together and coordinated them.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill was introduced by Senator Wheeler and passed and became a law?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; over the protest of all intelligent Indians in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. It did become a law?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Senator Wheeler since that time repudiated that bill and introduced one to repeal it?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; Senator Wheeler, in 1937, introduced a bill to repeal the Wheeler-Howard Act, and he was joined in that by Hon. Lynn J. Frazier, of North Dakota, a former chairman of the Indian Committee of the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. You have in your statement a rather elaborate and detailed discussion of these various bills, with their origin and comparing them with the bills proposed by the Civil Liberties Union.

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At one time there was a book being used in the Indian schools, was there not, called New Russia's Primer?



Miss JEMISON. That book was used at one Indian school that I have knowledge of.

The CHAIRMAN. What Indian school?

Miss JEMISON. The Indian school at Cherokee, N. C.

The CHAIRMAN. It contains the story of the 5-year plan and is called *New Russia's Primer*, by M. Illin.

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was protest made against the use of this book?

Miss JEMISON. The Indians protested it very bitterly; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This book compares the United States with Russia and points out the superiority of Russia to the United States, does it not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes; it does, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It contains statements glorifying the Russian economic system and disparaging the American economic system?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a well-known propaganda book, is it not?

Miss JEMISON. I want to point out that the English translation was written by George S. Counts, and it states in the front of the book that the book was written for the use of young school children, and also Mr. Counts states that anyone who has read that can never believe in the capitalist system.

Taking Mr. Count's own words, the book was written for the express purpose of indoctrinating young children with the ideas of communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a letter written by Mr. Collier as to the use of this book?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please show that letter to the committee? (Miss Jemison presented the letter referred to, to the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a photostat copy of the letter?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see the original letter?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this letter introduced before another committee and incorporated in the hearings?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; it is incorporated in the transcript of the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read the last paragraph, and we will put the whole letter in the record.

The letter is dated March 19, 1937, and is addressed to Hon. Elmer Thomas, United States Senate. The last paragraph reads as follows:

To Mr. Foght's letter I should add the statement that in my judgment, if the book called *The New Russian Primer* was used as collateral reading in a course on industrial geography, such an incident would have been eminently proper.

The letter is signed, "Sincerely yours, John Collier, Commissioner."  
(The letter referred to is as follows:)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, March 19, 1937.*

HON. ELMER THOMAS,  
*United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR THOMAS: With further reference to my letter of March 15 on the subject of the galley proofs which deal with the North Carolina Cherokee Reservation (Pt. 37, Hearings of the Subcommittee on Indian Investigation).

My communication, printed in small type in the page proofs, in reply to Mr. O. K. Chandler's communication of April 6, 1936, was dated May 21, 1936. Following my communication, there appears a quantity of further material, dated June 2, 1936, submitted by Mr. Chandler or his associates.

In the light of the above, it is my suggestion that there be made a part of these hearings a letter dated March 15, 1937, with accompanying affidavits, etc., addressed to me by the Superintendent of the Eastern Cherokee Reservation, Mr. Foght. (Photos attached.) Mr. Foght's letter, with the affidavits, deals exclusively with factual matters relevant to the criticisms by Mr. Chandler and his associates.

To Mr. Foght's letter I should add the statement that in my judgment, if the book called *The New Russian Primer* was used as collateral reading in a course on industrial geography, such an incident would have been eminently proper.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN COLLIER, *Commissioner*.

The CHAIRMAN. You have handed to the Chair a number of other books.

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What were those books used for?

Miss JEMISON. Those books were used in the social science classes that were introduced at Cherokee, N. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Do those books contain propaganda along the same lines?

Miss JEMISON. The books contained propaganda against religion and to arouse disrespect for the southern State governments. These children are southern children, attending a southern school, and they used a book entitled, "Rope and Faggot," which was written by Walter White, who is a radical, if not an actual Communist, a colored man, and in that book they attack the Christian religion terribly and the lynching situation, and say that in no country could it have been possible for lynching to exist except in a Christian country.

Some of the other books which they use include *Problems of the Family*, by Willystine Goodsell, and they were books that were designed to break down the morals of children attending that school. Such matter was not proper for children of that age.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a great many documents, have you not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Dealing with this entire subject. Are you planning to return to Washington at any time soon?

Miss JEMISON. I will be in Washington for awhile; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have appeared many times before committees to testify, and we have some witnesses here from out of town and we will have to hear from these witnesses as quickly as we can. But we did want to accord you an opportunity to appear and give us in brief the essential items of your testimony.

You testified to these facts before a Senate committee, did you not?

Miss JEMISON. I have testified to these facts before the Senate committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the committee headed by Senator Elmer Thomas?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; and several other committees.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you testify at length?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; in some instances I have testified at length.

The CHAIRMAN. Have the hearings been printed?

Miss JEMISON. No, sir; there are seven hearings which the American Indian Federation has had before the committees of Congress since April 1936, which have never been printed.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you contacted the committees to find out why these hearings are not printed?

Miss JEMISON. We have tried and tried and tried to have them print them, but they do not tell us why they do not print them.

The CHAIRMAN. They have not yet printed them?

Miss JEMISON. No, sir; and not only have we tried, but other organizations have tried to have them print these records.

The CHAIRMAN. The gist of the Indian bills which were advocated by the Civil Liberties Union—did they embrace such things as collective farming?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; they did not embrace it in the bill, but under the bill that is what they are doing.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the administration.

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Payment according to need rather than according to earnings, is that a principle in the administration of the measure?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir, it is; and the Government takes the surplus.

The CHAIRMAN. And also general discouragement of private property?

Miss JEMISON. The program of the Commissioner, under the Wheeler-Howard Act, encourages communal ownership of everything, which is a discouragement, and they try to destroy private ownership of property entirely, inheritance, and the right of trial by jury, and representation in courts, and all rights of free speech.

The condition of the Indians in the United States today is absolutely outrageous, and the American public would never believe what they are doing to the Indians under the Wheeler-Howard Act.

The CHAIRMAN. We cannot go into that any further. We want to express our appreciation to you, and we hope to be able to recall you at a later date to go into this documentary proof, because I have seen a great deal of it.

In all of your statements with reference to these officials, you are supported by documentary proof?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; every statement I have made and everything I have said in this statement is supported by documentary proof. Much of it is words which they, themselves, have either written or uttered.

The CHAIRMAN. You have set forth excerpts of the various utterances of these people, have you not?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In books, and speeches, and in pamphlets?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir. I want to thank the committee, on behalf of this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you for your statement. We will let your entire statement go in the record. That statement is fully prepared?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir; all except some exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. You will give them to the reporter?

Miss JEMISON. Yes, sir.



(The complete statement submitted by Miss Jemison is as follows:)

Miss JEMISON. My name is Alice Lee Jemison and I reside at 638 C Street, NW., Washington, D. C. I am a member of the Seneca Nation of Indians of New York State and my home is near Irving, N. Y., on the Catteraugus Indian Reservation. I am president of the Sixth District of the American Indian Federation and the Washington representative of the national president of this organization, Joseph Bruner, full-blood Creek Indian at Sapulpa, Okla. With the permission of the committee, I herewith offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 1," a copy of my authority to represent Mr. Bruner. The original of this authority is on file with the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and has been included in all congressional hearings at which I have testified since 1935.

On behalf of the officers and members of this organization, and all the Indians who are suffering so grievously under the present program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, I wish to sincerely thank the chairman and members of this committee for the opportunity to appear here.

For the purpose of the record, I will state that the American Indian Federation is a national, nonsectarian and nonpartisan organization whose membership is limited to Indians and their intermarried husbands and wives. We were organized temporarily here in the city of Washington on June 8, 1934, by a small group of Indians who came from various places in the United States. We became a permanent organization at our First Annual Convention which was held at Gallup, N. Mex., in August of that year for the purpose of adopting a constitution, electing officers and other business. We have held a national convention each year since then; the second was at San Diego, Calif., in 1935; the third at Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1936; the fourth at Lewiston, Idaho, in 1937; and the fifth at Tulsa, Okla., in 1938.

We have applied for a Federal charter of incorporation by introduction of a bill for that purpose into the Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth sessions of Congress. We are a member organization of the American Coalition of Allied Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies, having been accepted for membership in November 1936. In the work which we have done against subversive influences in the United States, we have enjoyed the moral support and cooperation of many patriotic individuals and organizations.

Until July 1936 this organization was financed solely through voluntary contributions from both white people and Indians. No membership dues were collected. At the Salt Lake City convention, resolution was adopted amending the constitution to provide for a membership fee of \$1 per year. However, as many of our members are so poverty stricken that even that small membership fee is more than they can pay, no Indians have been barred from joining our organization because they were unable to pay their dues. We have about 3,500 members, of which not more than 300 are paid-up members. The membership fee is evenly divided between the district organizations and the Washington office, 50 cents to each.

No member or officer of the federation receives a salary for work performed for the organization, or is reimbursed for expenses incurred in that work, with the exception of myself. Since 1935 the actual expenses for the work carried on in our Washington office and part of the expenses for a subsistence living for myself and two children have been paid by the federation.

For the record, I herewith submit a copy of our constitution and bylaws, as amended and revised at the fifth annual convention, marked "Exhibit 2"; and a list of the names, addresses, and tribes of the national officers and district presidents, as elected at that convention or appointed to date, marked "Exhibit 3."

If desired, I shall be happy to submit further records of our conventions, activities, and finances for the inspection and information of this committee.

The purpose of this Indian Federation is to secure for all Indians the rights, privileges, immunities and responsibilities of free-born American citizens. Everything which we do or say, whether in support of or in opposition to anything or anyone, is presented solely from that viewpoint. Our work has been and necessarily must continue to be with the Congress of the United States. To fully understand the reason for this and to fully appreciate the utter helplessness of the Indians to protect themselves from the subversive program of the present Indian Bureau regime and the dangers to American security in that program, it is necessary to have a complete understanding of the legal status of the Indian wards of the United States Government. While I appreciate that undoubtedly all the members of this committee are familiar

with the facts about the legal status of the Indians, I would like this record to be as clear and comprehensible as possible, so if it is agreeable to the committee, I will make a brief statement on this subject.

To begin with, restricted Indians are the sole and absolute wards of Congress. Briefly stated, jurisdiction over the Indians is conferred upon Congress by the Constitution of the United States in section 8, article I. All authority in Indian affairs arises in and flows from Congress. The Indians have no court of appeal from the authority of Congress. The Constitution of the United States does not extend judicial jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to include the Indians, as such. (See sec. 2, art. III of the Constitution.)

For this reason, the Supreme Court has consistently and rightfully held that "Congress has paramount and plenary power over tribal Indians and their property which can neither be denied nor controlled by the judicial branch of the Government." Thus the Indians are a people who have no fundamental rights because there can be no judicial review of any action taken by Congress concerning them. One Congress can grant the Indians something and the next Congress can take it away or completely nullify it by other legislation. Congress first delegated administrative jurisdiction over the Indians to the War Department. The first Indian Bureau was created in that department. Indian affairs were transferred from military to civil jurisdiction in 1849 when Congress delegated administrative authority over the Indians to the newly created office of the Secretary of the Interior and a Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The Indians are governed by direct laws of Congress, which apply to no other people in the United States, and the rules and regulations of the Indian Bureau which have been promulgated under those laws and which, in themselves, have all the force and effect of laws.

This Bureau has control over both the person and the property of tribal Indians. It maintains its own schools, hospitals, courts, and governmental functions of every description. It controls all timber, grazing, mining operations, leasing of property and irrigation operations on Indian reservations. It controls tribal funds and personal accounts. It controls all work-relief projects on reservations, and all State relief such as old-age pensions, is handled through the local agency offices. In law and in fact, it does everything for the Indian which a guardian, duly appointed by a court, would do for any "incompetent." The Indians are held in this status of "incompetent wardship", from which there is no escape. It is a virtual status of dictatorship. Restricted or ward Indians can do nothing without the consent of the Bureau officials. They can neither sell nor lease their property. They cannot legally employ an attorney to represent them in court. They have nothing to say about the way their money is spent. Many of them whose individual accounts are handled by the Bureau never receive any actual cash from their accounts but receive only purchase orders for their needs, as the local agency officials may see fit to grant. Many of them do not know and never have known and cannot find out how much money they have on deposit at the agency, nor where it has gone if it is not there.

In 1924 Congress enacted a bill which made all Indians of the United States citizens. Although many of them became voters through that act, the Bureau continues to manage all of their affairs for them and they are now merely "voting wards." For example, the Klamath Indians of Oregon have vast timber resources and their tribal estate is valued at millions of dollars. They vote in all elections, State and national. They pay all of the expenses of operating the United States Indian Agency on their reservation and for the maintenance of their schools, hospitals, timber operations, and public welfare out of their own tribal funds. Yet the Indians cannot remove, or have removed, even the least important employee of the Indian Bureau who works upon their reservation. Indians are born into this status, live in this status, and die in this status. The only tribunal to which they can appeal for relief from any situation which may arise because of this status is to the Congress of the United States. In law and in fact they are the "incompetent ward children" of Congress whose care and well being have been largely relegated to a hired nurse-maid, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Congress is the only body to which we can appeal for protection, or eventual release from this condition. Hence, all of the work of this organization must, of necessity, be with Congress.

Our federation was founded by Indians who opposed enactment of the legislative program of the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs. We, and the Indians whom we represented, opposed the legislation on the grounds that it was communism.



Since August 1934, the American Indian Federation has charged that the present Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, is dominated and controlled by members and sympathizers of the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations whose directorate is interlocking with the A. C. L. U. We have charged that in all branches—administrative, legislative and educational—the program of the present Bureau regime is a program of atheist-communism which had its inspiration and inception in the American Civil Liberties Union. We have repeatedly made those charges, in print, in public, in letters, and in open hearings before committees of Congress, and we have offered documentary evidence and direct testimony to support the charges. The officials of the Indian Bureau have issued general denials but they have never supported those denials with any concrete evidence to contradict the proof which we have submitted, nor have they satisfactorily answered the charges in the manner in which they were made, openly and in public hearings before the committees. Such replies as they have made, either in public hearings or in releases sent out under the Government franking privilege, have consisted largely of attacks upon the character and motives of Federation officials and of testimony which not only fully admitted the truth of Federation statements in some things but also further substantiated it.

In preparing to make this statement, I have tried to assemble all of the important facts and to present them in as concrete form as possible. It will be necessary to refer constantly to hearings which have been held before other committees, particularly the Indian committees. At this point, in order to properly identify them for reference, I wish to submit for the record a list, marked "Exhibit 4" of hearings which have been printed, and a list, marked "Exhibit 5" of eight hearings which have been held but have not been printed.

Likewise, it will be necessary throughout this statement to refer constantly to the American Civil Liberties Union. I believe that Mr. Walter Steele, representative of the American Coalition, gave full and complete facts about the A. C. L. U. in his testimony before this committee. Inasmuch as that record is already before this committee, I will make only a short statement regarding the union.

The report of the congressional committee investigating communism in 1930 states that the American Civil Liberties Union is "closely affiliated with the communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of communists." The report further states that the A. C. L. U. "claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly; but that it is quite apparent that the main function of the American Civil Liberties Union is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag with a red flag and erecting a soviet government in place of a republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution."

Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, was referred to in the New York State Legislative Report on Seditious Activities as "an intellectual anarchist." When Baldwin appeared before the congressional committee investigating communism in 1930, he confessed that the A. C. L. U. upholds the right to advocate murder, assassination and the overthrow of our Government. Baldwin served a prison sentence in 1918.

The American Civil Liberties Union has cooperated in attacking every legislative attempt to combat alien radical and communist activities. It has attacked state sedition laws, local police efforts to deal with the communist menace, anti-red flag laws, and so forth. It furnished the \$28,500 bail to temporarily free the seven Gastonia Communists arrested and convicted on charges of "conspiracy to kill the chief of police" in Gastonia. Shortly after their release they escaped to Russia where they were given refuge. The union furnished aid to the Communists arrested by the Department of Justice Agents at a secret Communist meeting in Bridgman, Mich. It is considered the backbone of defense for Communists and other types of radicals in our country today.

Roger N. Baldwin, executive director of the A. C. L. U., is a graduate of Harvard, class of 1905. In the 30-year class book of that class, published in 1935, Mr. Baldwin has this to say about himself and his activities in the American Civil Liberties Union:

"I have continued directing the unpopular fight for the rights of agitation, as director of the American Civil Liberties Union; I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities. \* \* \* I am opposed to production for private profit. \* \* \* I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of

violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class. \* \* \* *Communism* is the goal." (Italics ours.)

Everyone knows that the A.C.L.U. claims to believe in absolutely unrestricted and unhampered free speech, free press, and free assembly for everyone, particularly minority groups. The Indians are a minority group and the Federation is a minority group of that group. In October 1935, our national president, Joseph Bruner, sent out a circular letter to editors of many magazines and newspapers in which he characterized the A. C. L. U. as "one of the most pernicious communistic units in the United States." This letter was published in some newspapers. During October, November, and December, Mr. Bruner received a series of letters from the Union demanding that he write them a nice letter of apology and retraction or else they would bring suit for libel. In support of which I offer for the record photostat copy of Mr. Bruner's letter of October 5, 1935, marked "Exhibit 6" and three photostat copies of letters written to Mr. Bruner by Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the A. C. L. U. under dates of October 31, November 8, and November 25, 1935, marked respectively "Exhibit 7," "Exhibit 8," and "Exhibit 9," and type-written copy of letter written to Mr. Bruner by the law firm of Hagen and Gavin of Tulsa, Okla., under date of December 31, 1935, marked "Exhibit 10."

This may well be taken as an indication of the unrestrained right of free speech which the A. C. L. U. so valiantly and vigorously upholds and defends—free speech to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence but not one word against the Union. Mr. Bruner ignored those letters completely and the Federation renewed the attack upon the Bureau program and the Union with even more vigorous language. It is most significant that to date the Union has not filed suit for libel against either Mr. Bruner or the papers which printed his letter.

Before discussing the program of the Indian Bureau, I wish to discuss those who are responsible for the program.

During the course of the past 4 years the American Indian Federation has asked for the removal of nine persons from public office in the Department of the Interior because of their past and present connections with the American Civil Liberties Union and other interrelated organizations, and the program which they are promulgating among the Indian wards of a Christian Nation, beginning in 1934 with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and adding others as proof could be furnished regarding them. These people are as follows:

1. John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, salary \$8,500.
2. Allen G. Harper, special assistant to the Commissioner, salary \$4,600.
3. William W. Beatty, Director of Indian Education, Indian Bureau, salary \$5,000.
4. Nathan R. Margold, Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, salary \$9,000.
5. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Department of the Interior, salary \$15,000.
6. Robert Marshall, Chief Forester, Indian Bureau, salary \$5,600.
7. Mary Heaton Vorse, publicity director and editor of Indians at Work, salary \$3,200.
8. Dr. Harold W. Foght, Superintendent of Cherokee, N. C., salary \$3,600 or more.
9. C. D. Stevens, Community Supervisor, Cherokee, N. C., salary unknown.

The last four above mentioned are no longer in the Interior Department. Dr. Harold W. Voght and C. D. Stevens will be discussed later.

Mary Heaton Vorse was employed in the year 1935 as publicity director and editor of Indians at Work. Indians at Work is a Government publication which has been issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs since August 1933, and which will be discussed later. Mary Heaton Vorse is a well-known left-wing labor agitator and writer. While in the employ of the Federal Government, she published a book entitled "Footnote to Folly" in which she recounted her 20 years of work and association with William Z. Foster and other Communists. Her third husband was Robert Minor, at one time Communist candidate for President of the United States, now a member of the central committee. In support of which I offer for the record a photostat copy of the newspaper article published in the Washington Herald on December 25, 1935, marked "Exhibit 11."

In April 1937, William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, testified before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, in reply to a direct question by the chairman, Hon. Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, that Mrs. Vorse had been away on a leave of absence since in November 1936. This testimony is contained in the transcript of testimony taken at the Cherokee



investigation hearings in 1937 which is No. 2 on the list of unprinted hearings which has been entered here, marked "Exhibit 5."

Not long after that there were press reports that Mrs. Vorse had suffered an injury to her head while participating in a steel strike riot at Youngstown, Ohio. In support of which I offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 12", a newspaper clipping which is a picture of Mrs. Vorse with a short statement.

Robert Marshall was appointed Director of Indian Forestry in August 1933. Mr. Marshall was the Washington, D. C., chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1934.

Following the hearings on the Cherokee investigations in April 1937, hereinbefore mentioned. Mr. Marshall was transferred from the Indian Bureau to the Department of Agriculture in May of 1937.

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Department of the Interior, has been a member of the American Civil Liberties Union for many years. On December 8, 1937, Mr. Ickes was one of the speakers at the seventeenth annual meeting of the A. C. L. U. held in New York City. His speech was broadcast on the radio and reported in the press. In introducing him to the audience, Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, said:

"Our two distinguished guest speakers, the Secretary of the Interior and the mayor of New York, have long been in this company. Mr. Ickes is one of the oldest members. Mr. LaGuardia has been for years a staunch defender of civil rights in and out of Congress.

"I have the pleasure of presenting the man who will introduce to you the Secretary of the Interior. He comes from Kansas, and his words are known throughout and beyond this country—Mr. William Allen White."

In introducing Mr. Ickes, Mr. White said:

"The punctilios of the occasion require someone to introduce the guest of the American Civil Liberties Union, and I am proud to have that distinction. Introduction is superfluous, but perhaps the testimony of a life-long friend may not be out of place.

"In the 30 years of our affectionate association, I have learned to trust him because he was honest, wise, and brave, and I have come to love him because with all his courage, with all his rugged honesty, with all his common sense, he has been kind and just. He belongs in this company of Americans who are fighting the cause, fighting the battle of the oppressed. In the fight for the underdog, Harold Ickes has devoted himself constantly to the underdog's case. My friend has never wasted his time and his energy in tying cans to the upperelegs, merely to hear them yelp.

"And so, dear friends, I present him, the Sir Galahad of the underdog, in this, our national dog pound. Mr. Ickes."

These quotations are taken from a pamphlet entitled, "Nations in Nightshirts, an address of Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior," published by the American Civil Liberties Union, which I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 15."

Nathan R. Margold, Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, was chairman of the Indian Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union for several years prior to appointment as Solicitor. This was stated by Commissioner Collier in his testimony before the subcommittee of the House Indian Committee, Hon. Abe Murdock, chairman, on March 28, 1935, and is recorded on page 659 and page 676 of the so-called Murdock hearings which is No. 1 on the list of printed hearings entered herein as exhibit 4.

I also offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 16" a pamphlet entitled "Indian Primer" published in August 1932, by the committee on Indian civil rights of the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. On the back of this pamphlet are listed the members of this committee. Nathan Margold is listed as chairman of this committee.

Dr. Willard W. Beatty was appointed Director of Indian Education on February 4, 1936, and at that time he was the National President of Progressive Education Association, according to an editorial by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in the February 15, 1936, issue of Indians at Work, which I here offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 17."

Progressive Education Association is an association of teachers which was founded by John Dewey. This is stated in an editorial by Mr. Collier eulogizing Mrs. Ann Schumaker Lubin, deceased editor of the magazine, Progressive Education, published by this organization. The editorial is in the December 1, 1935, issue of Indians at Work, which I hereby offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 18." John Dewey is a professor of Columbia University and is now an



honorary president of the Progressive Education Association and is so listed in their publication, *Progressive Education*, February 1932 issue, which I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 19."

Mr. Dewey is listed as a member of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union on page 90 of a pamphlet entitled "Let Freedom Ring," published in June 1937 by the American Civil Liberties Union, and which I here offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 20."

Mr. Dewey is listed as a member of many other radical organizations and he has been denounced by Mathew Woll, of the American Federation of Labor, as a teacher of communism. Through the many books which he has written expounding his theories and philosophies, it is a well-established fact that Mr. Dewey is an atheist. On page 145 of the book entitled "Educational Movements of Today," published by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in 1930, Walter Albion Squires, D. D., of Philadelphia, says of Mr. Dewey:

"His influence has been manifest in the reorganization of the educational system in Soviet Russia and the leaders of the Soviet Republic recognize him as their guide in educational matters.

"Dr. Dewey's influence in public education is a matter of no small concern to the religious interests of America.

"\* \* \* In Russia he is recognized as an educational guide. In America his influence is a potent force in the progressive secularization of the public-school curriculum. His attitude is distinctly antireligious unless we change our conception concerning the nature of religion. \* \* \*

"The Dewey philosophy seems to me to be inherently and irreconcilably antagonistic to everything that is essentially religious. If this philosophy were too modified as to reconcile it to the Christian religion, it would cease to be the Dewey philosophy. If the Christian religion were so modified as to reconcile it to the Dewey philosophy, it would not only cease to be Christian but cease to be a religion at all."

I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 20," the book entitled "Educational Movements of Today."

In 1935 the John Day Publishing Co., Inc., published a pamphlet entitled "A Call to the Teachers of the Nation," which had been prepared by a committee of the Progressive Education Association. The pamphlet calls upon the teachers to prepare to struggle militantly for a changed social order. It states:

"Our society has come to the parting of the ways. It has entered a revolutionary epoch. \* \* \* If the teachers are to play a positive and creative role in building a better social order, they will have to emancipate themselves completely from the domination of the business interests of the Nation, cease cultivating the manners and association of bankers and promotion agents \* \* \* take up boldly the challenge of the present, recognize the corporate and interdependent character of the contemporary order and transfer the democratic tradition from individualistic to collectivist economic foundations."

Dr. Willard W. Beatty was the chairman of the committee which wrote this pamphlet. I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 21," the pamphlet entitled "A Call to the Teachers of the Nation," with other passages marked therein.

Serving on this committee with Dr. Beatty was Prof. George S. Counts, also of Columbia University. It is a well-known and well-established fact that Professor Counts is completely in sympathy with the Communist program of Soviet Russia. He is the author of several books, including the "Soviet Challenge to America" and "Dare the School Build a New Social Order," and translated the book, "New Russia's Primer," by M. Illin, into English and wrote the flowery introduction therein. In 1936 Hon. Thomas Blanton conducted an investigation into the schools of the District of Columbia. At the hearings Dr. Counts was termed a radical by Dr. Frank W. Ballou, director of education for the District, who had been closely associated with Dr. Counts for 5 years on a "Commission for Social Studies." At those hearings it was developed that Dr. Counts was listed as a teacher or instructor at the University of Moscow summer session in 1935; that he was listed as a radical professor with a record of close association with radicals in the Red Network; and that in his book, "Dare the School Build a New Social Order," he had stated:

"That teachers should deliberately reach for power and then make the most of this conquest is my firm conviction. \* \* \* The conscious and deliberate achievement of democracy under novel circumstances is the task of our generation. Democracy, of course, should not be identified with political forms and functions—with the Federal Constitution, the popular election of officials, or the

practice of universal suffrage. \* \* \* Finally, be determined as a last resort, in either the defense or the realization of this purpose, to follow the method of revolution."

All of this and more, is recorded on pages 5691 to 5720 of the Congressional Record for Tuesday, April 14, 1936, which I here offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 23."

In this exhibit, I also call the attention of the committee to the record contained therein of Dr. Harold Rugg, a member of the advisory committee of the Progressive Education Association, as shown in their publication which is in evidence.

Other members of the organization, as shown in that magazine are Mr. Arthur E. Morgan, Mr. Alvin Johnson, Mr. E. C. Lindeman, and Mr. Carleton Washburne, all of whom are listed in the Red Network as radical professors.

Dr. William W. Beatty was an assistant to Carleton Washburne at Winnetka, Ill., for several years where he "acquired his educational philosophies from the fountain of progressive wisdom" according to a newspaper article reprinted on pages 7 and 8 of the March 1, 1936, issue of "Indians at Work," which I here offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 24." Like Dr. Counts, with whom he has been closely associated, Mr. Washburne has published various books and pamphlets. In the pamphlet "Character in Two Dimensions" which I here offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 25," Mr. Washburne states:

"How does the church propose to make the old imperative effective for the more tangible and credible hereafters of today? Through education can one's immortality in the eternity of social continuity be made as persuasive as were the old supernatural resurrection and reward? By what techniques may we best continue to utilize the allurements of the 'sweet by and by.'"

Commenting upon this and other ideas of Professor Washburne, Dr. Squires in the book "Educational Movements of Today," in evidence as "Exhibit 21," on page 21, says:

"It seems necessary to rate the Winnetka system of character education as an example of character education which rests on antireligious assumptions." \* \* \*

"Professor Washburne evidently regards the belief in personal immortality as no longer tenable. Substitutes must be found for it in the 'eternity of social continuity.' We need not deceive ourselves by assuming that a character-education program built on an antireligious philosophy may be carried on in public schools without affecting the religious consciousness of our children. Such a program will certainly plant the seeds of unbelief in the heart of the pupil. Its effect in this direction is much more certain than is the success it will have in establishing the goals which it has borrowed from the religion it denies."

These are the people who founded and are the officers of the Progressive Education Association of which Dr. Willard W. Beatty was the national president when he was appointed as director of Indian education.

Mr. Allen G. Harper, special assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was the Pennsylvania State Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union for 3 years. In reply to a direct question, Mr. Harper verified this on April 15, 1935, at the hearings held before the subcommittee of the House Indian Committee. This is recorded on page 882 of the so-called Murdock hearings of 1935, number 1 on the list of printed hearings entered herein and marked "Exhibit 4," as follows:

"Mr. McGROARTY. I will ask you this in connection with the statement being read by Miss Jamison: Whether you were secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union?"

"Mr. HARPER. I was for 3 years."

I offer the book, "Indian Conditions and Affairs, hearings before the Subcommittee on General Bills of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, Seventy-fourth Congress, first session, on H. R. 7781 and other matters, February 11, 1935," in evidence, marked "Exhibit 26."

For about 10 years prior to his appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier was the executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, of which Dr. Haven Emerson is the national president, as recorded on page 1032 of the Murdock hearings, in evidence as exhibit 26. This is an organization of white people which was founded largely through the efforts of Mr. Collier. On March 29, 1935, Mr. Collier stated that the directorate and the American Indian Defense Association of the American Civil Liberties Union is interlocking. From pages 675 and 676 of the Murdock hearings, supra, the following is quoted:



"Mr. AYERS. Mr. Commissioner, how closely related is the American Indian Defense Association, of which you were formerly a member—formerly executive secretary I think—and the American Civil Liberties Union, about which the testimony was given yesterday;

"Mr. COLLIER. There is no relationship beyond—the Civil Liberties Union created this Indian committee, I think, about 1930, and I believe that it probably has a number of American Indian Defense Association people on that committee.

"Mr. AYERS. That is what I wanted to get at, the interlocking membership.

"Mr. COLLIER. For example, Mr. Margold got interested in Indians in the first instance through the American Indian Defense Association, and then he was made the chairman. I do not think he was the first chairman. I think Mr. Robert Gessner was the first chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee. He is not on the board of the Indian defense. I believe that Dr. Hayden Emerson, president of the American Indian Defense Association, is on that Civil Liberties committee, but I do not have the list, so I am not sure.

"Mr. AYERS. But they are interlocking in their membership?

"Mr. COLLIER. There is some overlapping."

Following Mr. Collier's appointment as Commissioner, Mr. Allen G. Harper served as executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association until his appointment as a field representative in the Indian Bureau in the fall of 1935. The following is quoted from page 1029 of the Murdock hearings, exhibit 26:

"Mr. HARPER. My name is Allen G. Harper and I am executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, Inc., 219 First Street NE., Washington, D. C."

Mr. Collier does not know whether or not he is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union. He was questioned about this several times by members of the Murdock subcommittee in 1935. His replies, taken from the printed hearings as noted, were as follows:

March 28, 1935, pages 659 and 660:

"Mr. BURDICK. Who is the solicitor in your Department?

"Mr. COLLIER. The solicitor of the Interior Department is Mr. Margold, who was before your committee.

"Mr. BURDICK. Was he formerly connected with the American Civil Liberties Union?

"Mr. COLLIER. He was the chairman, as I recollect it, of their committee on Indian matters, Indian Civil Liberty.

"Mr. BURDICK. Are you a member of it?

"Mr. COLLIER. I do not remember whether I was, but I am wholly in sympathy with that organization, whether or not I am a member.

"Mr. BURDICK. Is Mr. Ickes a member?

"Mr. COLLIER. I do not know about him. You will have to ask him. I would hope so.

"Mr. MURDOCK. Is it not a fact that Mr. Ickes is a member of it, and that you are a member of it, and Mr. Margold is a member of it? I am speaking of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"Mr. COLLIER. I do not remember if I was a member, but if I have not contributed money to it then I apologize. I do not know whether I was or not.

"Mr. MURDOCK. You do not remember whether you were a member of the organization?

"Mr. COLLIER. I would have to be informed as to whether or not I was a member of it. I certainly had very close relations with them, but I do not know whether I was on their letterhead. I had very close consulting relationship with them.

"Mr. MURDOCK. We would like to find out if you are a member.

"Mr. COLLIER. I am a very close friend of Roger Baldwin, and I may have been on their letterhead, and if I have not contributed money to its cause it is because I am stingy. I cannot go further than that.

"Mr. MURDOCK. You want to give the committee the impression that you do not know whether you were a member of the American Civil Liberties Union?

"Mr. COLLIER. I have no recollection.

"Mr. MURDOCK. Do you know whether Secretary Ickes is a member?

"Mr. COLLIER. I do not know.

"Mr. MURDOCK. Do you know whether Mrs. Ickes is?

"Mr. COLLIER. I have no knowledge or recollection.

"Mr. MURDOCK. But you do know that Mr. Margold is.

"Mr. COLLIER. I believe that you will find that Mr. Ickes and Mrs. Ickes would say the same thing as I am saying, that they believe in the work of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"Mr. MURDOCK. But they would not know whether they were members?

"Mr. COLLIER. I would be surprised if they have not contributed money. I wish I had money to contribute to them."

And the same date, page 661:

"Mr. BURDICK. I wanted to develop a little further this matter that I was asking about. May I ask you again who Roger Baldwin is?

"Mr. COLLIER. Roger Baldwin is either the director or the secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union. His offices are in New York.

"Mr. BURDICK. Let me read the record that has been handed to me and see if it is true. Roger Baldwin, the guiding spirit of the American Civil Liberties Union, makes no attempt to hide his friendship for the Communists and their principles. He was formerly a member of the I. W. W. and served a term in prison as a draft dodger during the war. This is the same Roger N. Baldwin that has recently issued a statement 'that in the next session of Congress our job is to organize opposition to the recommendations of the congressional committee investigating communism.'

"Do you approve of that statement?

"Mr. COLLIER. I do not know anything about it.

"Mr. BURDICK. You are a friend of his.

"Mr. COLLIER. If you ask me if I am a believer in the American Civil Liberties Union, I am compelled to answer why I am. The American Civil Liberties Union is an organization devoted to one cause, the establishment of the constitutional rights of free speech and the free press against all attacks and against the world. I do not care whether it is communism or fascism or Republicanism or Democrats. I believe that there is no greater feeling in this country now than the encouragement of that liberty. I believe the American Civil Liberties Union has made a superb battle for liberty without regard to whom it was fighting for.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. Under whose leadership?

"Mr. COLLIER. Under the leadership of Roger N. Baldwin.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. Who is this gentleman?

"Mr. BURDICK. Are you asking the witness a question?

"Mr. MCGROARTY. Let us hear about Baldwin. I did not know about him. Who is he?

"Mr. BURDICK. This statement says that he is the guiding spirit.

"Mr. COLLIER. Who is the author of the statement?

"Mr. BURDICK. This is an investigation by Congress and this man who testified before the investigating committee was Baldwin. Let me read as follows:

"The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or alien—it does not matter which—to advocate murder?

"Mr. BALDWIN. Yes.

"The CHAIRMAN. Or assassination?

"Mr. BALDWIN. Yes.

"The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government?

"Mr. BALDWIN. Certainly, insofar as mere advocacy is concerned.

"The CHAIRMAN. Does it uphold the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

"Mr. BALDWIN. Precisely on the same basis as any citizen.

"The CHAIRMAN. You do uphold the right of an alien to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

"Mr. BALDWIN. Sure, certainly. It is the healthiest kind of thing for a country.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. That is the leader."

March 29, 1935, pages 693 and 694:

"Mr. Collier. \* \* \* Now, among the agencies that have been fighting resourcefully for a long time for this freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, is the American Civil Liberties Union. They are an extraordinarily effective organization. Roger Baldwin is an extremely effective person.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. Just go slowly, Mr. Collier, so that the reporter gets all this.

"Mr. COLLIER. Yes.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. I hope you realize——

"Mr. COLLIER. Oh, I realize.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. The responsibility of your statements. It may have an effect on your future, and I am concerned about you because you are an old friend. I do not want to see any harm come to you.

"Mr. COLLIER. I will say, Mr. McGroarty, that when we get to this particular thing of basic democracy and liberty of conscience I have not any obligation except to give you my real thoughts.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. No; you are right. Pardon me for interrupting you.

"Mr. COLLIER. I am giving you something here that I could not be persuaded from by any feeling of fear for my future. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

"Mr. COLLIER. As I say, I have considered that the American Civil Liberties Union was entirely honest, that it was fearless, and that it was a good fighter as an organization. I have great admiration for Roger Baldwin as a man."

March 29, 1935, page 700:

"Mr. WERNER. Then you agree that Baldwin is a safe man to follow, do you not?

"Mr. COLLIER. I agree with just what I said before, that I think the American Civil Liberties Union is a very useful organization.

"Mr. WERNER. That does not answer the question. That is a simple question. Why don't you answer the question?

"Mr. COLLIER. I do not follow Baldwin. I regard Mr. Baldwin as doing a fine job.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. Now, that is on record as his answer.

"Mr. WERNER. My question has not been answered, but I don't presume it will be.

"Mr. MCGROARTY. I think it was, Mr. Werner. \* \* \* He says he believes it is a very useful organization. Now, it has been brought out here that this Mr. Baldwin is the guiding spirit of it, even now, and that he believes a man has a right to advocate assassination and murder and violence to overthrow the government; that his organization believes that, and Mr. Collier says he believes the organization is a very useful organization. Now, that covers it. \* \* \*

"Mr. COLLINS. Now, may I ask one question? Directly Mr. McGroarty asked the Commissioner if he belonged. The Commissioner said he had not been able to find out, but that he would be very happy to belong.

"Mr. COLLIER. That is correct. The point is, I contributed some money to that California committee in connection with one of these farmers' programs.

"Mr. COLLINS. You contributed something, but they never have given you a certificate of membership; is that correct?

"Mr. COLLIER. Nothing of the kind, but I am pretty sure that I gave them some money. I thought I would cover that by saying that I would like to belong."

The Murdock subcommittee never did find out whether or not Commissioner Collier is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, but the above record of the hearings speaks for itself. In the explicit and positive language of the Commissioner himself—John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has had "very close relations" with the American Civil Liberties Union, and considers them a "useful" and "extraordinarily effective" organization, and is a "very close friend of Roger Baldwin," and considers him an "extremely effective person" for whom he has "great admiration."

Nor is Roger Baldwin the only radical with whom Commissioner Collier has been associated. In 1928 he served on the national committee of the Sacco-Vanzetti National League with Ella Reeves Bloor, Communist; Norman Thomas, Socialist; and John Hays Holmes, John Dewey, Oswald Garrison Villard, Robert Morss Lovett, Morris L. Ernst, and other members of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In 1936 Commissioner Collier was listed as a member of the faculty for the Eleventh Seminar in Mexico of the Committee on Cultural Relations With Latin America, of which John Dewey is the honorary chairman. The letter announcing this seminar, sent out by the organization, was entered in evidence before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in the 1936 Cherokee hearings, which is No. 1 on the list of unprinted hearings, entered as exhibit 5. I offer in evidence, marked "exhibit 28," a copy of the page proof of this record which was prepared in February 1937, and out of that exhibit, for the record, the portion marked on page 0106, excerpts of the letter or announcement of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.

As a young man, Commissioner Collier wrote and published books of poetry, the *Indwelling Splendor*, in 1911; *Harp of the Human*, in 1913; and *Shadows*



That Haunt the Sun Rain, in 1918. Three or four of these poems were eulogies of Isadora Duncan, a famous dancer. In her autobiography, *My Life*, published in 1927, Miss Duncan states that she was brought up an atheist, that as a child she determined never to be bound by marriage ceremonies and to give her life to the effort of freeing women from the slavery of marriage and win for them the right to children out of wedlock, that she made a vow never to "lower herself to this degrading state," and that she had kept that vow, which statement is well verified in the story of her life. In common with some of the professors heretofore mentioned, Miss Duncan was in full accord with Russian communism, and among other things said: "One of the fine things the Soviet Government has done is the abolishment of marriage" (p. 17, *My Life*). Miss Duncan was the inspiration for three poems by John Collier. Francisco Ferrer, an anarchist who was executed at Barcelona, Spain, in 1909 for leading a revolt against the Government, inspired Mr. Collier to eulogize him at length in his book *The Indwelling Splendor*, published in 1911. Mr. Collier said:

\*             \*             \*             \*             \*             \*

"They shot him down, cowards and murders,  
 "They slew the herald; they cannot slay the light  
 \*             \*             \*             \*             \*

"He was an anarchist."

Francisco Ferrer was also an educator. In his school and textbooks he expressed such thoughts as:

"Property has been established by spoliation, cunning, trickery, by rapacity and deception under the name of commerce and industry.

"The words 'country,' 'flag,' 'family' arose in me no more than hypothetical echoes of wind and sound.

"Government, usurpation, tyranny—a question of words; not only all government, more or less legitimate, but all power is tyranny.

"Don't get excited about the flag, which is only 3 yards of cotton stuck on the end of a pole."

For further information on this I call the attention of the committee to pages 902 and 903 of the Murdock hearings in evidence as "Exhibit 26." In themselves these expressions of hero worship for atheists and anarchists, written by John Collier in his youth, are of no consequence. Followed, as they have been, by association with radicals, they become straws pointing in the wind.

In concluding this part of my statement I have only a brief comment to make. Through the life of each human being runs a pattern, not always evident but clearly discernible when viewed in retrospect. As the pattern manifests itself in spoken and written words, in actions and in associations, a reputation is established. Only through these outward expressions can others see us and know us. In viewing the facts as herein presented, the conclusion seems inescapable that there is a similarity of pattern in the thoughts, deeds, and associations of all these officials of the Department of the Interior. It seems equally evident that all these people herein mentioned are close associates in one company—the company so aptly termed by William Allen White as "our national dog pound"—the American Civil Liberties Union, whose executive director says, "Communism is the goal."

It has been developed herein that several officials of the Department of the Interior and the Indian Bureau are members of the American Civil Liberties Union and its affiliates. As individuals, all of these officials have an inherent right to their own views and the right to express those views. There can be no argument with that. As servants of the American public, however, it is not their right to use the powers of their offices to impose their views upon others. The charges of the federation have to do with the actions of these people while in public office.

Preparatory to discussion of those actions, the statements made thus far have been for the purpose of establishing the predominant pattern in their lives prior to their appointments as officials of the Government of the United States.

Various definitions have been given for the word "communism." In making the charges of communism, atheism and un-Americanism in the legislative, administrative, and educational program of the present Indian Bureau, we of the American Indian Federation have predicated our case upon the definition of "communism" given on page 4 of Report No. 2290, Seventy-first Congress, third session, which I offer in evidence marked "Exhibit 27," and for the record at this point the definition on page 4

It is difficult to state this case point by point under headings "Legislative," "Administrative," and "Educational," first, because they are interrelated and overlap; and second, because the program in many places is most subtle. It is only when viewed as a comprehensive whole that conclusions can be reached. As far as possible, this statement will divide the program into two parts, the legislative and educational, and will deal with the administration of each as it is considered.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

There have been four major bills introduced into Congress since 1933 which contain the legislative program of the present regime, viz:

1. So-called Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Public, No. 383, Seventy-third Congress.

2. So-called Thomas-Rogers bill for Oklahoma Indians, Public, No. 816, Seventy-fourth Congress.

3. So-called Indian Arts and Crafts Commission bill, Public, No. 355, Seventy-fourth Congress.

4. So-called Indian Claims Commission bill, H. R. 5817 (S. 1902), Seventy-fifth Congress.

I offer for the record the acts and one bill above mentioned, marked "Exhibit 28," "Exhibit 29," "Exhibit 30," and "Exhibit 31," respectively.

#### INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION BILL

The Indian Claims Commission bill was defeated on the floor of the House of Representatives on June 23, 1937, under the leadership of Hon. Thomas O'Malley, of Wisconsin, a Member of the House Committee on Indian Affairs. (See pp. 8105-8135, Congressional Record for Wednesday, June 23, 1937.) The Federation opposed enactment of this bill, and I offer for the record a copy of a letter relative thereto addressed to "Members of the House of Representatives," marked "Exhibit 32." In regard to this bill, I wish simply to call the attention of the committee to the fact that the original of this bill, fully drafted, was proposed to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1930 by Nathan R. Margold, a member of the American Civil Liberties Union and the present Solicitor for the Department of the Interior.

I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 33," printed copy of hearings before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, entitled "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States, Seventy-second Congress, First Session, Indian Claims Against the Government, Part 25," and refer the committee to pages 13670 to 13677, the testimony of Nathan R. Margold when he submitted this proposed bill. I call particular attention to the words of Mr. Margold:

"I was retained by Institute for Government Research in the fall of 1929 to study the Indian claims problem, among others, and to draft a bill embodying a practicable means for its solution"; and

"I conferred also with Mr. John Collier, of the American Indian Defense Association, on questions of policy."

Examination of the proposed bill reveals that it is the parent of the Indian Claims Commission bill herein mentioned.

#### ARTS AND CRAFTS COMMISSION BILL

The so-called Indian Arts and Crafts Commission bill arose from the same source. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 34," American Indian Life, Bulletin No. 15, January, 1930, on page 28 of which it is stated:

"Issued on behalf of the American Indian Defense Association, Inc., and its Branches by the Indian Defense Associations of California \* \* \*. The officers of the American Indian Defense Association are Haven Emerson, M.D., president; John Collier, executive secretary; and Fred M. Stein, treasurer. The treasurer of the Pueblo Legal Aid Fund and the Fund for California and Southwest Indian Work is Max L. Rosenberg, treasurer of the central and northern California branch."

I call the attention of the committee to pages 5 and 6, an article entitled "A New National Enterprise in Indian Arts and Crafts," which states that James W. Young has formulated "a plan for safeguarding, improving, adapting, and increasing the Indian craft output" and that "the plan is now being drafted into legislation through use of legal talent of high order."



I now enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 32," American Indian Life, Bulletin No. 16, July 1930, issued the same as the last exhibit. Attention is called to page 19, an article entitled, "Institute for Government Research Continues Its Activity." The second paragraph states, in part:

"Nathan R. Margold, of New York, retained as legal advisor by the institute, is carrying forward a brilliant work in drafting and briefing of legislation."

Paragraph 5 states:

"The technical drafting of the Arts and Crafts Corporation bill was carried out by institute attorneys in consultation with James W. Young, Howard S. Gans, and John Collier."

Until this act was passed, production of arts and crafts had always been operated by the Indians themselves and in many instances, the marketing, too. Among some of the tribes the income from arts and crafts is high. On page 5 of Bulletin 15, entered herein as exhibit 36, it is stated:

"Navajo rugs bring a million a year to Navajo Indians. Navajo silverwear brings nearly a quarter of a million a year."

These statements concern just two products of just one tribe of Indians. Such an enterprise may well be classed as "big business." The traders of the Southwest who handle much of the marketing there have been organized into an association, and it was stated to the Murdock committee in 1935 that Secretary Ickes was one of the attorneys for the association (see p. 345, Murdock hearings, exhibit 26) and that it had been formed through the help of John Collier and other people of Indian organizations.

Examination of the Arts and Crafts Commission Act, exhibit 32, discloses that it creates a commission of five men who shall serve without pay but shall receive their actual expenses for performance of their duties; that the Commission is given control over all marketing and research work in Indian arts and crafts; the authority to determine what work shall be genuine, to fix standards of production, to create a Government trade-mark to signify genuineness; to recommend to whom or what agencies loans shall be made for furthering any part of the Indian arts and crafts business; to supply management, personnel, and supervision for groups making or marketing arts and crafts; to employ executive, technical, and clerical personnel and to prescribe the authorities, duties, responsibilities, and the salaries of such employees; and finally the act provides fines and penalties for any who use the Government trade-mark falsely or falsely offer merchandise for sale as an Indian product. I call attention to the fact that the original plan drafted by Solicitor Margold and Commissioner Collier, before entry into public office, as set forth on page 5 of aforesaid Bulletin No. 15, exhibit 36, provides for a "board of trustees named by the President," a certificate of genuineness, and for a corporation which "will conduct national advertising and national and international publicity" and "will work through existing agencies."

In considering the marketing of such arts and crafts under authority of this act, consideration must also be given to sections 262, 263, and 265, title 25, United States Code, which give the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sole and absolute authority to direct who shall trade with the Indians, to license such traders, to set the prices, quality, and quantity of goods to be sold, to have those without a license fined, and to issue rules and regulations governing all trading transactions. The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, is also chairman of the Indian Arts and Crafts Commission. (See p. 216, vol. 2, Interior Department appropriation bill, 1935.) Under the combined authorities of the sections of the United States Code quoted above and the Arts and Crafts Commission, production and marketing of Indian arts and crafts will become solely and absolutely a Government controlled and managed industry.

Further reference to this act will be made in later discussions.

#### WHEELER-HOWARD AND THOMAS-ROGERS ACTS

The so-called Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act and the Thomas-Rogers Act for Oklahoma Indians can be considered at the same time. Due to the opposition of Oklahoma citizens, both white and Indian, the Oklahoma Indians were excluded from the communistic sections of the Wheeler-Howard Act in 1934. In 1935 the Thomas-Rogers Act was introduced, and it became law June 26, 1936. It is those sections of the Wheeler-Howard Act from which Oklahoma Indians were excluded in 1934. As was testified by Bureau officials before the Appropriations Committee, the Wheeler-Howard Act now applies to Oklahoma Indians.



## ORIGIN

The Wheeler-Howard Act had its origin in the American Civil Liberties Union. It was introduced into Congress "by request," and at a committee meeting in 1937 I heard Hon. Burton K. Wheeler, who was chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1934, say that he introduced the bill at the request of the Commissioner. The bill was written by Solicitor Margold and Commissioner Collier. In reply to a direct question in a meeting at Miami, Okla., on March 24, 1934, Commissioner Collier stated: "The bill is the product of the joint efforts of the Solicitor of the Interior Department and myself." I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 38," mimeographed copy of minutes of the Miami meeting, and call attention to page 83481. The testimony of the Commissioner given before the Murdock subcommittee in 1935 was virtually the same, as is recorded on pages 676 and 677 of the Murdock hearings, in evidence as exhibit 26. At that time the Commissioner went further and stated:

"The two main elements in the Wheeler-Howard bill were those that deal with land allotment, the land policy, and then the scheme of getting a new way for the tribes to organize. Both of those ideas have been advocated by the American Indian Defense Association for a good many years. \* \* \* They were a part of the program advocated by the Civil Liberties Union \* \* \*."

As was brought out yesterday in the testimony, the directorate of the American Indian Defense and the Civil Liberties Union is interlocking; Mr. Margold is a member of the A.C.L.U. and Mr. Collier, if not a member, is a believer in the union.

Mr. Margold accepted authorship or responsibility of the Wheeler Howard Act in the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1934, which I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 39."

On page 2, under title of "The Solicitor (Nathan R. Margold)," Mr. Margold states:

A significant innovation, and one which has produced gratifying results, has been the establishment of a legislative section within the office of the Solicitor. \* \* \* The preparation and successful promotion of the Taylor grazing bill and the Wheeler-Howard bill have been major achievements. \* \* \* The Members of Congress have already come to appreciate the service of our experts and to rely upon this staff for accurate and pertinent information, both factual and legal."

For some time prior to the appointment of the present Interior Department officials, the American Civil Liberties Union was sponsoring Indian bills in Congress, with no request from the Indians in most instances. It was customary to hold conferences either in New York or Washington, D. C., to decide these matters. Under date of November 28, 1932, the A.C.L.U. sent out a circular letter addressed "To those interested in legislation," to grant larger civil liberties to American Indians. This letter, which is printed in full on pages 506 and 507 of the Murdock hearings, in evidence as exhibit 26, was signed by Nathan Margold, chairman, and Robert Gressnor, secretary, of the Indian committee. It states in part:

"FRIENDS: At the direction of our committee on Indian civil rights, I enclose a memorandum covering bills pending before Congress and one to be introduced into Congress, dealing with larger liberties for Indians to handle their own affairs and to agitate for redress of grievances. \* \* \* We intend to back this legislation vigorously in the forthcoming Congress. \* \* \* We intend shortly to call a conference here in New York of those interested in this legislation to discuss the campaign for these bills in the short session."

The bills which the union expected to back so vigorously are referred to on page 8 of the pamphlet Indian Primer, issued in August 1932 by the Indian committee of the A. C. L. U., in evidence as exhibit 16. I call the attention of the committee to paragraph 4, under the title, "What Are the Remedies?" which says:

"The remedies proposed for giving the Indians complete control of their affairs are embodied in bills in the 1931-33 Congress providing:

"1. Establishment of Indian tribal councils with power over tribal property, the employment of attorneys, and making of contracts, etc."

The bill providing for the "establishment of Indian tribal councils," et cetera, was the so-called Frazier bill, S. 3668, Seventy-second Congress, whose purpose was to "make it possible for Indians to equip themselves with modern business instruments of corporate organizations in order to develop their own material and moral endowments."

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 40," a circular entitled, "Why Constructive Indian Legislation Is Not Being Passed." This is a 17-legal-size-page circular distributed by the American Indian Defense Association, dated June 2, 1932, and bearing the name of John Collier.

For the record I submit the copy of the so-called Frazier bill, S. 3668, contained on pages 2 and 3 of this exhibit. Even a casual reading of this bill and the Wheeler-Howard bill reveals their similarity. The language used in some sections of the Frazier bill is practically identical with that contained in the Wheeler-Howard Act, either as introduced or as enacted into law in 1934.

Another bill which the union expected to back vigorously is the so-called Klamath incorporation bill, listed on page 8 of the Indian Primer, exhibit 16, as follows:

"3. A model bill for the incorporation of one Indian tribe, the Klamath Indians of Oregon, so that it may exercise the powers of an ordinary business corporation with only slight Government supervision."

I enter in evidence a photostat copy, Press Service, of the A. C. L. U. dated April 8, 1932. Under the title, "Favorable Report on Indian Service-Government Bill Asked of Congress," it states:

"Self-government for Indian tribes was urged on the House Committee on Indian Affairs in a letter sent to its members April 6 by the American Civil Liberties Union's committee on Indian civil rights, advocating passage of a bill to incorporate the Klamath Indian Tribe of Oregon, so that it will be able to do business like any other corporation.

"According to the Civil Liberties Union committee 'this is a model bill now confined to the Klamath Indians, which it is hoped to extend to all Indian tribes on reservations as a means of freeing them ultimately from Government control.'

"The measure provides that when a majority of adults in the Klamath Tribe so petition, the Federal district court shall issue a certificate of incorporation. All adult members of the tribe become equal shareholders controlling all tribal property. The corporation is given full power to manage property, sue and be sued, and otherwise to exercise the rights of business corporations, with a board of directors in charge. Indians quitting the reservation may sell their shares of stock back to the corporation, but not to other Indians nor to any white person."

Section 17 of the Wheeler-Howard Act gives the tribal council the powers mentioned in the last paragraph of the foregoing quotation, and the act provides for communal ownership of property and the issuance of shares in "corporate interest."

The second bill listed on page 8 of the "Indian Primer, Exhibit 16, is:

"2. Recall of unwelcome Indian agents on referendum vote of a tribe."

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 42," photostat copy of "Press Service" of the A. C. L. U., dated April 1, 1932, Bulletin No. 502, under the title "Pending Bills Would Restore Authority to Indian Councils," it states:

"For the first time in the 50 years of the Federal Indian Bureau's existence, effort is being made to restore authority to the old tribal councils, the powers of which were taken away when the aborigines in this country were placed under governmental control. To achieve this end, support for two United States Senate bills is being rallied in all States where there are Indian reservations, by the American Civil Liberties Union's Committee on Indian Civil Rights. Both measures were introduced by Senator Lynn J. Frazier, of North Dakota, chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

"Senate bill No. 3668 provides for a constitution and bylaws for each tribe, subject to voted approval by all adult members. A tribal council would be elected annually, and questions of policy would be submitted to referendum. This council would represent the tribe before Congress and governmental departments, or in the courts; it would control sales of tribal lands, employ lawyers, without the Indian Bureau's consent, and make recommendations to the Budget Bureau and Congress concerning expenditures of tribal funds.

"Bill No. 3717 provides that when 25 percent of the members of any tribe on a reservation petition for removal of an official or employee of the Indian Bureau on the reservation, the general council of such a tribe shall assemble, and upon a majority vote calling for the removal, the Secretary of the Interior shall remove such official or employee within 60 days.

"This measure," says Nathan Margold, New York City lawyer and chairman of the civil rights committee, 'would give the tribes control over obnoxious officials who today may be their dictators instead of their friends. It would act as



a check upon unwise appointments and would end the notorious tyranny and mismanagement by Indian agents. It would give the Indians an entirely different attitude toward the Indian Bureau, and rightfully should be welcomed by that bureau as a marked step forward in elevating the Indians' self-respect."

Attention is called to the third paragraph about the pending bill providing for recall of local agency employees upon a majority vote of the Indians. This bill was later incorporated into the Wheeler-Howard bill.

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 43," a copy of the bill as it was introduced into Congress on February 13, 1934, by Senator Wheeler (by request). I call attention to line 17 on page 10 under section 5, it is stated:

"Any Indian community shall have the power to compel the transfer from the community of any persons employed in the administration of Indian affairs within the territorial limits of the community other than persons appointed by the community: *Provided, however,* That the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may prescribe such conditions for the exercise of this power as will assure to employees of the Indian Service a reasonable security of tenure, an opportunity to demonstrate their capacities over a stated period of time, and an opportunity to hear and answer complaints and charges."

The A. C. L. U. takes full responsibility for the bills introduced into the 1931-32 Congress. I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 44," photostat copy of page 35 of the report of the A. C. L. U. published in June 1932, and entitled "Sweet Land of Liberty 1931-32." Under the heading, "Indians' Civil Rights," it is stated:

"The Union's committee on Indian civil rights under the chairmanship of Nathan R. Margold, New York attorney, got before Congress during the year a program of bills intended to give Indians greater control of their own affairs and the machinery by which they may improve their conditions. These bills were worked out in cooperation with the Indian Defense Association. They are:"

This is followed by the list given on page 8 of the pamphlet "Indian Primer," the first three of which have just been discussed above. In closing, the article says:

"The committee issued a pamphlet describing these bills together with an 'Indian Primer' giving the salient facts about the Indians in brief compass. Representations were made to various committees of Congress; publicity given out in an effort to build up sentiment for these particular remedies basic to all others. The bills were opposed by the Indian Bureau and met the same fate as all other legislation for the benefit of Indians, due not to the disinclination of Congress but to the controversy which was aroused and the limited time for resolving it."

None of the bills sponsored by the A. C. L. U. for the Indians was enacted by the Seventy-second Congress as is disclosed in the annual report of the A. C. L. U. published in June 1933, and entitled "Land of the Pilgrim's Pride—1932-33." I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 45," two photostats of pages 27 and 28, respectively, of this pamphlet. Under the heading "American Indians," it is stated, in part:

"A program of bills designed to extend civil rights of American Indians was developed by the Union's special committee on Indians' civil rights headed by Nathan R. Margold, New York lawyer. Most of the bills were introduced in the Senate, but did not come out of committee.

"In order to gain the greatest possible backing for these bills by friends of the Indian, the Union's committee called an all-day conference in Washington in January 1933, \* \* \*. Complete agreement was reached on every essential point—the abolition of the land allotment system which has destroyed primitive Indian communal life, the creation of Indian tribal councils on reservations with large control of tribal affairs, the incorporation of one tribe as a model for others and as a means for minimizing Government control, and repeal of ancient laws controlling communication between Indian tribes and outsiders.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Mr. Margold, chairman of the committee, was appointed by the new secretary of the Interior to be solicitor of the Department where he will have much to do with redrafting and pushing the proposed bills. Prof. Jay B. Nash of New York University, has succeeded Mr. Margold as chairman of the committee."

I call particular attention to the statement that Mr. Margold "will have much to do with redrafting and pushing the proposed bills." The Union itself expected to sponsor those bills and push them in the next Congress.

I enter in evidence, photostat copy of a page of Civil Liberties Quarterly issued in June 1935 by the Union, wherein it is stated, in part:

"Complete reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been effected by the new administration with the appointment of John Collier. \* \* \* Mr. Collier is committed to a thorough revision of Indian law in the interest of tribal autonomy, civil rights for Indians, and abolition of land allotment system under which Indians have lost a large part of their property. Hathan Margold, former chairman of the Union's committee on Indian civil rights, has been appointed Solicitor for the Department, and Jay B. Nash, of New York University, present chairman of the committee, is temporarily employed as director of conservation camps among Indians.

"A drive will be made in the regular sessions of Congress for passage of bills sponsored by the Civil Liberties Union and other agencies for civil rights for Indians."

The ideas of the bills which had been sponsored by the A. C. L. U. in the Seventy-second Congress, as herein outlined, and in some instances the identical language, were incorporated into the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act and introduced into Congress in February 1934. The Union accordingly made the "drive" for passage of this bill.

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 47," photostat copy of page — of the Civil Liberties Quarterly issued by the A. C. L. U. in June 1934, wherein it is stated:

"Restoration to American Indians of their lands and tribal autonomy is provided in a bill prepared by the Indian Bureau pending in the House and Senate and backed by Indians and their friends all over the country. The Civil Liberties Union has circularized its members and other organizations to arouse support of this complete reversal of governmental policy under which Indians may at last exercise their civil rights. \* \* \* The Civil Liberties Union urges all its friends to support the Howard-Wheeler Indian rights bill by addressing their Senators and Congressmen."

In the face of the records of the A. C. L. U. itself, as herein entered in evidence, there can be no reasonable doubt that the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act had its origin in the American Civil Liberties Union.

This being true, the A. C. L. U. knows exactly what the Indians received in that legislation and can be considered as the final authority as to whether or not the Thomas-Rogers Act is identical. The Thomas-Rogers Act was introduced into the 1935 session of Congress. In January 1936, the Union issued announcements that another conference on Indian legislation was called for the 19th day of January at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D. C. No such announcement was sent to me but I attended the meeting and registered as an "observer." Professor Jay B. Nash, mentioned as chairman of their committee on Indian civil rights in the Civil Liberties Quarterly for June 1933 (exhibit 26) presided at the meeting.

The Indian Rights Association, a so-called benevolent white organization for Indian welfare, with headquarters in Philadelphia, was represented by Henry Scattergood, former Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs and a member of the A. C. L. U. as was stated to the Murdock subcommittee in 1935 by Allen G. Harper, former Pennsylvania State Chairman of the A. C. L. U. (See p. 1038, Murdock hearings, exhibit 26.) Among those present were Commissioner and Mrs. John Collier; William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Robert Marshall, Chief Forester, Indian Bureau, and the Washington, D. C., chairman of the A. C. L. U.; Miss Mary L. Stewart, present California regional director of Indian Education; Miss Edna Groves, present eastern regional director of Indian education; Felix Cohan, attorney for the Indian Bureau of the Department; Fred H. Dieker, Assistant to the Commissioner; Joe Jennings, field representative of the Bureau; several superintendents of reservations who were present in Washington at that time and other employees of the Indian Bureau. I know that the Thomas-Rogers Act was brought up for discussion at this meeting and was approved by the Union. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 48," the Civil Liberties Quarterly for March 1936, published by the A. C. L. U., and call attention to an article on page 4, entitled, "Indians Rights Conference," which states as follows:

"Forty-one persons active in Indian affairs attended an unofficial conference on legislation pending in Congress at the Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C., on January 19, called by the union's committee on Indian civil rights. General agreement was reached on a legislative program, the most important of which is the extension to the Oklahoma Indians of the Wheeler-Howard laws, guarantees of tribal self-government and community ownership of land."



On May 8, 1936, the A. C. L. U. released a letter which was signed by Robert Gessner, author and secretary of the Indian Committee of the A. C. L. U., Dr. Haven Emerson, president of the American Indian Defense Association, and Roger N. Baldwin, director of the A. C. L. U. This letter said in part:

"The American Civil Liberties Union Committee on Indian Rights, supports \* \* \* the pending Thomas-Rogers bill to give Oklahoma Indians just what all other Indians got under the Wheeler-Howard Act 2 years ago."

The Thomas-Rogers Act became law on June 26, 1936. In June 1937, the A. C. L. U. published its annual report under the title, "Let Freedom Ring, the Story of Civil Liberty, 1936-37." In this pamphlet, already in evidence as exhibit 20, it is stated on page 44, under the heading "Indians":

"The Government's new policy of extending to Indians tribal autonomy, civil rights, and management of their own resources was furthered by the passage by the 1936 Congress of a bill extending these benefits to the Oklahoma Indians, excluded from the original act."

Thus sayeth the A. C. L. U.: The Wheeler-Howard Act and the Thomas-Rogers Act are one and the same.

On March 1, 1937, Hon. Burton K. Wheeler and Hon. Lynn J. Frazier, jointly and at the request of Indians, introduced a bill, S. 1736, to repeal the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, which I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 49." It is commonly called the Wheeler-Frazier Repeal bill. The bill received an unfavorable report from the Secretary of the Interior. Several hearings were held on it by Hon. Elmer Thomas, chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, but those hearings have not been printed to date. (See exhibit 5.) The A. C. L. U. is very much opposed to the bill.

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 50", the first sheet of Bulletin No. 759 of the "Press Service" of the American Civil Liberties Union, released for publication on Friday, April 2, 1937. The second item is entitled "Repeal of Indian Reorganization Act Fought", and it states:

"Attacking the Wheeler-Frazier bill repealing the Indian Reorganization Act as an 'attempt to turn the clock back,' the American Civil Liberties Union last week earnestly urged defeat of this 'unaccountable bill' in the Senate. Letters to hundreds of friends of Indian civil rights throughout the country have been sent out by the union in its campaign against the measure.

"In a statement signed by Prof. Jay B. Nash, of New York University, chairman of the committee on civil rights, and Roger N. Baldwin, union director, the A. C. L. U. held that objections raised to the present law are 'either trivial or unfounded and offer no basis whatever for repeal of this historic measure.'

"Any criticism of its administration should be dealt with through administrative channels, and not by legislation," the union declared.

"It was pointed out by the union that the Indian Reorganization Act passed in June 1934 was the culmination of more than 10 years of study and struggle by friends of the Indian within and without the Government, and assured civil rights to Indians, among other reforms.

"The act gives to organized tribes the right to go into court to defend their own civil and property rights; provides that Indian land losses shall stop; gives the tribes greater self-government; provides for the advanced schooling of Indians; and enables landless Indians to get back on the land."

I call the attention of the committee to pages 7 and 9 of the pamphlet, "Let Freedom Ring," published by the union in June 1937, and herein entered in evidence as exhibit 20. On page 9, under the heading, "We Condemn," it is stated:

"No. 18. The attempts of Senators Wheeler and Frazier to repeal the Indian Reorganization Act, under which Indian civil rights for the first time have been established."

On page 45 of the same pamphlet, continued under the heading of "Indians," on page 44, it is stated:

"Attempts have been made in the 1937 Congress, however, to repeal all new legislation, on the ground that it has not worked satisfactorily. The evidence to support such a conclusion is fragmentary, but sufficient evidently to convince the authors of the repeal bill—Senators Wheeler and Frazier. The Civil Liberties Union is publishing a pamphlet to counteract the movement for repeal by citing the record of accomplishments.

"Among the opponents of the present Indian policy is the so-called American Indian Federation, with headquarters in Oklahoma, which has inspired a great deal of publicity, though it represents only a handful of disgruntled Indians. The union has had occasion to attack its favorite charge that the Indian Bureau

at Washington is a creature of the American Civil Liberties Union, directed to making Communists out of the red men!"

In connection with this report, I wish to point out to the committee that repeal of the present Indian legislation mentioned therein has not been sought primarily on the grounds that it has not worked out satisfactorily. Repeal has been sought on the grounds that it is pure and unadulterated communism, and the fact that it has not worked out satisfactorily is a result of the cause, communism. As a matter of personal privilege, I wish to further point out to the committee that regardless of how many Indians we represent, the fact remains that we are Indians, and as such have a far greater right to concern ourselves with Indian legislation than does the Civil Liberties Union. In reply to the last sentence in the above quotation, I respectfully point out to the committee that all of the federation's charges, namely (1) that the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, is dominated and controlled by members and sympathizers of the A. C. L. U. and interrelated organizations; (2) that in every department, legislative, administrative, and educational—the program of the present Indian Bureau is communism, atheism, and un-Americanism and originated in the A. C. L. U.; and (3) that the A. C. L. U. is a "subversive, seditious, Communist-aiding and Christ-mocking" organization whose executive director, Roger N. Baldwin, says "Communism is the goal," have been made openly at public hearings before the committees of Congress for the last 4 years and have been occasionally reported upon by the press.

I offer in evidence, fastened together and marked "Exhibit 51" photostat copies of clippings from the Washington Herald, the Charlotte (N. C.) News, the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen, the Raleigh (N. C.) Times, and the Washington Times, all dated in April 1936, all of which contain the charges of the federation and one of which is an editorial entitled "Communizing the Indians." To our knowledge, the A. C. L. U. has never made application to come before any committee of Congress before which the charges were made and deny them or offer evidence to disprove them. Neither has the A. C. L. U. brought any suits for libel against either the federation or the newspapers which carried those charges.

The record established here today from the reports of the A. C. L. U. speaks for itself about the origin of the legislative program of the present Indian Bureau regime.

As to who is in control of the Indian Bureau, in addition to the evidence submitted yesterday, I offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 52," a photostat copy of page 29 of a pamphlet entitled "Liberty Under the New Deal—the Record for 1933-34," published in June 1934, by the American Civil Liberties Union. On this page 29, under the heading "American Indians," it says, in part:

"The forces long urging drastic reforms in the Government's treatment of Indians finally came into control of the Indian Bureau with the appointment as Commissioner of John Collier, former secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, backed by Secretary Ickes and by almost all the agencies defending Indian interests. The Indian Bureau has made sweeping changes in Government policy. \* \* \* In addition to the bills in Congress, departmental regulations have effected many changes in the Indian service in the direction of a larger exercise of civil rights, in advancement of Indian education, and in the common use of tribal property."

#### METHODS USED TO SECURE ENACTMENT OF WHEELER-HOWARD ACT

Soon after the introduction of the Wheeler-Howard bill in February 1934 Commissioner Collier and a large part of his Washington staff began a tour of the Indian country, holding meetings with the Indians to secure their approval of the act then pending in Congress. There are printed or mimeographed copies of the minutes of all of these meetings which are available to the committee and if desired I shall be happy to furnish title and page references for the statements herein made about this campaign.

Briefly, the Indians were told that if they approved the bill and worked for its enactment, they would secure self-government, the right to manage their own affairs, the right to have objectionable agency employees removed, the right to employ their own attorneys and to enter into contracts, higher education for their children, the right to borrow huge sums of money from the Government to finance business enterprises, and they were assured that under the Wheeler-Howard Act the Government would buy a vast amount of land and give it to them, any place in the United States agreeable to them. When



the State of Oklahoma was Indian Territory, the Five Civilized Tribes owned the major portion of it. In reply to a member of one of these tribes at an Oklahoma meeting, the Commissioner stated that under certain circumstances there was no reason to believe that his tribe could not sometime regain all of their land.

"The campaign of the Commissioner personally, was designed to arouse race prejudice and contempt for our present form of government. No previous period in the history of America has ever witnessed a like spectacle of a high official of the Federal Government carrying on such a campaign of sedition among any people. From the printed hearings of the Commissioner's meetings with Indians in South Dakota, Washington, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, we find Commissioner Collier appealing personally to Indian audiences for support of the Wheeler-Howard bill in the following language:

"There was a time when it was the policy of the United States Government to rob Indians."

"Millions and millions of acres have been sold. Selling means nearly always selling to the whites. It is the best lands which have been lost, sold to the whites."

"The guardianship of the United States is carried out under a body of laws that are wicked and stupid."

"The time will come when the change will be finished as far as law and Washington are concerned and the country will settle down into a new mold. \* \* \* I desire for you to realize what I know to be the truth, that beyond your power, beyond my power, and beyond the power of the President, forces are moving which are going to make the change in a way to destroy you, unless it is made in a way to save and help you."

"In the history of countries and peoples there comes a time when anything is possible."

"Take the utmost responsibility in your own affairs and let the Government no longer play the authoritative role, but serve as a service agency only."

"The Indian Service down in Mexico is operated the way I hope for here \* \* \* the Indians are recapturing their lands and taking over control of the Government."

The above paragraphs and quotations are taken verbatim from pages 18 and 19 of the pamphlet "Now, Who's Un-American?—An Exposé of Communism in the United States Government," which I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 53." This pamphlet was written by Mr. O. K. Chandler, present national chairman on organization of the federation, and myself. It was published by the federation in July 1936, and to date it has never been challenged from any source. Arousing race prejudice and contempt for other governments, is part of the Communist program as outlined by House Report No. 2290, in evidence as exhibit 29.

Returning from the Indian meetings, which were frequently attended by only a small group, the Commissioner reported to Congress and the public that the majority of Indians approved the bill. Indians were brought to Washington through use of tribal funds to testify in favor of the bill at the committee hearings. Under the language of the appropriation acts, no Indian can come to Washington with his expenses paid out of tribal funds unless the Commissioner approves of it before he leaves the reservation. Obviously the Commissioner would not approve of any Indian coming to Washington to testify against his program.

In considering the lures held forth to the Indians, and the language of the Commissioner in making his appeals, it must be remembered that the Indians who are under control of the Indian Bureau are an oppressed and in many cases destitute people who have the lowest per capita income of any race in the United States, largely because their money, land, and resources and even their persons are under the autocratic authority of a Bureau, and who, in most instances, have justifiable claims against the Government because of treaty violations. Under similar circumstances, most any people would welcome a program which promised so much in relief from their misery. Looking beyond the propaganda to the bill itself, however, Indian opposition from all parts of the United States arose against it immediately after its introduction into Congress and continued to grow. Funds were collected by the Indians to send independent delegates to Washington to oppose the bill.

To stop some of the opposition, a gag rule was applied to all employees of the Indian Service, both white and Indian. Under date of April 30, 1934, and over the signature of Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, a letter

was sent out addressed: "To All Employees of the Indian Service:" which said, in part:

"The authorities in Washington have endeavored during the past year to develop a coordinated, modern Indian policy. \* \* \* I have increasing evidence that there is a subtle, misleading propaganda against the new Indian program emanating from a minority of employees within the Indian Service. \* \* \* My purpose in addressing you is to notify all of those engaged in this scheme to defeat our program that a continuance will be under penalty of dismissal from the service. \* \* \* If any employee wishes to oppose the new policy, he should do so honestly and openly from outside of the service. This would mean his resignation. \* \* \* It will be summarily eliminated, wherever found, by dismissal."

I call the attention of the committee to page 409 of the Murdock hearings, in evidence as exhibit 6, and for the record enter this letter of April 30, 1934, as therein printed.

Like a large percentage of the people with low incomes, many of the Indians were at that time, and still are, dependent upon the work relief programs for their daily bread. All work relief for the Indians is handled through the Indian Bureau. Copies of the April 1934 letter were distributed or posted for the information of those on work relief projects and effectively silenced many Indians, and their dependents. This order has never been rescinded or modified. It is still in full force and effect and has been acted upon frequently, not only in regard to opposition to the Wheeler-Howard Act but also in regard to opposition to any part of the program. I have attended both House and Senate Committee on Indian Affairs hearings for the past four sessions of Congress. Repeatedly the charge that those who oppose the program are being neglected and denied work has been made before those committees.

I have heard it made by Indians from California, New Mexico, Arizona, Wisconsin, North Carolina, and North and South Dakota. Examination of any of the transcripts of testimony of the unprinted hearings, listed and entered herein as exhibit 5, will substantiate that statement. I have letters from many other places stating the same thing. During the past summer I visited four reservations—Pine Ridge, Rosebud and Cheyenne Agency in South Dakota and Standing Rock which is in both North and South Dakota. On all of them the most frequent complaint brought to me was: "They will not give us any work, or any rations, or any attention, because we belong to the Black Hills Treaty Council group." The Black Hills Treaty Council is the organization formed by those Indians in the eight Sioux Nations who are opposing and resisting the present Bureau program. It was a most self-evident fact that those opposing the program were unemployed.

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 55," an affidavit from Cherokee, N. C., signed by Hugh N. Lambert, a Cherokee Indian who was employed at the Cherokee Boarding School. Among other things, this affidavit states that Mr. Lambert voted against both the acceptance of the act and the Constitution submitted under the act and that his position at the school was subsequently abolished and he no longer is employed.

In 1934, when the act was before Congress, Winslow J. Couro, a Mission Indian of Santa Ysabel, Calif., was employed as a supervisor on a Work Relief project for the Indians. As the duly elected spokesman for the Santa Ysabel Reservation, he was delegated by his people to come to Washington to oppose enactment of the Wheeler-Howard bill. He did so and forfeited his employment. Mr. Couro is one of the charter members of this organization and at present is president of our first district.

In 1934 Rev. Floyd O. Burnett, a Cherokee Indian of Oklahoma, was employed by a Mission Board in New York City as a missionary at the Sherman Institute for Indians at Riverside, Calif. As a leader, his opinion on the Wheeler-Howard Act was sought by the Indians. Reverend Burnett spoke his convictions against the bill. He prepared some statements giving the exact reasons why he opposed the bill, both as an Indian and as an American. Learning of this, Commissioner Collier, summarily and with no effort to determine the facts of the matter, sent a telegram to the superintendent at Sherman Institute stating: "Privileges of Sherman Institute withdrawn from Floyd O. Burnett," and a telegram to the Mission Board which said:

"Advise you privileges Sherman Institute, Riverside, hereby withdrawn from Rev. Floyd O. Burnett. Has abused privileges by utilizing student members and school equipment. These actions were concealed from school superintendent. Political propaganda directed against Indian Rights Bill. Political



activities by missionaries in schools cannot be allowed. Action on Burnett final. Commissioner John Collier."

The board had no alternative but to replace Reverend Burnett, an ordained Indian minister who was conscientiously endeavoring to help his race when they asked his assistance. Reverend Burnett is a World War veteran and has been the national chaplain of the Federation since its organization in August 1934. His side of this matter has never been heard and the Commissioner on several occasions has used the Government franking privilege to send out a statement that was designed to personally injure and discredit Reverend Burnett. I therefore offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 55," a statement signed by Reverend Burnett relative to his opposition to the Wheeler-Howard Act. These instances are typical of many throughout the service where not only the individual Indians involved but also their wives, children, and other dependents have been deprived of their daily bread because they exercised their constitutional rights of free speech. Others will be cited in connection with other matters.

Incidentally, this might be cited as another example of the sincerity of the A. C. L. U. protestations of profound belief in "free speech" for everyone. Secretary Ickes is a member of the union. Again, as was pointed out by another example yesterday, it is free speech to "advocate force and violence, murder, and assassination in the overthrow of government but not one word against the union or its program."

The country was flooded with propaganda in favor of the Wheeler-Howard bill, distributed by such well-financed and influential organizations as the Indian Bureau, the A. C. L. U., the American Indian Defense Association, and others, which utilized every avenue of publicity—the press, the radio, private releases, and letters, and the Government franking privilege. A letter approving the bill which was addressed to the chairmen of the Indian Committees by the President was widely circulated and constantly called to the attention of Congress by inclusion in the Congressional Record. The letter must have had some effect, because in one instance Mr. Couro, of California, Mr. Alfred Minugh, of Montana, and myself, called upon one Congressman who listened attentively to all of our reasons for objecting to the bill and in reply to our plea that he vote against it stated, in substance, "But my President calls and I must support him."

Against these mighty forces the voice of the Indian against the bill was drowned. Many objectionable features were stricken out in the committees and on the floor of the House, but it never lost its communistic provisions. It was brought up for consideration in the final rush of a closing Congress. Time for debate was limited to 40 minutes. Although a valiant effort was made to defeat the bill on the floor, as the Congressional Records of June 12, 15, 16, and 19, 1934, disclose, it was enacted and became law when the President signed it on June 18, 1934.

#### PROVISIONS OF THE WHEELER-HOWARD AND THOMAS-ROGERS ACTS

These acts were propagandized as acts to give the Indians "self-government," "stop the losses of any more land," and to "provide land for landless Indians." Even a casual examination of the acts themselves, exhibits 30 and 31, respectively, discloses that there is no self-government in them. All final power and authority remains in the Secretary of the Interior which is exactly where it has always rested since the Bureau was established. In addition to which the Secretary of the Interior is given "mandatory" authority over all grazing and timber operations and soil conservation on Indian reservations. This is additional power for the Secretary. Formerly he had only discretionary authority, as was admitted by Commissioner Collier before the Murdock committee in 1935. (See p. 46, Murdock hearings, exhibit 26.)

Briefly, the Wheeler-Howard Act provides that Indians, as tribes, may organize into corporations under constitutions and charters which the Secretary of the Interior shall consider appropriate and of which he shall approve, while the Thomas-Rogers Act goes a little further and states that any 10 Indians (no limitation that they be adults) may organize for corporate enterprise. The acts carry authorization for necessary funds to acquire additional lands, the title to which is to remain in the United States, to make loans to chartered Indian corporations, for educational loans, and the expenses of putting the acts into operation. Authority is vested in the Secretary of the Interior to establish an Indian civil service within the Indian Bureau, to con-

solidate Indian land holdings, to promulgate rules and regulations to cover all the various provisions of the acts and in the Thomas-Rogers Act to declare any previous laws null and void that may be in conflict therewith. Can anyone conceive of a lawsuit under the Thomas-Rogers Act? Irrespective of what the Secretary of the Interior does in Oklahoma, if challenged under provisions of any previous laws, the sole defense necessary is for him to declare that the law is in conflict with the Thomas-Rogers Act and therefore he has declared it null and void.

Only one form of living is provided in the Wheeler-Howard Act and that is communal living with all property, real and personal, held in common. Section 17 of the act provides for the adoption of a charter by the tribe and states:

"Such charter may convey to the incorporated tribe the power to purchase, take by gift, bequest, or otherwise, own, hold, manage, operate, and dispose of property of every description, real and personal, including the power to purchase restricted Indian lands and to issue in exchange therefor interests in corporate property \* \* \*."

The very first section of the act provides that hereafter there shall be no individual allotment of land. These sections of the act are destructive of private ownership of property. Destruction of private property is communism, as defined in House Report No. 2290.

As the acts originated in the American Civil Liberties Union, their word should be conclusive about the contents. I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 56," the March 2, 1935, issue of the magazine *Liberty* and call attention to the article on page 31, entitled "A New Deal for the Red Man" \* \* \* by Robert Gessner, \* \* \* secretary of the Indian committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Gessner states:

"Lo"—

"The poor Indian—it looks like a New Deal for him, thanks to John Collier, now Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Today this slight-figured, energetic crusader directs his vision and energy into a policy not only to give the Indians all constitutional rights, but to advance them into a social order that might well point the way out for all of us. \* \* \* Commissioner Collier says, in effect: 'It is now economically necessary that you Indians heap all your allotments into a common holding, and farm and graze cattle and cut timber on a communal basis \* \* \*.'"

#### ADMINISTRATION

Complete understanding of the Wheeler-Howard Act necessitates a close analysis of the provisions of the act itself together with the constitutions and charters which have been promulgated under the act. During the last session of Congress, I was requested to prepare a statement concerning the act, constitutions and charters under the act, appropriations for the act, and other facts, for the information of a group of Congressmen. I prepared the statement, taking the figures therein used from testimony of Bureau officials given before various appropriations committees and using the first constitution and charter adopted by an Indian tribe, the Flathead Reservation in Montana, as an example of all of them. To save the time of this committee, I therefore enter for the record printed copies of the constitution and charter of the Flathead Reservation of Montana, marked "Exhibit 57" and "Exhibit 58," respectively, and a copy of the above-mentioned statement, entitled "Memo. In re the Wheeler-Howard Act," marked "Exhibit 59," and will confine my remarks here to a general statement based upon and substantiated by these exhibits and others which will be entered.

Under the Wheeler-Howard Act, it is necessary to hold three elections before a tribe is completely under the act and can borrow the money which has been constantly held forth as a lure. The first is to secure acceptance of the act itself, the second to adopt a constitution, and the third to adopt a charter of incorporation. (See Secs. 18, 16, and 17, respectively, Public, No. 383, exhibit 30.) Government financed campaigns have been conducted on all reservations to have the Indians vote favorably in all of these elections. All the unprinted hearings listed in exhibit 5 herein, the so-called Burdick hearings, part 1 and part 2 (see No. 2 on list of printed hearings, exhibit 4), the so-called Murdock hearings, exhibit 26, various Congressional Records and published articles are replete with evidences of these campaigns. In the July 1, 1935, issue of *Indians at Work*, Commissioner Collier stated that he felt justified in asking the whole-hearted assistance of employees in the work of re-



organization even to the extent of giving it precedence over their own work. Under that section of the civil-service laws prohibiting civil-service employees from taking part in political campaigns, the Cherokees, of North Carolina, sought to have their superintendent removed from his activity in campaigning for acceptance of the Wheeler-Howard Act and a constitution under the act. In April 1936, Fred B. Bauer, vice chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and president of the seventh district of the Federation, and I appeared before the Civil Service Board about this matter.

In reply to letter from Mr. Bauer about this matter some months later, the head of the Civil Service Board, Harry D. Mitchell, wrote to Mr. Bauer stating that under the Wheeler-Howard Act the Secretary of Interior had full authority over all employees of the Indian Bureau. I call the attention of the committee to page 026 of page proof of the Cherokee investigations of 1936, exhibit 28 in evidence, wherein is reproduced a notice sent out by the Superintendent of the Cherokee Indian Reservations entitled "Some Reasons Why the Cherokee Indians Should Adopt the New Constitutions and Bylaws, August 28."

Under authority of the appropriations made for "organizing Indian tribes," and in addition to regular employees, people were employed at substantial salaries to devote their entire time to propagandizing in these campaigns and many Indians were employed part time on a per diem basis. Regular employees, part-time employees, and work-relief employees were all given to understand that they must campaign for the program in the elections. In some places parties were given at the meetings held to convene the Indians this was their only hope of salvation and in at least one place the rations intended for the relief of the old and needy were used for the banquet.

From my knowledge gathered over a period of 4 years time listening to Indians testify before committees, private conversations with Indian delegates, my files of correspondence, my understanding of the conditions among my own people in New York State, and from personal visits to four reservations in North and South Dakota and two personal visits to Cherokee, N. C., I can safely state that the campaigns far exceeded the ordinary zeal expected of employees in efficient performance of duties, that coercion, intimidation, and high-pressure salesmanship were used; that much of the propaganda was misleading because of statements of half truths and extravagant language; and that Bureau employees utilized every Government facility at their command.

The results of those campaigns have been given by Bureau officials during the course of various hearings before the House Appropriations Committee. From the records of the hearings on the 1937, 1938, and 1939 Interior Appropriation Acts, the following seems to be true in round numbers:

## VOTE ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE WHEELER-HOWARD ACT

Total voting population, approximately-----	86,000
Total voting for act, approximately-----	39,009
Total voting against act, approximately-----	24,000
Total votes cast, approximately-----	63,000
Total not voting, approximately-----	33,000

This is the total vote for and against the act irrespective of whether the act was accepted or rejected on the reservation involved.

Two hundred and forty-eight elections were held during 1935 and 1936 on acceptance of the act, some of them being in places where the voting population is listed from 1 to 12 people. Out of those elections, the following results were obtained tribally, if from 1 to 12 people be counted as a "tribe."

One hundred and eighty-three tribes with a population of 129,000 voted to accept the act.

Sixty-five tribes with a population of 86,000 voted to reject the act.

No figures are available to indicate the number of elections held to accept constitutions or charters. When a constitution or charter is voted down by the Indians, it is customary for the Indian Office to continue the campaign and hold another election. On some reservations two elections have been held relative to constitutions. The results, as of December 31, 1937, given to the Appropriations Committee in 1938, were that 45 groups with an estimated population of 53,350 Indians had incorporated.

In the elections which were held, the Bureau prepared the poll lists of eligible voters, conducted the elections, in some cases refusing Indians the right to



appoint or have present judges of their own choosing in accordance with laws of the State in which they resided, and counted the ballots. Balloting was not secret in all places. In some places the employees and in others the employees and Indians too were ordered to put their names on the ballots which they cast. Indians have reported that votes against the act were not always placed in the ballot boxes by those conducting the elections. Those known to be favorable were transported to the polls in Government cars and trucks but those known to be opposing the program were left to find their own transportation, sometimes in blizzard weather with the temperature down to 30 degrees below zero.

I call the attention of the committee to section of the act and point out that under the wording therein it is necessary for a majority to vote against the act to exclude any tribe from it. There was a difference of opinion whether this meant majority of votes cast or majority of those listed on the poll lists as eligible to vote. The solicitor, Mr. Margold, wrote an opinion that the wording meant a majority of the adults living on the reservation. Thus all those on the Bureau-prepared poll list who did not actually cast a ballot were counted as voting for the act. I call the attention of the committee to pages 59 to 68 of the Murdock hearings (exhibit 26), the testimony of Winslow J. Couro, of Santa Ysabel, Calif., wherein it is disclosed by oral testimony supported by documentary evidence that in the election on acceptance of the act held on December 18, 1934, at the Santa Ysabel Reservation, the following was true:

The Bureau-prepared poll list contained the names of 122 Indians eligible to vote; 8 of the Indians on the list were unknown to the Indians living at Santa Ysabel.

Fourteen Indians entitled by residence to vote were not included on the list and did not vote.

Two were ill and could not vote, and one was insane and did not vote.

One was known by Bureau officials to be dead because they had arranged for his burial.

Forty-four on the list had been absent from 2 to 45 years, and in most cases their whereabouts were unknown.

Some absentees did not receive their ballots in time to vote.

In the election a total of 61 votes were cast, 14 for the act and 47 against the act.

This reservation was not excluded from the act because the 47 ballots against the act did not represent a majority of the 122 names on the poll list.

This was not the only reservation where this un-American method of counting votes was used. However, as a result of this testimony a bill was enacted by Congress in 1935 amending the Wheeler-Howard Act to clarify this section. The amendment automatically excluded tribes like the Santa Ysabel.

I offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 60," Public, No. 147, Seventy-fourth Congress, June 15, 1935. These facts are called to the attention of this committee to emphasize the methods employed by Bureau officials to force this program upon the Indians and to show that if some of the Indians had not spoken against such methods, regardless of the letter of the Secretary of Interior and to their own material loss, this method of conducting elections would have been carried out throughout the entire administration of the Wheeler-Howard Act, as was pointed out by Hon. Usher L. Burdick, Congressman from North Dakota, during the Murdock hearings in 1935. (See p. 39 of Murdock hearings.)

The constitutions and charters upon which the Indians voted were written in the Indian Office. Largely they were the work of Felix Cohan, Bureau attorney, and Allen G. Harper, Special Assistant to the Commissioner, and a member of the A. C. L. U.

After a constitution was prepared it was taken out to the tribe. If the tribe already had a council or other governing body, a meeting was held with them, and if not, delegates were chosen from different districts to meet with the Washington officials. At the meeting the constitution was offered piecemeal, discussions were had, and minor changes effected for the final draft. This final draft was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his approval. In those cases where Indians made material changes in the constitution, delegates were later brought to Washington, and at another conference it was pointed out to them that the Secretary objected to certain features. As the delegates had been given advance permission or approval by the Commissioner, under the terms of the appropriation act, it was not difficult to persuade them to alter the constitution to suit his wishes. The Secretary of the Interior had to approve all constitutions before they were submitted to the Indians for a refer-

endum vote. The constitutions all follow the same general pattern, some being worse than others. Likewise the Secretary of the Interior had to give his approval for all charters before the Indians voted upon them. The charters seem to be identical except for the names and locations. This is not self-government. It is dictatorship.

I wish to point out several things concerning these charters and constitutions.

#### CHARTERS

First. After adoption of a charter, the tribe becomes a Federal corporation. Laws and ordinances promulgated by the officers of such a tribe have all the force and effect of Federal laws, as do the Indian Bureau rules and regulations at the present time. This corporation should not be confused with the ordinary corporation for certain limited purposes, either social or economic. By reason of the status of the Indian as a ward and the status of his property as an estate in which all members of the tribe and their descendants have certain rights, this corporation is a social, economic, and political organization authorized to control, manage, and direct every phase of life upon the reservation and "to purchase, take by gift, bequest, or otherwise, own, hold, manage, operate, and dispose of property of every description, real and personal."

Second. In addition to the powers conferred by the constitution, the council is given authority to (1) issue certificates in corporate property in exchange for title to real property; (2) issue nontransferable certificates of membership in the corporation; (3) to borrow money and to pledge chattels or future tribal income of the tribe for security of such loans; and (4) to engage in any business or to undertake any activity "of any nature whatsoever."

Third. The charter prohibits (1) sale or mortgage of lands or interests in lands; (2) mortgage of timber; (3) any action regarding timber or grazing property contrary to rules and regulations of the Secretary of the Interior pertaining thereto; (4) leases, permits, timber contracts for a period of more than 10 years' time; and (5) distribution of corporate property to members except out of net income.

Fourth. The charter makes it mandatory upon the Secretary of Interior to approve of: (1) all leases, permits, or contracts covering any land or interest in land; (2) all indebtedness over a stated amount; (3) all contracts involving expenditure of money over a stated amount; (4) all contracts involving development of waterpower; and (5) all pledges or assignments of chattels or future tribal income.

#### CONSTITUTIONS

In the constitution which is in evidence (exhibit 57) I point out the following:

1. The preamble opens without any recognition of divinity or prayer for divine guidance.

2. Membership in the tribe is restricted to children born upon the reservation and council is authorized to promulgate further ordinances regarding membership in the tribe.

3. Council is authorized to change districts or representations from districts based upon "community organization or otherwise."

4. No provision is made to hold elections by secret ballot, or for absentee voters, and persons absent more than a year are disfranchised.

5. Council is given full authority to engage in business, manage all economic affairs and enterprises, to regulate and control inheritance, domestic relations, guardianship, to assess licenses, to promulgate ordinances governing everything on the reservation, to promulgate law and order regulations, and to establish courts.

6. Council is authorized to take title to real property of every description and to issue an "assignment" to the same property or other property to the former owner.

7. Council is authorized to assign land to individuals, subject to removal at its pleasure.

8. Inheritance of the "assignment" is limited to those holding less than a stated amount of real property.

9. Forbids individual allotment of any and all lands in the future.

10. In all leases, preference is to be given to "cooperative enterprise."

11. Provides that the Secretary of Interior must call all elections to ratify or amend the constitution.

This is just a brief review of just one constitution. This one has a Bill of Rights, but that is not true of all of them. Some that have been offered to



tribes provide for enforced labor. Examination of any of them will disclose that the act, constitution, and charter, together are destructive of private ownership of property, inheritance, individual enterprise, of all members, and the political rights of nonresident members of the tribe. It must always be kept in mind that in those places where tribes still retain tribal identity, their lands, resources, and funds are an estate inheritable by all enrolled members of their heirs. Thus, to deprive Indians of any of the above-mentioned rights, is destructive of inheritance rights in a much broader sense than is ordinarily meant by the word inheritance. Destruction of private ownership of property inheritance and political rights is communism as defined in House Report No. 2290.

Under authority of the Wheeler-Howard Act the constitutions and charters, many things are being done to further deprive the Indians of their rights. In all property bought for the use of the Indians under this act, title is vested in the United States Government, in trust for the Indians designated. In California, Oklahoma, and other States Indians who have long been free of all Indian Bureau control or supervision have been settled on newly acquired land where they can never hope to hold fee simple title to any property individually and where they are being encouraged to "farm and graze and cut timber on a common basis." They are in fact, only tenants on this land, subject to removal at the pleasure of the Secretary of Interior. Where loans are made to Indians under this act, the Secretary of Interior takes a lien against the property. Thus the act can be employed to divest Indians of their title to property and vest it in the United States Government. In reply to this argument against the act the Commissioner always states that there is a law which prohibits the United States from foreclosing on such liens. His statement is of no force or effect in face of orders issued to the Superintendents of reservations under date of July 29, 1937.

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 61," circular No. 3218 of the Office of Indian Affairs, addressed "To all Superintendents" and signed by William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner, "Approved: Aug. 23, 1937 by Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary." This circular is headed "Proceedings Against Property of Indians in Default on Obligation to Other Government Agencies," and states, in part:

"Agencies of the Federal Government, in addition to the Indian Service, have granted loans and other assistance to Indians. \* \* \* When the Indians have encumbered unrestricted or nontrust property and where the Indian Service has approved the encumbering of restricted or trust property, no reason appears why proceedings should not be taken against such property under the conditions to which the Indians have agreed. \* \* \*

"*Unrestricted or nontrust property.*—Superintendents are hereby authorized to give their authority and cooperation for Federal agencies to seize or repossess nontrust or unrestricted property owned by or in the possession of Indians when such agencies have a right to proceed against such property (even though it may be on an Indian reservation or Indian allotted land) so that the proceedings can conform, as nearly as possible, to those in use in similar cases involving non-Indians or non-Indian property. \* \* \*

"*Restricted or trust property.*—\* \* \* superintendents are hereby authorized to give their authority and cooperation for Federal agencies to seize or repossess trust or restricted property owned by or in the possession of Indians (even though it may be on Indian reservation or Indian allotted land) when such agencies have a right to proceed against such property, if the Indian Service has consented to or approved of the encumbering of such property."

These regulations apply to cases where other Federal agencies, such as the R. F. C., have loaned money or given assistance to Indians and taken a lien against the property. If the superintendents are ordered to help other agencies seize the property of Indians on liens, as they are by this circular, then without any doubt, the Department would proceed in the same manner in the cases of default on loans wherein the Secretary had taken a lien. Also, if they cannot seize or repossess the property, then what is the sense of taking a lien in the first place?

In most cases, excepting educational loans, the loans are not made directly to Indian individuals but are made to "Cooperative associations," credit associations which have been established for the purpose or to the council of chartered tribes. Then these organizations loan the money out to individuals under the rules and regulations promulgated by the Department of Interior.

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 62" and "Exhibit 63," respectively, copies of "Regulations for loans by Indian Credit Associations," and "Circular,



Regulations for Loans," issued by the Department of the Interior. In the first above-mentioned, it states:

"Security: All possible security shall be given up to an adequate amount. It may consist of the assignment of income, mortgages on property owned wholly or in part by the borrower, or other suitable collateral."

These credit associations and chartered tribes and cooperative associations are agencies of the Federal Government and the orders issued to the Superintendents, in evidence as exhibit 61, would be directly applicable to them. In any case where such organizations took proceedings against the property, the land would revert to the organization or Federal agency. No one doubts that when the R. F. C. forecloses a mortgage, the land becomes the property of the Government. The same would be true in the case of these "Federal agencies." One case was reported to me at Rosebud, S. Dak., of a man who received a loan to build a new home on his allotment, title to which was vested in him. Failure on his part to meet a payment resulted in his removal by orders of the Wheeler-Howard Tribal Council, supported by the Superintendent.

The council then "assigned" the property to one of the Indians known to be favorable to the Bureau program. It is exactly in this manner that land can be taken from Indians who have retained their land and given to Indians who have squandered their heritage of land, and enjoyed the pleasures or benefits thereof. All of the contracts by which funds are loaned to Indians for rehabilitation purposes contain a clause that the premises must be kept in repair to the satisfaction of the Commissioner and failure to do so gives him the right to enter the premises and repossess them. I do not have copies of those contracts at present. I have seen two of them, one from California and one from North Carolina. The committee can request copies of all contract forms of this nature from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Indians in North Dakota told me that in cases where livestock or poultry were purchased with such funds, that they could neither sell or give away as much as a single egg or glass of milk without first securing permission to do so. The Bureau calls this "planned economy." In many cases the money is not paid to the Indians when the loan is made, as it would be if they borrowed money at a bank. That is handled by the agency officials, either through purchase orders or through direct purchase by an official at such places as best suit the official. Thus there are Indians today who have liens against their property for horses that barely lived to reach them. Much of the poverty among the Indians has been caused by just such actions in the past when their money on deposit at the agency offices was spent for them by officials. Now it is worse, for they are loaning him the money and taking a lien against his property as security.

Under authority of the right to delegate powers to others, the Wheeler-Howard Councils set up "Community organizations" in the districts on the reservations. Those who join these organizations pool their resources, borrow money and engage in "community enterprise." It is not necessary for all members of a tribe to belong to these organizations, but the officers of these organizations are the officials of the district in which they may be located and they rule the entire district including the affairs of those who do not belong to the "cooperative community." Typical of this is the case of Rose and Felix Ree, of St. Francis, S. Dak., on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation. Mr. and Mrs. Ree are not members of the Two Strike Community organization of the district in which they lived. They are members of the Black Hills Treaty Council group, heretofore mentioned, and are opposed to the Bureau program.

I enter of record, marked "Exhibit 63" and "Exhibit 64," affidavits of Rose Foolish Elk Ree and Felix Ree, respectively.

These affidavits are most revealing as to the methods pursued to promote "community enterprise" and oppress those who do not belong to the "community." In this instance, an Indian named John Foolish Elk died possessed of property both real and personal, leaving two daughters, Rose Ree and Sally Swimmer.

Pending determination of the heirs by the Probate Division of the Indian Bureau, it was agreed by written documents that Rose Ree who had been living with her father should continue to occupy the property and care for it until such time as final determination was made by the Probate Division. Without the knowledge of Rose Ree or her husband Felix Ree, the Superintendent leased the property to the Two Strike Community organization for "community enterprise." The council, supported by the superintendent, ordered Mr. and Mrs. Ree to remove from the property and the superintendent promised

to purchase a tent and supply them with wood and water if they would move. They did not move. The Indian Bureau police came to the house one day with a truck. Mrs. Ree was ill in bed and pleaded to be allowed to remain there. The police went to see the Wheeler-Howard judge who refused to give such an order. So the police came back, loaded their possessions into a truck, along with the tent, drove the Rees 22 miles away from there, almost to the Nebraska State line, and literally dumped them out and left them there in the late evening with neither wood nor water and Mrs. Rees ill. Water is 2 miles distant from the place and they have no means of transportation.

They never made or approved of any such lease and they have never received a cent of rental from the lease. They took the matter up with Superintendent Whitlock and he told them that he had full authority to lease the land. There are 80 acres of hay around the house on this Foolish Elk estate and when I was there in early August, the members of the community organization were cutting the hay as part of their community project and were storing their Government-owned machinery in the house while the rightful heir of the property, the daughter of John Foolish Elk, with her husband and two boys, were living 22 miles away in a thin canvas tent. It is with difficulty that I restrain my remarks to a bare statement of fact when I recall that poor, bewildered woman endeavoring to keep back the tears while she haltingly made her statement in the hope that some way I might find justice for her.

In the matter of leasing land for grazing purposes, the Indians are being deprived of their right to control individual allotments and individual enterprise is being discouraged through the actions of local Bureau officials and the preference shown to livestock cooperatives.

On May 16, 1938, Mr. Frank Shorthorn, of Kyle, S. Dak., brought this to the attention of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. (See No. 8 on the list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5.) From the transcript of his testimony, I quote verbatim:

"Under the Wheeler-Howard Act, the Secretary of the Interior has all power over grazing on Indian reservations. There is a lot of trouble on our reservation about the unit-leasing system and the powers of attorney which must be signed. The agency at Pine Ridge rents out tribal lands to white stockmen for grazing purposes. They rent out units which are maybe 20 sections of land or more. Now, in those units of 20 sections or more, not all of the land will be tribal land. Some of it will be owned by individual allottees. So the superintendent makes the Indians sign powers of attorney giving him the right to lease their land out with the tribal land in the unit.

"If the Indian allottee does not sign the power of attorney, they just rent it out anyway and he cannot do anything about it. If he tries to use the land himself, the white stockmen's cattle are trespassing on his grass all the time anyway, so it is useless to try to do anything. All of the money is paid into the agency, both the tribal money and the individual money for these leases.

"We do not know what becomes of any of the money. We would like the committee to ask Superintendent Roberts what happens to this money which is collected because he will not tell us. He rents the land for 7 to 11 cents an acre. Then the tribal council under the Wheeler-Howard constitution charges a fee of 25 cents on all leases and that is paid into the agency, too."

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 66", an affidavit signed by Frank Kills Enemy, of Kyle, S. Dak., which substantiates the above-quoted testimony. Mr. Kills Enemy states that he refused to sign the power of attorney, that his land was nevertheless used by one F. D. Cooms; that later he went in and signed the papers but that the man has refused to pay him the rental for the property.

Quoting further from the testimony of Mr. Shorthorn:

"Now, under the Wheeler-Howard Act, the superintendent and Charlie Brooks have organized cooperative livestock associations on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Very few Indians belong to these associations. \* \* \* The members are given 5 or 10 head of cattle which they are to pay for with the issue. Only the Livestock Association members get these cattle. The livestock unit then secures a unit of land for grazing purposes. They have a form which individual allottees are requested to sign, and the form speaks for itself. It means that the Livestock Association is to have the use of individual allotted lands indefinitely without paying any grazing fee to the owners. I will read this form to you and the letter from Mr. Fills Pipe about the matter. They are as follows:



"B"

## LANDOWNERS PETITION

"Supt. W. O. ROBERTS,

*"Pine Ridge Agency, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.*

"We the undersigned respectfully request that the land which we are interested in and which is described below be set aside indefinitely for the [in writing] *R. S. T. D. A. Livestock Unit*.

"The land is located in the general vicinity of [in writing] *the North Table commonly known as the Two Bulls Table*.

"We are willing to allow the organization to use our land indefinitely without making payment of grazing fees. However, when the organization is in a financial position to make payment of grazing fees we request that you use the powers of your office in securing a reasonable grazing fee for the use of the land. When approved the reservation of land for the [in writing] *R. S. T. D. A. Livestock Unit* becomes binding, not only on ourselves but upon our heirs as well. In the event that we desire our land freed in the future it will be necessary to secure signatures favoring such action by those owning two-thirds of the land, and then it will become operative only after passage of a 2-year period. This period being required to give the association time to make necessary adjustments.

	AlLOT. No.	Name	Share
*	*	*	*

*	*	*	*	*	*	*
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[Translation]

"B-1"

"BUFFALO GAP, S. DAK., April 29-38.

"MR. FRANK SHORTHORN,

*"Washington, D. C.*

"I am writing you this letter in a great rush. On the 28th day of this month, Peter Cummings had 40 head of cattle turned out on the Indians' land for 2 years without paying lease money to Indians, and without consent from the Indians. Therefore I am writing you direct to Washington to take the matter up right away. We have no protection and you know all these kind of cases. For 2 years they have turned these cattle out on the Indians' land and the Indians are miserably poor and they don't get anything for it. The Wheeler-Howard men are campaigning to beat the dickens on the charter but nobody pays much attention to them. Tom Killer is one of them. We are not in favor of the charter. Take the matter up direct because we are opposed to all of it. All glad to shake hands with you.

"(Signed) WM. FILLS PIPE,  
*Buffalo Gap, S. D.*

"You don't know anything about what is going on out here and how the Wheeler-Howard men are campaigning."

(Written in Sioux.) (Translated by Frank Shorthorn.)

Mr. Shorthorn has been very active in opposing the program of the Bureau and the Wheeler-Howard Act and is a member of the Black Hills Treaty Council group, heretofore mentioned. As an example of destruction of individual initiative and enterprise, his case may be cited. Mr. Shorthorn, who holds an honorable service record in the United States Navy, has a wife and seven children. He owns two pieces of property and his wife owns one. They were living on his ranch which is equipped with a house, barn, and other buildings and he was raising stock. The school bus from the agency office could not come anywhere near his place to pick up his children because the roads were in such terrible condition. So the superintendent ordered them to come and camp near the Kyle day school and said that if he kept his children out of school that he would be arrested and fined \$20. The agency officials agreed to furnish flooring for the tent. He and his wife, who has heart trouble and is very frail, and their seven children now live in a thin canvas tent near the Kyle day school which I personally visited this summer. There is no floor and they sleep on the ground summer and winter. There are 20 or more families living in the same condition around this school and for the same reason. For the evidence needed here, I again quote from the transcript of Mr. Shorthorn's testimony of May 1938, before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs:



"\* \* \* the Indian office sent out men to put out poison for the prairie dogs which they claimed were hurting the grazing land. All the dead prairie dogs laid all over and everything which ate them, like birds or dogs, died, and a lot of the stock ate the poison too. All the Indians in the district lost a lot of stock. Personally I lost three work horses that year all weighing about 1,600 pounds apiece. The loss of these horses was reported to the agency at Pine Ridge in 1935, but no action has ever been taken on it.

"Last year, 1937, they began spreading poison again and many more horses were lost. Personally, I lost another general work horse weighing about 1,450 pounds. I had about 25 head of horses and 13 or more cows and other stock. I was so discouraged about everything that I just sold all my stock except four horses, a cow, calf, and bull. Many of the Wheeler-Howard Indians do not have any stock and some of them came to me and told me that they did not have any team or harness or anything to work with so I loaned one man my team, another man a couple of saddle horses and the cow and calf to a third man. I cannot live on my ranch, which is too far from the bus line for my children to go to school. I cannot keep my livestock where I am camping near the Kyle day school, and we cannot live on my wife's property because it is under the unit-lease system, and the Indian office has poisoned so much of my stock that it is useless to try to make a living for my family in the only business that I know, livestock raising."

On the Cheyenne Agency Reservation in South Dakota, Paul Chasing Hawk, a local officer of the Black Hills Treaty Council organization, related to me this past summer, and gave me correspondence which substantiated his statements, that he owned a herd of sheep which he had purchased with his own money and upon which the Indian office had no lien or shadow of a claim; that he was refused Federal grant assistance on the grounds that he had these sheep and could dispose of some of them; that he sold some of them and the local Bureau officials made a lot of trouble with the people who bought them and told him that if he ever sold another sheep without their permission he and his wife would have to go to the penitentiary. At the time I was there in July, he and his wife and eight children were in dire need of food. His sheep had fallen ill and needed attention from a veterinary. Many animals were dying in that region from the dread "sleeping sickness." Some of his sheep were already dead and he did not know what was wrong with them. The local Bureau official in charge of that district is a farmer or farm agent whose salary is appropriated by Congress on the grounds that it is necessary to have such farmers to assist the Indians to become farmers. Mr. Chasing Hawk had appealed to the farmer to come and help him with his sheep, or to give him some medicine which he had no money to buy, or to allow him to sell a sheep or two so that he could provide food for his family and the medicine or attention needed to save the rest of his sheep from dying. He had been refused on all requests.

In the program of "soils conservation," which is authorized under the Wheeler-Howard Act, certain areas of land have been set aside to be reserved from leasing. In Navajo country where land is not allotted individually, these areas are fenced in and the Navajo cannot graze their stock upon them. In the Sioux country where the land is partly tribal and partly allotted, those Indians who hold individual allotments within the area reserved from grazing cannot lease out their individual allotments. I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 67," an affidavit signed by Belle Oldhorse, of Potato Creek, S. Dak., which states, in part:

"Belle Oldhorse, being duly sworn, says: I am 72 years of age, a member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe of Indians, and reside on Potato Creek about 15 miles northeast of Kyle, S. Dak., on the Pine Ridge Reservation on my allotment, stake No. 7799, \* \* \* containing 320 acres, more or less \* \* \* that I have been needing money and so have been trying to lease my allotment; that the agency office at Kyle has refused me permission to lease my allotment; that they told me I could not lease it because it is in the blue-lease section, which means that it is in a section marked blue on the map from Washington, and all the blue sections have been reserved from leasing by the Indian Bureau officials in Washington according to John Collier's plan."

Timber operations are also under the direct and mandatory control of the Secretary of the Interior under the Wheeler-Howard Act. It is now necessary for the Indians to secure permission to cut timber on their individually held land, and in some places special timber officers have been appointed.

From the above affidavit, exhibit 67, the second paragraph states:

"Deponent further sayeth that this allotment is heavily timbered and I have been trying to get a permit to sell some wood; that I have asked about this matter twice at the Kyle office: that William Firethunder, assistant farmer, has refused to give me a permit to sell any of the timber: that he told me the last time I was there that there were no blanks in the office, but on the same day other people got permits to sell timber, so there must have been some blanks in the office."

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 68," an affidavit of Lena Brown Bull, who lives near Kyle, S. Dak. After reciting that the 3.0 acres of land was inherited from her husband and is almost completely covered with timber, the affidavit states, in part:

"Deponent further sayeth: I have been trying to secure from the farm agent, Mr. Murdock, a permit to sell some green timber, or green pine tree logs from my land; that the permit has been refused by Mr. George Heddon, who is the special timber agent for Pine Ridge Indian Reservation; that I want to trade this timber for a team, some chickens, some lumber, and some cash in order to help my son finish building his home and get started to farming so that he can support his family; that it would be a fair trade and would enable my son to become self-supporting."

Some startling testimony about timber administration was given to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs during the hearings held in July 1937 relative to the dismissal by the Commissioner of Wade Crawford as superintendent of the Klamath Agency. (See No. 6 on list of Unprinted Hearings, "Exhibit 5.") The Klamath Indians of Oregon have a vast estate of timber, and from income derived through timber operations on their reservation they pay all expenses of maintaining and administering the Indian Bureau agency, schools, and hospital on their reservation. The Government does not pay a single cent of those expenses for the services, materials, or personnel, or anything else. This hearing was reviewed briefly in the August 14, 1937, issue of *The First American*, official publication of the American Indian Federation, which I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 69," and for the record the article on page 3 entitled "Wade Crawford Hearings." On page 1 of this pamphlet I call the attention of the committee to the statement:

"(NOTE.—Items reported in this issue are brief statements of fact. All comments, opinions, rumors, etc., are plainly marked as such. A. L. Jemison.)"

From the article on page 3, the following is quoted:

"Mr. Crawford was the first Indian appointed as superintendent of an agency following the appointment of Commissioner Collier. He was dismissed "with prejudice" early in May 1937, on charges that he could not manage the personnel at the agency. \* \* \* Testimony of Mr. Crawford proved \* \* \* that Indians, lumber company officials, and local citizens had complained about Communist agitation being carried on by two employees; that Mr. Crawford had requested advice in this matter from the Commissioner; that the two employees then wrote the Commissioner requesting transfer and implied that it was impossible to remain at Klamath because the forestry service was no longer properly conducted; that thereupon Mr. Collier dismissed Mr. Crawford. \* \* \* Mr. Crawford charged the Commissioner with maladministration of Klamath affairs which resulted in heavy financial losses to the Indians. He testified \* \* \* that the Department had waived delinquent timber payments of \$1,449,042.03; had arbitrarily reduced prices on some contracts; had ordered and directed the Superintendent to sign waivers for the minor orphan children and had otherwise shown favors to the lumber companies which had resulted in additional loss to the Indians. All of this was done over the written protests of Mr. Crawford, both as superintendent of the agency and as a Klamath Indian directly concerned.

Commissioner Collier and Robert Marshall, formerly Chief Forester of the Indian Bureau but now transferred to the Forestry Division, Department of Agriculture, testified for the Bureau, denied all charges, and "explained" all losses. Statements of event different widely from those told by Mr. and Mrs. Crawford. \* \* \* Voluminous files of correspondence and other documents were submitted for the record, among them being a letter from Mr. Crawford, dated April 3, requesting advice from the Washington office about what action he, as Superintendent, could take where Communists were agitating on an Indian reservation picketing roads and interfering with Indian labor on mills and in lumber operations on said reservation. Under date of April 30 the Commissioner replied that it was not against the law for a citizen of the United States to belong to the Communist Party; that there was no law to prevent picketing;



that "the right to strike is recognized by law and those who may not want to strike have no recourse against strikers"; and that the Superintendent of an Indian reservation was without authority to interfere as long as there was no destruction of property.

"Our comment: Robert Marshall as late as 1936 was the Washington chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union which Commissioner Collier considers a 'most useful and effective organization' and whose executive director, Roger N. Baldwin, says: 'Communism is the goal.' Indian wards who agitate against the un-American Bureau program can be arrested for treason, but, according to the Commissioner, the Government is helpless to protect its wards from the Communists who agitate against the Government and who advocate its overthrow by force and violence. Apparently it makes a difference who is doing the agitating. This is a sterling example of the 'free speech and civil liberties' endorsed by Commissioner Collier and his other American Civil Liberties Union cohorts—"free speech" for the Communists and 'red' radicals—jail for the Indians who agitate against the Communists!"

It is fully admitted by the Department, through the Indian Bureau, that full responsibility for timber operations and timber administration rests solely upon the Department.

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 70," copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Clyde Blair, Superintendent, Cherokee Agency, dated August 13, 1938, and signed by John Herrick, Acting Commissioner. This letter states, in part:

"MY DEAR MR. BLAIR: This refers to your letter of November 1, 1937, transmitting the resolutions passed by the council of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians on October 28, 1937, requiring the Indian Office in all forestry matters to submit its plans to the council; and appointing a committee to investigate violations of council regulations.

"We regret the delay in sending you this answer. It was necessary, however, to examine into the authority of the council to require such a submission of plans by the Indian Service. \* \* \* The tribe and the council, in their relations with the Indian Service, and with respect to official actions of the Indian Office in the course of supervising the lands of the Eastern Cherokees, can act in an advisory capacity only. The lands of the reservation are held by the United States in trust, and final authority for their supervision and for proper management of the tribe's natural resources rests with the Secretary of the Interior."

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 71" copy of resolution relative to this letter which was adopted by the council of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians on October 11, 1938, which sets forth the facts that these Indians are not a tribe of Indians but are a band of American Indian citizens incorporated under the laws of the State of North Carolina; that their lands are not and never have been a reservation but are lands purchased for the band with their own funds; that these said lands were placed in trust with the United States in 1924 for the sole purpose of giving the Secretary of Interior authority to accomplish final allotment of the lands in severalty and for no other purpose; and that the Secretary of the Interior has no authority to do anything further than that. This band of Indians voted to accept the provisions of the Wheeler-Howard Act following a high-pressure campaign in December 1934, and they have been trying to get out of it ever since. Whether or not this acceptance of the Wheeler-Howard Act gave the Secretary of Interior authority over the Eastern Band of Cherokees is a question for judicial determination. For that reason this instance of assuming full responsibility for all forestry or timber matters is used here. If the Secretary is responsible for timber operations in a case where his jurisdiction over the Indians is open to question, there can be no doubt that he is equally or more responsible for all these other instances on other reservations which have been recited herein.

"Cooperative enterprise" is one of the favorite themes of the present officials of the Indian Bureau. The magazine *Indians at Work* frequently carries editorials by the Commissioner and other articles expounding the doctrines of "co-operatives" and their desirability. Tribes having travel funds are encouraged to invest their money in cooperatives. Loans are made to tribes and other organizations for cooperative enterprise.

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 72," copy of a contract or agreement between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Rosebud Tribal Council, organized under the Wheeler-Howard Act, which sets forth that the Commissioner is conveying \$24,951.09 of "rehabilitation" funds to the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, in trust, to be used to rehabilitate 12 Indian families in the Grass Moun-



tain area. I point out to the committee therein that the Council, and in event of their failure to do so, the Commissioner, has the right to remove families from the "land and premises" if they fail to "make proper use of the land." I also enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 73," copy of a written statement signed by Noah Little, of St. Francis, S. Dak., relative to the Grass Mountain project, which was filed with the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs at the hearing held on January 19, 1938. (See No. 7 on list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5.)

Mr. Little states that everything at the project—stock, farming implements, houses, barns, and other buildings—is owned by the Government; that the understanding of the Indians was that farming would be done on a "cooperative basis" and the produce divided upon such a basis, or upon a basis of labor performed; that after the harvest the Government took all the produce and gave back to each family just what it needed for its own subsistence; that under such a plan the occupants of the Grass Mountain project will never be able to pay anything on their loans so it will always continue to be a Government-owned and operated project; and that anyone leaving the project can take only his clothing and furniture, and nothing else.

To aid the committee in understanding the full import of these Government cooperatives, I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 74," a copy of a statement prepared by Mr. Fred B. Bauer and myself for the Cherokee Investigations of 1937. (See No. 2 on list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5.) This statement deals with the cooperatives proposed at Cherokee, N. C., and a general discussion on the significance of all such cooperatives. As in the case of inheritance matters, the fact must not be lost sight of that these cooperatives have to do with the property and resources of a people held as "incompetent wards" of the Federal Government; that under no circumstances can tribal cooperatives be considered as voluntary cooperatives because, in cases where tribal money is used, the money belongs to all members of the tribe but is used regardless of whether all members are in favor of it or not.

Likewise, in cases where funds are loaned to tribes, security is taken upon the resources or property of the entire tribe irrespective of those who may be opposed to thus encumbering their tribal property with such debts. Any failure of a cooperative is a loss to be shared equally by those who favored it and those who opposed it. Such a cooperative is an enforced cooperative from which there is no escape for those who oppose it.

On some reservations taxes are now being levied upon the members of the tribes by the Wheeler-Howard Councils. Complaints of this were brought to my attention on some of the reservations I visited this summer. A tax system has been proposed by the Rosebud Tribal Council and may be by this time in operation.

I enter in evidence the magazine Indians at Work for July 1938, and for the record, marked "Exhibit 75," the article on page 15 therein which is entitled "Rosebud Sioux Council Drafts Tax Measure as Proposed Source of Operating Revenue." Among the things to be taxed are livestock owned by Indians. Taxation brings up the subject of delinquent taxes.

Knowing the ruthless methods of depriving Indians of their property rights which have already been pursued by this Rosebud Tribal Council as evidenced by the *Ree case* mentioned herein, it is not far fetched to say that under this proposed tax Indians could and would be deprived of their individually owned stock through delinquent-tax proceedings. Taxes are being assessed on the Pine Ridge Reservation. All the families who were ordered by the Bureau officials to come and camp on tribal land around the Kyle day school have now been notified by the Wheeler-Howard Council that they must pay rental of \$2.50 each or they will be arrested or fined. Before any organization or group of individuals can hold dances in some buildings which were put up a good many years ago by the Indians themselves, it is necessary that they secure a license costing \$2.50. When the Black Hills Treaty Council group held a rodeo at Kyle this year on the tribal land they were requested to pay and did pay to the Wheeler-Howard Council the sum of \$30 rental for 6 days.

I offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 76" and "Exhibit 77," photostat copy of the order of the Wheeler-Howard Council and photostat copy of two receipts issued to Ben Chief, treasurer, and signed by Charles Under the Baggage, respectively. The property upon which this Rodeo was held, and upon which these people are camping and upon which these buildings are located is tribal property in which all the Sioux of Pine Ridge have an equal heritage until such time as their tribal estate is divided among the heirs. To carry out the

idea of "Community living" advocated by the Bureau, then surely all the Indians who hold an inheritance share in this property should be given free use and enjoyment of it. They always did enjoy that right until the Wheeler-Howard Act was put into operation.

From the same magazine, *Indians at Work*, July issue, I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 78," the article on page 13, entitled "First Voluntary Assignment of Allotted Land to Tribe Made at Quinaielt, Washington," by Walter V. Woehlke, Assistant to the Commissioner." Mr. Woehlke is a former newspaperman who was closely associated with Commissioner Collier in the American Indian Defense Association for several years. The first sentence in the above-mentioned article states that:

"Ferrill Johnson, Quinaielt Allottee No. 903, has conveyed to the United States in trust for the Quinaielt Tribe, title to his allotment."

Thus the title to this property passed out of individual ownership to Government ownership. Although it is stated that this is the first instance of this kind, the closing paragraph states that others on that reservation will probably "likewise convey their allotment to the tribe." Once started, this procedure will be rapidly followed out on other reservations. This case is cited here as proof of the Federation contentions that the act can and will be operated to deprive Indians of fee title to property and that if it is carried out to full completion, no Indian on the reservations in the United States will own a foot of property and the Government will own it all.

On pages 3 and 4 of this same issue of *Indians at Work*, above mentioned, Commissioner Collier, in his editorial, says of the Indian program:

"\* \* \* economic betterment must be paramount \* \* \* must be sought through a planned use of resources, in which all technological helps will be called upon *but* whose execution shall be on a tribal, or an 'area project' or regional basis, *through* the Indians as organized bodies \* \* \*."

"At least we are not sequestered, in this Indian work, but are (if we will pay attention) connected through it with great, permanent world trends, world questions, world needs." (Italics his, not ours.)

The means of forcing all Indians into this program and of punishing those who oppose it have been supplied, too, under the Wheeler-Howard Act. The original bill (see exhibit 43) contained a provision for setting up Indian courts. It was stricken out in committee. The following year, 1935, a tentative draft of a bill to provide a law and order code for Indian reservation was submitted to some Congressmen and aroused such opposition that it was never introduced as a bill. (See pp. 118-125, Murdock hearings, exhibit 26.)

By authority of the constitutions, however, the Wheeler-Howard councils have established so-called Indian courts. The Indians were, of course, supposed to draw up law-and-order regulations or ordinances as part of their "self-government." Instead they were supplied with a Bureau-prepared law-and-order code and in most instances they adopted this as their own.

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 79," a copy of the "Law and Order Code, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Pine Ridge Agency." This code has six chapters, entitled "The Oglala Sioux Court"; "Civil Action"; "Domestic Relation"; "Probate"; "Sentences", and "Penal Code." No provision is made for trial by jury and all professional attorneys are barred from practicing in these courts. The Penal Code lists 47 offenses and provides the penalties therefor. Cutting green timber without a permit is punishable with imprisonment for 30 days or a \$60 fine, or both. Thus the timber regulations of the Secretary of Interior are enforced. Failure to send children to school is punishable by sentence of 10 days, or fine of \$20, or both. Under this authority 20 Sioux families were ordered to camp at Kyle, and endanger the health of their children in order to keep them in school and avoid the fines. Unauthorized leasing of land is punishable by 30 days' imprisonment or \$60 fine, or both. Thus the "grazing regulations" of the Secretary of Interior are enforced. The Junior Courts are maintained out of fines collected.

These courts are the means of punishing Indians who oppose the program. Under their decisions, Indians are punished for exercising their rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly. The transcript of testimony in the Sioux hearings on the repeal of the Wheeler-Howard Act, held before the Senate Indian Committee in January of this year (see No. 7 on the list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5), contains the testimony of Chief Benjamin American Horse, chairman of the Black Hills Treaty Council of the Eight Sioux Nations. Mr. American Horse is a retired Government employee who has never been arrested nor in trouble of any kind prior to the present regime in the Indian Bureau. He has



been most active in opposing the present program. The night before he was to leave for Washington last January he was notified that he was under arrest on charges of fraud and misrepresentation and told to appear before the junior judge, Peter Bull Bear, the following morning. He did so and was informed that the misrepresentation consisted of holding meetings and talking against the Wheeler-Howard Act and the fraud charge was accepting donations from Indians to help defray his expenses to Washington. The junior judge before whom he was tried was one of the complaining witnesses against him. He told the judge that he had no lawful right to try the case, and the judge replied that he was the law, found him guilty, and fined him \$50 and court costs. Mr. American Horse paid the court costs of \$4.30, paid \$2.50 to appeal the case to superior court, drove over 50 miles to the agency office at Pine Ridge, and had a bond executed to cover his fine, returned to file it with the junior judge, and left for Washington that night.

An Indian drew a funny cartoon about the Wheeler-Howard courts. He was arrested, threatened and abused, sentenced to serve 30 days in jail, and did serve the time.

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 80," photostat copy of this cartoon.

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 81," a copy of an affidavit signed by Mr. Frank Shorthorn, of Kyle, S. Dak., which was entered into the record of the Sioux hearings before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in May 1938. (See No. 8 on the list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5.) This affidavit relates the manner in which a case against him was framed and for which he was tried and fined \$360 and court costs for a purported theft of \$10,000, and for which he began serving sentence in jail. Like Mr. American Horse, Mr. Shorthorn is a member of the Black Hills Treaty Council and active against the present program. The case of Mr. American Horse was dismissed after he wired to Congressman Usher L. Burdick, of North Dakota, who interested himself in the matter. My last word from Pine Ridge was to the effect that they again had Mr. Shorthorn in jail but I do not know what the charges are this time. The fact that the cases against these men were dismissed after outsiders learned of the facts has no bearing upon the intention of the court to harass and embarrass them and to collect money from them which they could ill afford to pay. Rather, it is proof of the injustice of the courts in these attempts. In both these cases the men paid court costs, appeal costs, and other expenses incidental to getting to and from court, jail, and agency offices. Both Chief American Horse and Mr. Shorthorn are members of the federation.

Last February I received a telegram from Mr. Mark M. Mahto, of Van Hook, N. Dak., president of district No. 3 of the federation, stating that he was in jail and requesting an investigation. I immediately contacted Hon. Lynn J. Frazier and Hon. Usher L. Burdick, Senator and Congressman, respectively, from North Dakota. Through their inquiries the superintendent at the agency supplied the information that Mr. Mahto had been jailed for 10 days for refusing to send his children to school. I wrote Mr. Mahto asking him to send me more information and under date of March 7, 1938, received his reply. I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 82," the letter received from Mr. Mahto in which he states that over a year previous the Indian Bureau police refused him help and protection on the grounds that he was a citizen and living on deed property. That in this case his children were absent from school a couple of days; that the policeman came to the house but did not issue any order to send them to school; that he was not arrested; just taken before the judge; that there was no signed complaint against him; that the policeman perjured himself by stating that he (Mahto) resisted arrest. Incidentally, this arrest occurred at the time a federation meeting had been called at Cannon Ball, N. Dak., which is in district No. 3. Being in jail, Mr. Mahto could not attend the meeting.

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 83," affidavit of Charles Red Breath Bear, of Manderson, S. Dak., wherein he recites that he was arrested, found not guilty, and paid the Indian Bureau policeman \$5 for court costs and received a receipt for it. Then about a month later the Wheeler-Howard policeman arrested him, took him before the judge, who said he had not paid the court costs of \$4.30 for the former trial, and demanded that he pay it. He refused, stating he had already paid \$5 court costs, and besides that had been found not guilty. The judge then declared him guilty, without any new trial or evidence, sentenced him to serve 15 days in jail, and to pay court costs of \$9.50. He served the 15 days. About 4 months later he was again arrested, taken before the judge, who told him that the court costs for the first trial had not



yet been paid and that now it amounted to \$14. He refused to pay. The judge gave him 15 days' time in which to pay. All of this is in the affidavit. My last information from Manderson is that Mr. Red Breath Bear refused to pay the tripled court costs and served 15 days in jail at Pine Ridge during the month of August.

In another case of this kind where the defendant was found not guilty and then the court costs were tripled over a period of time, the judge ordered the Wheeler-Howard policeman to collect the P. W. A. wage check of the defendant's husband and take \$5 out of it each time until the total sum of \$13.30 had been paid. I enter for the record marked "Exhibit 84" the affidavit of Raymond Cutgrass, of Manderson, S. Dak., which sets forth the facts in this matter.

It is of no force or effect for the Bureau officials to say that the Indians themselves are doing these things and that they are not accustomed to "self-government" which is the answer so readily given by all of them whenever the Wheeler-Howard Act is criticized. They cannot hide behind the Indians when they uphold these judges in such decisions and the superintendents collect the fines for the judges out of any money on deposit in the agency office to the credit of defendants or out of any money which may be handled through the agency such as Sioux Benefit checks, Federal grant checks, wage checks, old-age pensions and other pensions. Four instances for which proof can be supplied can be cited from the Pine Ridge Reservation: Charles Ghost Bear, Sr., \$12.90, and Leo Black Bear, \$4, taken out of Federal-grant checks; Oliver W. Swallow, \$2.50 out of wages; Lucie Spotted Crow, \$2 out of her father's old-age pension check. These are not isolated cases either at Pine Ridge or elsewhere. Neither can the Bureau officials hide behind the Indians as long as it takes no action to compel these courts to mete out justice impartially to those who favor the act as well as those who oppose it.

I call attention to the affidavits of Belle Oldhorse, who is 72 years of age, "Exhibit 67," wherein she states that Charles Under the Baggage, Wheeler-Howard councilman stole some of her fence but the junior judges listened to him and let him go free; and the affidavit of Lena Brown Bull, a widow, "Exhibit 68," wherein she states that Frank Wilson, chairman of the Wheeler-Howard council confiscated timber belonging to her but that to date no action has been taken by either the agency officials or the Wheeler-Howard courts to compel him to pay for the timber. I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 85", affidavit of Johnson Little Warrior, age 68 years, sergeant at arms for the Black Hills Treaty Council. Mr. Little Warrior states that he was needlessly injured in a burst of temper by a member of the Wheeler-Howard group about 40 or 45 years old when two women got to fighting in a "community garden" about who was going to have the most potatoes and that he has taken this matter up with everyone, the agency officials, the junior court and the superior court but no action has ever been taken by anyone. Mr. Little Warrior has the pitchfork with which he was struck in the back and exhibited it me on the day I took his affidavit. He is giving it for evidence when and if anyone ever does anything about his case.

I call the attention of the committee to section 18 of chapter 6 of the Oglala Sioux Law and Order Code, "Exhibit 79," which states:

"SEC. 18. *Failure to support dependent persons.*—Any Indian who shall, because of habitual intemperance or gambling, or for any other reason, refuse or neglect to furnish food, shelter, or care to those dependent upon him, including any dependent children born out of wedlock, shall be deemed guilty of an offense, and upon conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to labor for a period not to exceed 3 months, for the benefit of such dependents, or to a fine not to exceed \$150, or to both such imprisonment and fine, with costs."

From the transcript of testimony of Mr. Frank Shorthorn given before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs on May 16, 1938 (see No. 8 on list of unprinted hearings, "Exhibit 5"), I quote verbatim:

"William Fire-Thunder, assistant farm agent at Kyle, S. Dak.: About 8 years ago, before Mr. Collier was the Commissioner, Mr. Fire-Thunder was assistant farm agent at Kyle for about 2 years. He was then and still is, a married man. He was running around with a young girl and she had a child by him. He was removed from his position for this reason.

"When Mr. Collier came to the reservation in 1934 he took Mr. Fire-Thunder all around with him to act as interpreter, and later he gave him the job back as assistant farm agent at Kyle. The Indians go to Kyle every day and tell William Fire-Thunder to get out of that office. Under these circumstances such a man can be of no help to the Indians and he should be removed. He claims that

he is safe because he is a civil-service employee. If he is, he was removed from the civil service because of his misconduct, but under the Wheeler-Howard Act the Secretary of Interior is given full authority to overrule the civil-service laws, so Mr. Fire-Thunder is kept in office by John Collier because of the Wheeler-Howard Act."

Mr. Fire-Thunder was still employed at Kyle, S. Dak., when I was there during July and August. There is no doubt that he never has and is not now contributing to the support of the child "born out of wedlock." As long as this condition exists when there is specific provision to cover it in the Law and Order Code, neither Mr. Collier or any other Bureau official can hide behind the Indians by saying that they are just learning "self-government." Mr. Fire-Thunder is a member of the Ogalala Sioux Tribe and subject to the jurisdiction of this court and Mr. Collier has sufficient authority to have justice done in this matter.

Most of these cases are from one reservation. They are typical of all four which I visited. On the others my time was so limited that I did not prepare the affidavits while there. Witnesses can be called from almost any reservation which has a Wheeler-Howard court, however, who will welcome an opportunity to tell someone of the manner in which they are persecuted. As far as the courts themselves are concerned, Congressman Burdick has stated on the floor of the House of Representatives on more than one occasion that the Wheeler-Howard courts are absolutely unconstitutional and without authority of law. Mr. Burdick has lived in the Indian country for many years and is a recognized authority on Indian affairs. He is an able lawyer, having served in both private and public capacities and he is an able legislator having been speaker of the house in the North Dakota State Legislature, Lieutenant Governor of North Dakota, and a Member of the House of Representatives for two terms. Regardless of whether or not they are constitutional, these Wheeler-Howard courts are being used to punish those who oppose the act and program and to deny Indians their rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly.

This concludes my statement on the legislative program of the present Bureau regime. This is the record of the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act from its inception in the American Civil Liberties Union to its administration among the Indians. Speaking at West Palm Beach, Fla., in March 1935, Secretary Ickes said in substance "Of all the acts passed from my Department, I am proudest of the Wheeler-Howard Act."

Before discussing the educational program of the Bureau, I wish to mention several things which are administrative.

#### 1. EMPLOYMENT OF UNNATURALIZED CITIZENS

I call the attention of the committee to pages 715-718 of the Murdock hearings (exhibit 26). These pages record the discussion between Commissioner Collier and members of the committee, from which the following is quoted:

"Mr. Collier. \* \* \* I am glad to tell you about Dr. Shevky. He is Turkish and not Russian. \* \* \* I have maintained contact with Dr. Shevky all these years. \* \* \* Dr. Shevky's idea has always been to go back to Turkey ultimately to carry on his work. \* \* \* He has not surrendered his Turkish loyalty and he says he is going to end his active life in Turkey. He was not willing to do anything about this so we could not employ him. I discussed the matter with Secretary Ickes and we decided that we could not use these funds for the employment of noncitizens. \* \* \* I put the matter up to Dr. Shevky. \* \* \* I persuaded him that he should take out his declaration of intention to become a citizen, which he did and that enabled us to bring him into the Service in the research group working with land problem. Later I hope to see him move into other branches of our Service because he is really one of the most valuable of our men.

"Mr. AYERS. He is not a citizen of the United States?

"Mr. COLLIER. He is not. He has taken out his first papers.

"Mr. AYERS. He has taken out his declaration of intention?

"Mr. COLLIER. Yes.

"Mr. AYERS. And he came here in 1916?

"Mr. COLLIER. Yes; maybe sooner. \* \* \*

"Mr. AYERS. He was forced to take out his first papers in order to get a Government job? \* \* \*

"Mr. COLLIER. He would not be forced to do anything to get a job because he is very much in demand. He could teach in universities and do research work



while a citizen of Turkey. You might as well urge the same thing in connection with Dr. Einstein and many other persons who come here to do such work as they are doing. \* \* \* I mean that Dr. Shevky did not need a Government job. We needed him.

"Mr. AYERS. The way I interpret your deduction, America did not have a man to fill this particular place, and it had to send to Turkey.

"Commissioner COLLIER. I doubt if there is anybody else available here who can do what he is doing and who has such a combination of talents and learning. \* \* \* If there were another like him, we would hire him, even though he were from Baluchistan.

"Mr. AYERS. The same thing exists in connection with him as existed in the case of Dr. Saeus, for whom we sent to Mexico. We sent to Mexico for an Indian educator, and now we are sending to Turkey to get a man to teach the Indian Bureau and the Indians land matters."

Dr. Shevky was hired during the height of the depression when Americans were walking the streets vainly searching for employment.

## 2. THE "NAVAJO WORLD" WITH A "NAVAJO CAPITOL"

I call to the attention of the committee that Commissioner Collier used emergency relief appropriations to build a "Navajo World" with a "Navajo Capitol." I enter in evidence the magazine, *Indians at Work*, August 1, 1934, and for the record, marked "Exhibit 86," the article on page 6, entitled, "The First Tribal Capitol," wherein the Commissioner said:

"The Navajo are but one Indian Tribe \* \* \* their capitol is to be the seat of their government and theirs alone. \* \* \* The capitol \* \* \* is Indian. \* \* \* There will be 50 buildings in the new Navajo tribal center, \* \* \* 'center of the Navajo world.' \* \* \* It should be the first of any such adaptations by the Indians. \* \* \*"

For further information, I refer the committee to page 325 of the Murdock hearings (exhibit 26), the testimony of J. C. Morgan, Navajo Indian missionary; and pages 822-824, the testimony of Joseph Bruner, national president of the American Indian Federation, from which is quoted:

"Mr. BRUNER. The first tribal capitol: Testifying before this committee on Thursday, April 4, 1935, the Commissioner said:

"Mr. Bruner, aside from doubling the cost of the Navajo administrative center \* \* \* has moved it several hundred miles geographically to a point remote from the Navajo Reservation, and to a point where bolshevism and communism are rife."

"\* \* \* I have not moved the Commissioner's Navajo Indian capitol; it is located approximately 35 miles from the city of Gallup, N. Mex. It is exactly where the Commissioner built it, and if that be where 'bolshevism and communism are rife' the explanation of why he did so is his question, not mine. I recall to the committee's attention the communistic rioting in the city of Gallup, N. Mex., in 1935, which was quelled by the declaration of martial law. And only within the past week has a policeman been killed, another seriously wounded in new communistic rioting in the city of Gallup, according to newspaper reports which characterize this city as a 'hot bed of communism.' When the Commissioner answers this question of why he so located the Navajo capitol let him tell also, for the benefit of the taxpaying public why the Navajo or any other Indian tribe or race should have a racial capital, and 'theirs alone.'"

Speaking on the floor of the House of Representatives on May 14, 1935, Hon. Virginia E. Jenckes, of Indiana, said:

"Of all the un-American ideas, this one of a separate racial capital in America, the melting pot of the world, would seem to be the worst, and our taxpayers are paying for this."

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 87," a reprint of the speech made by Mrs. Jenckes, entitled: "Are the First Americans Being Communized?" It cost \$1,060,788.52 to construct the "Navajo capitol" and \$1,522,177.85 to construct the "community centers" surrounding it. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 88," "Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States, Part 34, Navajo Boundary and Pueblos in New Mexico." Hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, and for the record, the tables found on pages 17921 and 17922. In the May 1935 issue of "The Reclamation Era," a Government publication, Public Works Administrator Harold L. Ickes invited the public to go and inspect various P. W. A. projects and among others mentioned "The First Indian Capitol." Mr. Ickes wrote:



"May I suggest now that our people go and inspect to see how their money has been put to work, how useful public works have been added to the capital wealth of the nation. \* \* \* Now the country will be able to take stock of what has been accomplished. I am glad to say to the American citizen—go see for yourself—the 'First Indian Capitol.'"

### 3. "INDIANS AT WORK"

Relative to the magazine *Indians at Work*, I call the attention of the committee to pages 719-720, 728-729, and 890-891 of the Murdock hearings (exhibit 26). At those hearings, Mr. Collier testified that *Indians at Work* was being published every 2 weeks with funds allocated from emergency work relief among the Indians and that it was sent out under the Government franking privilege. Hon. Theodore Werner of South Dakota, said:

"The effort being made by the bureaucrats is quite clear and it is to bring themselves in favor through highly developed propaganda, and by the same method to bring the members of this committee into general disrepute. There is no question in my mind that it is a deliberately planned action coming from the bureaucrats who have had, and apparently still have, the columns of certain large newspapers and magazines open to them. They also spread the same sort of propaganda through the *Indian Bureau* magazine, *Indians at Work*, with the unlimited mimeographing facilities available, and through the use of the radio over national hook-up. These unfair practices should stop. A way should be found to stop them. The Commissioner and those associated with him will some day learn that the course they are following is an unwise one. It will have its backfire. \* \* \*

Mr. Collier said:

"I might say a word about the whole matter of propaganda. \* \* \* Entirely aside from the fact that we address ourselves to our own personnel and to the Indians, I would say that it is eminently proper for the Commissioner and the Department to address the public also. We are promoting many things, which, for their success, are dependent upon a friendly and informed opinion. We should properly cultivate public opinion and we will continue to do that. I need only to add that I think this committee ought to know by this time that neither Secretary Ickes nor I hesitate to speak. We can always put out a release, and we do so. Secretary Ickes and I have fully stated our views concerning congressional investigations."

Mr. Bruner said:

"\* \* \* we wish to call to the attention of this committee first, \* \* \* *Indians at Work*, January 1, 1934, pages 37, 38, and 39. \* \* \* Speaking of the latter, he, the Commissioner, says:

"To make of Robert Marshall's *The Peoples' Forest* required reading in every school, as *The Nation* suggests, may not be hoped for. The private lumber interests would say 'nay.'"

"Second. *Indians at Work*, February 1, 1934, issue, page 28: 'The Nation Names Commissioner Collier on its 1935 Honor Roll.' Not only is this publicizing the Commissioner himself, but again is advertising a magazine which even casual inquiry will disclose is an instrumentality of radical groups. The *Nation* is edited by Oswald Garrison Villard, member of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. \* \* \* He protested execution of Chinese Communist Gen. Chen Du Hsui, January 1935. He was active in demanding the removal of troops from the mining field in Illinois where they were quelling Red activities in October 1932.

"Third. And may we suggest to this committee that a scrutiny of the language used in the articles appearing in almost any issue of *Indians at Work* will reveal a continuous and insidious propaganda of communistic doctrines."

Commissioner Collier contributed an article entitled "The Indian Bureau's Record" to the October 5, 1932, issue of *The Nation*, which I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 89." I offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 90," photostat copy of letter, dated May 29, 1937, addressed to Hon. Elmer Thomas, Senator from Oklahoma, and signed by Commissioner Collier. I call attention to pages 2 and 3, wherein it is written:

"*Indians at Work*: This publication was first issued in August, 1953. \* \* \* The pamphlet has a circulation of 12,000. Its total cost from August 1933 through March 31, 1937, has been \$24,421.82. \* \* \* In addition, there are seven employees who devote a large percentage of their time to the preparation of copy and the mimeographing, assembling, and distribution of the document.

Three of these employees (one at \$2,900, one at \$1,620, and one at \$1,440) are on duty in the Indian Office. The other four (three at \$1,620 and one at \$1,440) are assigned to the Miscellaneous Service Division of the Department, which Division is responsible for mimeographing, assembling, and mailing."

I refer the committee to pages 8297 to 8303 of the Congressional Record for June 28, 1937, the remarks upon the floor of the Senate by Hon. Bennett Champ Clark, of Missouri, who opened his statement by reading section 201 of the United States Criminal Code which provides that no employee of the Government may use any money appropriated by Congress to pay for any personal service which is employed either directly or indirectly to influence in any manner any Member of Congress to favor or oppose any legislation or appropriation of Congress. Mr. Clark said:

"\* \* \* Passing for the moment his effort to influence Congress on the Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization measure, Mr. Collier proceeds to a discussion of the measure intended to pack the Supreme Court of the United States—certainly not a matter immediately concerned with the affairs of the Indian Bureau, and certainly something which falls within the purview of section 201 of the Criminal Code of the United States. Having given a very unfavorable review of the Congress of the United States with regard to the Wheeler-Howard Reorganization Act, because the Congress of the United States had the effrontery to amend a bill sponsored by the Interior Department by striking out one provision of which Mr. Collier seemed to approve, and having berated Congress over several pages for that assumption of authority, Mr. Collier, over his own signature, in this publication put out at Government expense continues: 'The debate over the President's Court proposal is taking a course not unlike the debate over the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. Let us pray that the course of legislation will not be the same.'

"And you may be certain that when Mr. Collier prays that the course of legislation by the Congress of the United States will not be the same, every Indian agent, every employee of the Office of Indian Affairs, every contractor selling supplies to the Bureau of Indian Affairs will echo the same prayer. Mr. Collier is doubtless familiar with the old saying that 'the most sensitive nerve in the human anatomy is the nerve leading to the pocketbook.' He also knows that when he says, 'let us pray' those depending upon his favor for enrichment or support will not only fall down on their marrow bones to pray but will get up and get busy to try to propagandize Congress for his wishes. \* \* \*

Honorable Burton K. Wheeler, Senator from Montana, said:

"I am not surprised that Mr. Collier is in favor of a reorganization of the Supreme Court. As a matter of fact, long before the President sent this message to Congress, Mr. Collier wanted to reorganize the lower courts. He wanted to set up seven or eight traveling judges to go all over the United States and hear Indian cases only. That provision was in the original bill which he sent down to Congress \* \* \* but, of course, Congress struck out that provision. I am not surprised that he now wants to get the Indians lined up to pack the Court with six additional judges." \* \* \* "I must say that the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs is probably the best propaganda agent in the United States. \* \* \* As a propagandist he is excellent. As an executive of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in my judgment, he has been a complete failure."

Mr. Clark said:

"Certainly there can be no purpose whatever for the insertion of such an editorial as the one in the magazine which I have just read, except an effort to influence those Senators and Representatives from the States in which the influence of the Office of Indian Affairs might be of some weight. \* \* \* I have read in the Senate, not once, but several times, the provisions of law applicable to this situation. I have proved today out of the mouth of the Secretary of the Interior, himself, and out of the specific language of the publication which I have quoted, issued by the Office of Indian Affairs, a flagrant, open, and notorious violation of that statute. I direct the attention of the Secretary of the Interior and of the Attorney General to this violation of the law and to the specific and mandatory provisions of the statute."

The American Indian Federation concurs in everything said by Senator Clark and Senator Wheeler. For the information of the committee concerning the use made of "Indians at Work" to influence Members of Congress on legislative matters, I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 91," Indians at Work for March 1, 1937, and call attention to the editorial therein to which Senator Clark referred, marked "Exhibit 92," Indians at Work, March 15, 1937, and call attention to pages 8 and 9, entitled "Senators Wheeler and Frazier introduce bill to repeal Indian Reorganization Act;" and, marked "Exhibit 93," Indians at Work,



April 15, 1937, and call attention to the editorial on pages 1 to 6, relative to the bill to repeal the Wheeler-Howard Act. I particularly call to the attention of the committee that in the article contained in the March 15 issue, Mr. Collier states:

"In my opinion there is no chance that the bill introduced by Senators Wheeler and Frazier will be passed by Congress, or if passed, signed by the President"; and the editorial in the April 15 issue says:

"If by a miracle Congress should enact a repeal, the President's veto power remains."

Irrespective of alleged violation of section 201 of the Criminal Code of the United States, Indians at Work is published once each month since the attack made by Senator Clark. Commissioner Collier stated in 1935 that he and Secretary Ickes would continue "to properly cultivate public opinion." I recall to the attention of the committee that for about 2 years, Mary Heaton Vorse, a Communist, was the editor of Indians at Work and Publicity Director of the Indian Bureau, at a salary of \$3,200 per year.

#### 4. THE NAVAJO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA

The things which have been done to these Indians who rejected the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act are a complete case in themselves and no justice could be done to the situation in a short statement. The Navajo are one tribe which has always been industrious and self-supporting. Through the measures adopted on their reservation many of them have been reduced to starvation and dependency on the relief rolls. For information on this subject, I refer the committee to the following:

1. Testimony of J. C. Morgan, and Commissioner Collier, in regard to Navajo, pages 315-385 of the Murdock hearings, exhibit 26, in evidence;

2. Navajo testimony in the so-called Burdick hearings of 1936, part I and part II. (See No. 2 on list of printed hearings, exhibit 4.)

3. Transcript of testimony in the unprinted Navajo Hearings of 1937 before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. (See No. 4 on list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5.)

4. Navajo testimony in part 34, Survey of Conditions, 1936, exhibit 88 in evidence.

Part of the record in part 34 (exhibit 88) above mentioned, is testimony given regarding the Navajo boundary bill which was a bill to settle a dispute about title to some 4,000 square miles of property in New Mexico. The Bureau was very anxious to have this bill enacted. To my knowledge, it is the only bill for which the Secretary of the Interior has appeared before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. I call the attention of this committee to his testimony, which appears on pages 17497 to 17499. As part of his argument for the enactment of this bill, Secretary Ickes said:

"I do not want to be an alarmist, but it is not without the realms of possibility that we will have serious disorder and bloodshed in that country in a year or two unless some of these wrongs are redressed."

Now, in 1936 it was all right for the Secretary of the Interior to raise the question of bloodshed on the Navajo Reservation and to intimate that it would occur if his bill did not pass, but in 1937, when Paul J. Palmer, an attorney, wired to Senator Chavez, of New Mexico, that he and Mr. Morgan were restraining the people with difficulty from open rebellion and bloodshed because of the manner in which they were being persecuted by the Bureau, Secretary Ickes issued a lengthy statement to the press saying that:

"\* \* \* Those who have embarked on this campaign of misrepresentation and incitement to violence will be held responsible for the consequences of their campaign. In cooperation with the Department of Justice which has pledged full support in dealing with this situation the Interior Department will vigorously defend against every illegal attack upon its conservation program."

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 94," "Department of the Interior, Memorandum for the Press, for release Saturday, August 14, 1937." Again it makes a difference who raises the question of revolt. From the above it seems apparent that it is all right to raise the question of "revolution" in favor of the program but "Revolution" against the program will be prosecuted by the Departments of Justice and Interior, which is quite in line with the American Civil Liberties Union ideas of "free speech."

The particular incident which so aroused the Navajo in 1937, was covered in a speech on the floor of the Senate by Hon. Dennis Chavez, Senator from New



Mexico, on August 20, 1937. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 95," Congressional Record for August 20, 1937, and for the record, from page 12079, the telegram of Paul B. Palmer, an attorney; from page 12079 the statement of Mrs. Claude Hanen, a Navajo; and from pages 12080-12081, the letters of D. W. Roberts, sheriff of McKinley County, New Mex., and J. Murray Palmer, of Farmington, N. Mex.

I call attention to the letter of the sheriff who states that Hostin Tso and his son are in the hospital in a serious condition as a result of an unmerciful beating at the hands of three Indian Bureau policemen; that eye witnesses say that Hostin Tso was struck with a blackjack and pistol from 10 to 20 times by the Bureau policemen; that the policemen have gone to the central agency in Arizona and that he, as an officer of New Mexico, cannot apprehend them and that he is trying to have the superintendent surrender the policemen to him for trial. I call attention to the statement of J. Murray Palmer, who says that the so-called Indian judge is telling the Navajo that any Indian opposing the Bureau program is liable to a fine of \$100 or 6 months in jail; that Hosteen Tso has been most outspoken against the Bureau program and that he is a relative of the wife of J. C. Morgan, "whose opposition to the Bureau's program of coercion, threat, inefficiency, waste, and graft inflames the officials of the Bureau to the point where they lose all sense of proportions"; and that there are many such cases. J. C. Morgan is a member of the American Indian Federation and was the first vice president during 1934 and 1935. Commenting upon this matter on the floor of the Senate, Senator Chavez said:

"The only sins of the three Indians who were brutally assaulted by the officers of the Indian Bureau under Commissioner Collier were that they had dared to fight for what any Senator and I would fight for—an expression of their opinion, no matter how wrong it might be, and for their rights as they believed them to exist.

"No one has tried to impress the country more than the present Indian Commissioner as to how civil liberties should be protected. Does he carry that idea into effect when treating with the Indians?

"What happened? After the trial of the Indians who were beaten as I have described, I received last night a telegram from Farmington, N. Mex., reading in part as follows: 'Hosteen Tso and Co. entirely cleared of charges yesterday.'

"As a matter of fact, they had not done a thing except that they had dared to oppose the policy of the Indian Commissioner \* \* \*."

##### 5. LAW AND ORDER CODE OF THE INDIAN BUREAU

The court mentioned in the Navajo matter was not one of the so-called Wheeler-Howard courts promulgated under that act. There have been Indian Bureau courts on some reservations for a good many years and the court in Navajo country is one of these because the Navajo did not accept the Wheeler-Howard Act. The present Bureau officials have promulgated a new law and order code which is in force on those reservations where they have no Wheeler-Howard court. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 96," copy of hearings held before the House Committee on Indian Affairs, Hon. Will Rogers, chairman, in March, April, May, and June 1938, and entitled "Palm Springs Band of Mission Indians." For the record from pages 539 to 554 of these hearings, I enter the "Law and Order Regulations, Approved by the Secretary of the Interior, November 27, 1935." This law and order code is much the same as those adopted by the Wheeler-Howard councils and in fact served as the pattern for the supposedly "Indian" self-government codes. I particularly call the attention of the committee to the "Probation Pledge," Form No. 10, and the "Parole Agreement," Form No. 11, on pages 553 and 554. On these forms those placed on probation or paroled by the so-called courts, agree that they will not "violate any law or regulation of the tribe or United States" for a certain period of time. Under authority of this Law and Order Code, Indians who speak against the Bureau program in Navajo country and other places are picked up on some charge or other, held in jail for a while, tried and then placed on probation with a warning about talking against the program. They are made to understand that warning to mean that talking against the Commissioner or his program will constitute a violation of probation or pledge. By means of these courts many Indians are made to suffer or are effectively silenced.

## 6. CHEROKEE INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA

Like the Navajo, the Cherokee matters are a complete case in themselves. Except as reference is made to them in other parts of this discussion, I cannot hope to comprehensively cover the situation at Cherokee, N. C. For information on this phase of the program, I refer the committee to the copy of printer's page proof of testimony given before the Senate committee in 1936, exhibit 5; and to the transcript of testimony given before the Public Lands Committee in 1937. (See No. 3, list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5.) In the printer's page proof, exhibit 28 in evidence, I particularly call the attention of the committee to the following:

1. Pages 030 to 032, Destruction of American Plan of Cherokee Fairs, which sets forth the facts that the Cherokee Indians over a period of 20 years built up through their own efforts and without subsidy from anyone a fair which attracted thousands of people each fall; that the superintendent, Dr. Harold W. Foght, an appointee of Mr. Collier, literally seized the fair, commandeered the funds on deposit to the credit of the association—between two and three thousands dollars—and used those funds to build and equip an open-air stadium in which he had produced an Indian pageant depicting all the past wrongs of the Cherokee Indians, and to build a model Cherokee Indian village on the fair grounds.

2. Pages 032 to 035: Seizure of Indian boarding-school paper and denial of free press, which sets forth the facts that the children attending the boarding school had started a paper which was gaining circulation on the reservation and becoming a real newspaper for all the Cherokees; that after his arrival at Cherokee, Superintendent Foght took over the paper and made it his own mouthpiece to promulgate the program of the Commissioner; that some of the Cherokees secured an arrangement with a local newspaper in a nearby town to carry news of the reservation in return for Indian subscriptions; that three or four articles appeared and were favorably received by white and Indian readers alike; that Superintendent Foght brought pressure to bear upon the local merchants of the town by threatening to stop buying anything for the agency from them unless the Indian articles ceased and that subsequently the Indian articles were dropped from the paper.

These six things are called to the attention of the committee for the following purposes: No. 1, the employment of a Turkish citizen in a Government position, and, No. 2, the building of a Navajo capitol in support of our charges of un-Americanism; No. 3, Indians at Work for the purpose of showing how Bureau propaganda in favor of the program, advertising communistic doctrines and radicals, and trying to influence Congress, is circulated at the expense of the taxpayers, and the alleged flouting of the law of the United States by the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and No. 4, the Navajo; No. 5, the Law and Order Code; and No. 6, the Cherokees of North Carolina, in further support of our charges of communism, in that all of these show destruction of free speech, free press, and private ownership of property, and dictatorship.

## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The federation charges of communism, atheism, and un-Americanism in the educational program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are based upon the information about the Russian system of education found in House Report No. 2290, in evidence as exhibit 29. At this point I would like the record to show the statements contained on page 52, under the heading "Religion" which begins, "All communists are atheists," and continuing through the sentence, "The fact is that there is an irresistible conflict between Russian communism and a belief in God," and the paragraph on page 72, under the heading, "Soviet Russia" which begins "As the Communist has derived his ideas and methods from non-Christian and nonreligious sources, he believes religion to be antisocial and inimical to the revolution," and ends with the sentence, "Every activity is considered with reference to its harmony with the social thematic."

All education has its roots in philosophy. During the course of his administration, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and those surrounding him have pursued certain general courses from which can be judged their philosophical trend of thought and which have a bearing upon the program of formalized education which is being promulgated in the Indian schools. As the Indians are held in a status of "incompetent wardship" and their legal status is that of



minors, the word education in this discussion will be used in its broadest sense, as it applies to both adults and children.

To establish the foundation for my statement, I wish to say this: The United States was colonized and founded by Christian people and is maintained under a Christian constitution. The records show that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created for the express purpose of "civilizing and Christianizing the Indians" and fitting them to take their places as citizens of the United States. This was the outgrowth of the program which Congress had adopted toward the Indians at the very inception of this Government and was in accordance with the policy of the first settlers in this country whose charters from the crowned heads of Europe almost without exception contained a provision that the natives should be inducted in the ways of Christianity and civilization. Up until the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs took office, Congress had appropriated more than a billion dollars to carry out that program and policy.

Anything which is contrary to this program is subversive to the 150-year-old policy of the Government of the United States. Whatever the Indian has had of education came to him first through Christian sources. With practically no exceptions, the first schools on all reservations were established by the missionaries, and in many instances through cooperation with the Indians who supplied land, labor, and whatever material they could for the buildings. The first Indian boarding schools were mission schools. As the Government assumed control of the reservations, these schools were gradually taken over from the missionaries, with the understanding that they would continue to be Christian schools. Mission boards maintained missionaries either at or near the large Government Indian schools who held services for the Indian children attending the schools or ministers of the vicinity came to the schools to conduct services for those children belonging to various denominations. The results of this Christian training can be seen on any Indian reservation today. Invariably the majority of Indians who can be classed as substantial, industrious citizens are those who received their training in these schools. The results can likewise be seen in those who have gone forth from the reservations and hold their places with honor in white communities.

Not long after Mr. Collier became Commissioner, Mr. Ward Sheppard, close friend and associate and appointed to a position by Mr. Collier, announced that all of the Government's past program for the Indians had "been a mistake" and that henceforth the policy of the Government would be to encourage the Indian "to live his own life in his own way." Soon after taking office, Mr. Collier rescinded a Bureau regulation of long standing which had forbidden the holding of Indian tribal dances except with permission of the local agency officials. Under date of January 3, 1934, a circular letter addressed to superintendents, signed by Commissioner Collier and approved by Secretary Ickes, was sent out to all agencies. I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 97," the circular letter of January 3, 1934, which says in part:

"You are instructed to give the widest, most effective publicity to this communication and to treat it as an instruction superseding any prior regulations, instruction, or practice.

"No interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expressions will hereafter be tolerated \* \* \* The fullest constitutional liberty, in all matters affecting religion, conscience, and culture is insisted upon for all Indians. In addition, an affirmative, appreciative attitude toward Indian cultural values is desired in the Indian Service."

This sounds like an expression for full religious liberty with which there could be no quarrel. The scales of tolerance are tipped in favor of Indian religions by the last sentence, however. Hereafter, the Bureau employees are to maintain an "appreciative attitude toward Indian cultural values." "Cultural values" can be and has been stretched to cover many things. Among many tribes, diseases are treated by so-called religious ceremonies. An "appreciative attitude" on the part of Indian Bureau doctors demands that they support and cooperate with the tribal medicine man. I call the attention of the committee to pages 325 to 328 of the Murdock hearings (exhibit 26) wherein J. C. Morgan, full-blood Navajo missionary who has worked many years for his people and has their welfare at heart, fearlessly stripped the picturesque trappings from ancient traditions and told of various treatment of diseases by such methods and about the spread of trachoma, tuberculosis, and social diseases through the use of masks in ceremonial rituals for medical purposes. In reply to that the Commissioner produced a book by Washington Matthews, published



in 1902, which described one single ceremony of Navajo religion. The Commissioner said of this ceremony:

"It is so complicated and loaded with symbolism that it makes any Christian ritual elementary. \* \* \* The language of these prayers is a scriptural in its majesty. \* \* \* I challenge anybody to take the prayer appearing on page 145 of the Matthews book and parallel it with anything in Isaiah and say that it is not as lofty and moral and spiritual."

It was not long before Indians employed by the Commissioner were propagandizing for his program. Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church, a well-known educator, and a member of the Winnebago Tribe, was appointed superintendent of Haskell Institute for Indians. It can scarcely be said that Dr. Roe Cloud ever conducted Haskell Institute for during his entire time as superintendent until he was advanced to a position of supervisor of education at large in the Indian Bureau, he spent a great portion of his time visiting Indian reservations and exhorting them to accept the benefits of the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act. In an article entitled, "Conditions Among the Indians," published in the Presbyterian magazine, "Women and Missions," for April 1935, which I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 98," Dr. Roe Cloud said:

"The present Indian administration is inclined to preserve the integrity of Indian life. This includes all ancient and long-cherished societal relationships of the Indians themselves. \* \* \* The present administration of Indian Affairs is definitely and openly committed to the idea that while Indians will be permitted to adopt modern ways, at the same time a strong fight will be made to preserve the integrity of Indian social life and outlook founded upon the old order. The science of anthropology will come into its own among the Indian people. Development will be by the slow evolution brought on by the people themselves as distinguished from that of propaganda and outside influence—outside influence meaning white civilization and church activities. \* \* \* The question is: 'Shall the missionary stand apart and aloof from this Indian reorganization act or accept it gracefully and work along with it to influence its development and its direction. \* \* \* Some missionaries are coming out openly to fight against the Indian Bureau, especially the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for his pronounced views on anthropology and the like. I personally believe that this is a great mistake. \* \* \* Pray that the Indian reorganization act may be an economic blessing to every tribe that participates in its benefits.'"

The Nez Perce Indians, the majority of whom have long been Presbyterians, protested this article by Dr. Roe Cloud. I enter in evidence The Christian Advocate, Pacific Edition, for October 17, 1935, and for the record marked "Exhibit 99," the article on page 13, entitled, "Back to the Blanket—Not Much!" a paper presented to the Presbytery of northern Idaho by the united sessions of the six Nez Perce Indian churches, from which the following is quoted:

"We desire to express our disapproval of the article written by Rev. Henry Roe Cloud and published in the April number of Women and Missions. Its teachings are death-dealing to the Christian faith taught in God's word. It is proposing to take the Indian people back again to the days of their heathenism. \* \* \*

"Our Nez Perce people have in times past been ready to lay down their lives if need be in defense of their faith in God and His Word, and to separate Christianity from paganism and the evils of false worship. Will they lower their standards now? No; they refuse to go back.

\* \* \* \* \*

"This article insists on the old heathen relations being retained and this is striking at the very heart of Christian work among Indian people. \* \* \* If heathenism has its way, and it always does unless the gospel of Jesus Christ changes the heart and enables the Indian people to come up out of it, it will tear down every church, destroy every home, and debauch every Indian boy and girl."

The manner in which the "religious liberty" order was being used by the Bureau as a cloak to denial of religious liberty was discussed in an article in the "Missionary Review of the World" for September 1935, by Mrs. Flora Warren Seymour, an attorney of Chicago who has had close contact with Indians and Indian affairs for more than 20 years. I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 100" a reprint of the article entitled "Federal Favor for Retardism," from which the following is quoted:

"Some employees still attend churches and contribute to their support, as has been their custom in the past. Others, not few in number, have felt that their standing with the Washington office will be better if they withdraw from any connection with religious activity.

"My wife and I feel that we have a right to attend church when away from the reservation," said a teacher of many years' service, "but here on the reservation it is best to refrain from participation in the work of the mission."

"While such participation has not been formally prohibited, no doubt is left in the minds of Indian Service employees as to the direction in which the wind is blowing. \* \* \* In other words, if a Government employee values his job \* \* \* it is to his interest to remain silent and inactive in regard to his own religious convictions. This in the name of 'toleration' for the native religion, we find to be a virtual denial of religious freedom to the Government employee, whether white or Indian."

Missionaries and laymen, both white and Indian, continued to oppose the religious policy of the present Bureau regime and under date of February 19, 1936, the Commissioner addressed a letter to Mr. Ben Dwight, editor of The Tuskahoman, which was printed in that paper, and was mimeographed and franked out by the Commissioner. The mimeographed copies were entitled "The Policy of the Office of Indian Affairs on Religious Liberty Among the Indians," one of which I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 101." On page 7 of this circular, the Commissioner says:

"\* \* \* Going further, I consider that our policy toward the native Indian religions should be a positive one—not less positive than in the case of Christian religions."

I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 102", mimeographed copy of a reply to the above letter, entitled "Open Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by the General Conference of Missionaries of the Christian Reform Church," which closes with these words:

"Has the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the right to use his authority, his office, the Indian schools, and public moneys to make propaganda for and to promote paganism?"

I recall the attention of the committee to the fact that Indian courts, both the Wheeler-Howard courts and the Bureau courts, issue divorces regardless of State laws. Indians complain bitterly that these divorces are not only illegal but are demoralizing and have been used to break up families and homes. Chief American Horse cited several instances in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs at the hearings held last January. (See No. 7 on List of Unprinted Hearings, Exhibit 5.) In one case of which I have knowledge, the wife divorced her husband because he would not stop working against the Bureau program. Both of them were employed by the local agency. He was released from the service. She was warned by local employees that if he continued to oppose the program she would lose her job, too. He refused to stop, so she got a \$15 divorce from the Wheeler-Howard court and the children were divided between them. I also point out to the committee that the Law and Order Code of the Indian Bureau courts (see exhibit 96) provides for the recognition of both Indian custom marriages and Indian custom divorces. All of which leans distinctly away from the Christian concepts of marriage and in the direction of the Communist system of Russia.

Among those things which the Commissioner includes in "religious freedom" is the use of peyote or mescal among the Indians. Peyote is the bean of a species of cactus plant which grows in Mexico. There is wide controversy whether or not it is a habit-forming drug. It is not included in the list of deleterious drugs of the Federal Government. It cannot be sent through the mail by order of the Post Office Department. Its action is upon the vision and the mentality, producing what might be termed hallucinations, and, if taken in sufficient quantities, produces a temporary paralysis in some cases. Irrespective of whether or not peyote is deleterious, there is no doubt whatsoever that those who use it are in a mental stupor while under its influence and its use can be and many times is a very real detriment to health, all of which is demoralizing and degrading. Peyote was brought from Mexico and introduced among the Indians in the United States some 40 or more years ago. Indians who became addicts sought to cloak their actions behind religion and made a ceremony for peyote meetings, combining Christian doctrines with the use of peyote in place of the blessed sacraments. I have talked personally with people who have attended these peyote meetings and participated for the purpose of learning exactly the effects and how "religious" these meetings really were.



Everyone was agreed that there could be no religion under such circumstances and that the name "devil weed" given to peyote by the Spanish padres was the best appellation.

At the suggestion of an anthropologist, some Indians applied for a charter of incorporation for what they called the Native American Church. Behind this charter they could operate unmolested and the use of peyote spread among the Indians. Through the efforts of Christian people, both white and Indian, Congress took cognizance of the spread of peyote among the Indians and its harmful effects upon them early in the 1920's by including in the language of the appropriation acts the words "for the suppression of liquor and deleterious drugs, including peyote, among the Indians." I call the attention of this committee to pages 18258 to 18313 of Survey of Conditions of the Indians, part 34 (exhibit 88), in evidence, which contains reprints of the information presented to Congress in 1919 about peyote and its harmful effects among the Indians.

In 1935, Commissioner Collier appeared before the subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of the Interior and requested that the words "including peyote" be stricken from the above-mentioned section of the appropriation act. (See pp. 18225 to 18226 of exhibit 88 in evidence, as above mentioned.) Since that time the appropriation acts have carried no authorization for the suppression of peyote.

In 1936 a controversy arose at Taos Pueblo, N. M., between the peyote users and the tribal government. The Pueblos have always maintained their own form of government and to a large measure have been self-governing prior to this administration of the Indian Bureau. This tribal government at Taos Pueblo had always been opposed to the use of peyote in the pueblo and had done all possible things to suppress it. In 1936 an Indian ran amuck while under the influence of peyote. Acting under the tribal law, the governor of the pueblo ordered the Indian Bureau policeman, Antonio Mirabal, to arrest the man and confiscate any peyote which he could find where the ceremony was being held. Mr. Mirabal carried out the orders of the governor. Later a trial was held and not only the man who had made the trouble but also the peyote cult leaders were tried and fined. The fines were paid in commodities and lands, and these were distributed among the members of the tribes in accordance with the orders of the tribal officers. (See testimony of Antonio Mirabal, pp. 18175 to 18184, Survey of Conditions, pt. 34, in evidence as exhibit 88.) The authority for this procedure is provided in chapter 4 of the Law and Order Code (in evidence as exhibit 96) promulgated by the Indian Bureau, and under which the Indian Bureau policeman necessarily had to act.

Section 53-401 of the New Mexico statutes provides that "It shall be unlawful for any person to possess, sell or give away anhalonium, commonly known as peyote" and further provides for a fine of not less than \$200 or imprisonment for 90 days, or both. Hence the actions of the tribal council and the Indian Bureau policeman were in accordance with Bureau regulations of procedure and the State law prohibiting the use of peyote. The cult leaders appealed to Washington about the matter. Secretary Ickes addressed a letter to the governor of Taos Pueblo directing Taos council to restore the land to those fined and to make good any damages which the prisoners may have sustained. The Secretary said:

"It is intolerable that the most fundamental of all human rights, and one of the most precious rights guaranteed by the Constitution—liberty of conscience—should be denied and abolished within a tribe of Indians through the action of officers themselves proceeding under the domination of an armed and uniformed employees of the Indian Service, whose action, in its turn, was not authorized by law or directed or to be tolerated by his superiors in the Government. \* \* \* Should the religious persecution be recommenced, the resources of the Department of the Interior will be used to protect the religious liberties of the minority. \* \* \* I earnestly hope and trust that hereafter those irregularities and these demoralizing actions will not be renewed. \* \* \* It jeopardizes the religious liberties and self-government of all the other pueblos and, indeed, of every Indian tribe. It jeopardizes the success of the whole broad program, now far advanced, which looks toward establishment of Indian rights." (See exhibit 88 in evidence.)

Antonio Mirabal was relieved from Government employ on May 8, 1936.

As a result of the above controversy, Hon. Dennis Chavez introduced a bill, S. 1399, into the Senate to prohibit the interstate transportation of anhalonium (peyote) in certain cases. This bill provides that it shall be against the Federal laws for peyote to be transported into any State which has laws



prohibiting it. On May 18, 1937, the Secretary of the Interior sent a long adverse report against the bill to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

Complaints have come to the Federation from Indians of several reservations about the increased use of peyote among their members. From a Preliminary Report on Peyote, prepared for the subcommittee on Indian work of the home missions councils, by G. E. E. Lindquist, which I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 102," the following is quoted:

"Between 1919 and 1934 peyote, while extensively used both as a medicine and in worship, had been rather quiescent as an organization. Since 1934, however, it has taken a new lease on life, so to speak, and promoters of peyote have been making the rounds of a number of western reservations seeking to introduce this practice and claiming to be representatives of the Native American Church."

It has been reliably reported to me that one charter of incorporation has been issued to a native American Church in South Dakota during the last 4 years. South Dakota, like New Mexico, has a law prohibiting the use, possession, or transportation of peyote. A charter of incorporation, costing \$3.50, enables these Indians to circumvent the law, for the Secretary of the Interior says that "the resources of the Department will be used to protect the religious liberties of the minority."

As further evidence of the trend of the religious policies of the Bureau officials, I offer in evidence "Indians at Work" for December 1, 1937, and for the record, marked "Exhibit 103," the article on pages 29 and 30, entitled "The Straddle Between Cultures." This is a very favorable review of the book *The Enemy Gods* by Oliver LaFarge, friend and champion of Commissioner Collier. The publisher and price of the book are given and the review was written by D'Arcy McNickle, administrative assistant—Office of Indian Affairs. From this article I quote:

"The Indian has always had friends and it has sometimes seemed that the friends have been his worst enemies. We wince when we recall the days when hairy-chested frontiersmen set about systematically to rid the public domain of vermin who pestered the overland trails. Colonel Chivington at San Creek, Colo., was forthright. Vermin was vermin. But really, it was after his time that the Indian fell upon evil days. The abolitionists, the humanity lovers, out of employment after the Civil War, found the naked, bounded red man and cuddled him close. They offered him Bibles instead of bullets, and there were Indians who thought it was a poor exchange. A dead Indian, they would say, is better off than Mr. LaFarge's Myron Begay (born Ashin-Tso-n's son; Big Salt's son, that is), at the moment when, frenzied by the cheap rascality of Christian soul-saving, he stood up in a mind of missionary pep meeting and denied his gods."

"The Cheap Rascality of Christian Soul Saving"—let those words sink into the consciousness of every Christian American. In December, the month held sacred to the birth of the crucified Christ child, that unmistakable expression of hatred for the Christian religion was hurled broadcast in 12,000 or more copies of a magazine published by the Government of the United States, and edited by an official of the United States whose rank is slightly lower than that of a Cabinet officer and who is charged with the duty of caring for the Indian wards of a Christian Nation. Those words were written by an "administrative assistant." I refrain from personal comment with difficulty. I enter in evidence "The Calvin Forum" for March 1938, and for the record, marked "Exhibit 104," the editorial on pages 171-172, from which I quote:

"We thought this was a Christian country."

"We were under the impression that the President of the United States, the superior of both Mr. Collier and Mr. McNickle, assumed the highest office of the Nation with a solemn oath to Almighty God and with his hand placed in reverence upon the Bible.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The cheap rascality of Christian soul saving!

"We would not think of using designations such as these for any honest effort, whether in the religious or the governmental sphere. But if the terms must be used, we do not hesitate to say that this latest utterance from a subordinate of Mr. John Collier against the greatest civilizing and uplifting force for the American Indian that has ever come to him is the cheapest bit of rascality that has issued from a Washington office for some time. \* \* \*

"Shall we deny our Lord and Savior by silence?

"Shall we allow sinister forces in our national life to jeopardize the religious and civil freedom which has ever been the boast of America?"

The American Indian Federation concurs in all of the above quotation.

Without a doubt, the results of this anti-Christian policy of the present Indian Bureau officials can never be measured or even estimated. Those results will be both too intimate and too intangible as they manifest themselves throughout the courses of individual lives. However, there are already some tangible evidences of the results of this anti-Christian policy. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 105," the Sunday School Times for July 11, 1936. From an article about the present Bureau policy in regard to religion on page 470, the following is quoted:

"\* \* \* a recent case: An Indian woman living in one of the New Mexico pueblos was given a Bible. By the study of the Scriptures she was led to embrace the Christian religion. When the news of this reached the governor of this pueblo, he brought the case before his council. The woman appeared with her Bible and told the elders that she believed in its teachings. Firm in her refusal to renounce her new-found faith, she was sentenced to a public whipping."

Did the Secretary of the Interior order the governor of this pueblo to make restitution and allow this woman to worship as she pleased as he did in the case of the peyote cult leaders?

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 106" photostat copy of a newspaper clipping from a New Mexico paper of December 8, 1936, headed "Navajo Attack Morgan." This is a report of a lengthy statement issued by the Bureau-controlled executive committee of the Navajo Tribal Council and among other things it says:

"It is high time an answer is given to this rabble rouser who presumably because of his antagonism to the Commissioner's policy which grants to Indians the same religious freedom as is granted to whites under the Constitution, is doing everything in his power to misrepresent facts. \* \* \* We believe the Navajo people as a whole are sick of religious zealots who climb soap boxes at every opportunity to damn the Government as well as law-abiding Navajo citizens. We believe in other words that the Navajo are sick of the tactics of Jake Morgan. \* \* \* Jake Morgan is a missionary. He should, therefore, confine his activities to the promotion of peace and not incite his people to war. Through his blind, ignorant efforts to incite the Navajo people against the Government, he is doing untold damages \* \* \*."

This attack, supposedly issued by Indians, was against J. C. Morgan, an educated and cultured full-blood Navajo Indian, who has been a missionary among his people for more than a quarter of a century. The rejection of the so-called Wheeler-Howard act by the Navajo was largely the result of the single-handed campaign which Mr. Morgan made against it.

Lastly, a Christian minister in Minnesota was brutally beaten by two Indians in 1936 and died as a result of his injuries. During the last session of Congress, the Congress had before it a bill, S. 2120, to compensate his widow and children in the sum of \$3,000.

"The cheap rascality of Christian soul-saving"—in those words perhaps can be found the philosophical trend of those who administer the present Bureau of Indian Affairs and upon which is based the formalized educational program of the Indian Bureau.

John Collier took office as Commissioner of Indian Affairs on July 1, 1935. In August of that year, he had Dr. Moises Saenz, a Mexican educator, come to this country with his expense paid by our Government to make a survey of the Indian schools and to "advise" the Government of the United States how to run its Indian schools. I call attention to pages 704 to 709 and 900 to 901 of the Murdock hearings, exhibit 26, in evidence. At that time Commissioner Collier testified that he had spent two summers in Mexico going around with Dr. Saenz; that Dr. Saenz was invited to come to this country by the Secretary of the Interior at the suggestion of Mr. Collier himself, and Dr. Carson Ryan, then Director of Indian Education of the Indian Bureau.

Dr. Saenz was a personal friend of Mr. Collier's over a period of several years, and at one time served on the board of directors of the American Indian Defense Association, which has an interlocking directorate with the American Civil Liberties Union and of which Mr. Collier was executive secretary. Dr. Saenz was Undersecretary of Education in Mexico for several years. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 107," Indians at Work, March 1, 1935, issue and call the attention of the committee to the article on pages 5 to 10, an article



entitled "The Handmade Education of Mexico (Notes from A Talk by Catherine Vesta Sturges Given at the Southwest Field Conference on Community Work, August 1934)." At that time, Miss Sturges was employed as a coordinator of the Indian Bureau, and as far as I know is still so employed. In this article, Miss Sturges said:

"In the years which I shared the fortunes of the people's educational movement which evolved with the developments upheaved by the 10-year social revolution in Mexico, the realization deepened with me of the power of this capacity for direct creation. However, it was through the great comprehension of it in the mind of Don Moises Saenz that I measured by my own understanding the depth, the volume, the pull of it as a human and a social dynamic in the life of his people. Under the leadership of this devoted educator it was my privilege to work during 8 years in which his hand was shaping much of the growth and change surging into being through the medium of education in the life of Mexico."

I call the attention of the committee to pages 99 to 111 of "Progressive Education" magazine, in evidence as exhibit 19. This is an article entitled "The Social and Culture," by Moises Saenz, which deals with the "Mexican revolution." Dr. Saenz says:

"\* \* \* The revolution had to create a school of its own \* \* \* The school of the past—the school of the "three R's," of fragmentary, bookish, rote-learning—has been disqualified."

Incidentally, I call to the attention of this committee that other contributors to this issue of the magazine include Dr. Carson Ryan and Rose K. Brandt, jointly, Dr. Ryan being director of Indian education, and Miss Brandt supervisor of elementary education of the Bureau; Helen E. Lawhead, Mrs. Nancy Irene Heger, and Edward L. Keithahan, all employed in the Division of Education of the Indian Bureau; Oliver La Farge, heretofore mentioned; Catherine Vesta Sturges, above mentioned, and John Collier. In the article on pages 95-98, entitled "Mexico, A Challenge," Mr. Collier states:

"Mexico has lessons to teach the United States in the matter of schools and Indian administration, lessons which are revolutionary and which may be epoch-making."

I call the attention of the committee to page 705 of the Murdock hearings (exhibit 26) on which is reproduced the antireligious pledge which it is necessary for all school teachers to sign in Mexico, as follows:

"In the presence of the board of education, I ———, declare that I unconditionally accept the program of the socialist schools and that I will make it known and defend it. I declare that I am an atheist, irreconcilable enemy of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion and that I will endeavor to destroy it, detach the conscience from any religious worship and I am disposed to fight the clergy everywhere and wherever it shall be necessary.

"I declare my readiness to take a main part in the campaign to attack the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion wherever it may appear, and I will not permit any kind of religious practice at my home nor the presence of religious pictures.

"I will not permit any of my relatives living under my roof to attend any religious ceremony."

When this was called to the attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by the members of the Murdock committee Mr. Collier replied that he knew nothing about it and doubtless it was all a big fraud. I call the attention of the committee and ask to have included in this record exhibit K shown on page 900 of these Murdock hearings. This is a reproduction of a letter addressed to Mr. Joseph Burner, by Vincent DePaul Fitzpatrick, managing editor of the Baltimore Catholic Review, dated April 2, 1935, regarding the authenticity of this oath. Among other things, Mr. Fitzpatrick says:

"I saw an original copy of the oath as issued in Mexico, had it translated and the translation affixed. \* \* \* Representative Higgins of Massachusetts defied the Mexican Ambassador to disprove any of the statements which it has published and any of the documents which it uses. No effort has been made to disprove the Review's statements, either regarding the oath or of conditions in Mexico. \* \* \* I wish you to understand that we publish no statements until we have absolute proof concerning them. \* \* \*"

I call the attention of the committee to the report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, given on the floor of the House of Representatives, Seventy-fourth Congress, February 27, 1935, at which time Congressman Fennerty said:

"The gentleman from New York was absolutely correct a moment ago when



he intimated that Communists are active in Mexico. As a matter of fact the entire Government and its 6-year plan are modeled on soviet principles. Mexican delegates have been sent to Moscow to study the Russian principles and methods of Government; 'red' Russia has spent \$18,000,000 for Communist propaganda in Mexico, in the belief, as Russian representatives in Mexico have admitted to news correspondents, that once Mexico is Russianized, America is next. \* \* \* The 'red' frontier is not now in Europe; it is at our own door."

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 105" a report of a deputation to Mexico appointed by the American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities, dated September 1935, entitled "Religious Liberty in Mexico," and signed by three members of a nonsectarian committee representing the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths. This report states that even after the adoption of drastic anti-clerical provisions in the Constitution of Mexico in 1917, the literal interpretation was not applied for several years. From page 7 of this report I quote as follows:

"It is now apparent that the National Revolutionary Party which controls the Government of Mexico has with deliberation embarked upon a program aimed at the destruction of the Roman Catholic Church and with it the destruction of all religions. This policy can succeed if the National Revolutionary Party can accomplish:

"1. Its announced primary purpose, to prohibit the teaching of any religion to children in public or other schools.

"2. Its often disavowed but nevertheless plainly unconcealed purpose to at first limit the clergy and the number of churches as to make the influence of the clergy insignificant, and later, wherever possible, to entirely prohibit the existence of churches and clergy."

On page 9 the report states:

"Radical labor-party leaders, however, \* \* \* while disavowing an intent to abolish capitalism and adopting communism, admit that their anti-religious, anti-clerical, and rationalistic education policies are taken bodily from the Communist program."

On page 13, the report gives a compilation showing the shrinkage in the number of priests and churches permitted in Mexico, in approximate figures. Before 1926 there were approximately 4,493 churches and in 1935 there were 197.

Catherine Vesta Sturges wrote in 1935 that she had worked in Mexico for 8 years under Dr. Moises Saenz when "his hand was shaping much of the growth and change surging into being through the medium of education in the life of Mexico."

I further call the attention of the committee to page 022 of the printer's page proof of the Cherokee Investigations of 1936, exhibit 28 in evidence, and to the item reproduced from the December 14, 1935, issue of Industrial Control Reports, which states:

"Promotion of 'social science' is resulting in the perversion of youth to an alarming extent as was the case in Germany before Hitler. In one instance vouched for by an eminent authority recently returned from Mexico, a number of very young girls were sent to entertain a group of Mexican Government officials. When they did not return until the next day and had been misused, the parents appealed to the authorities. They were told that all that bourgeois sex superstition was a part of religious superstition and that, since the girls would have sex experience some day, it was just as well that they did so now, under Government supervision.' Because of widespread incidents of this kind, including the stripping of children to teach sex by illustration, outraged parents have killed and maimed Communist school teachers."

In reply to a direct question in 1935, Commissioner Collier told the Murdock subcommittee: "I think that the rural schools serving the Mexican ajitas are almost the most perfect schools in the world."

During the summer following the Murdock hearings, Dr. Carson Ryan, Jr., was released from his position as Director of Indian Education to do research work for the Spellman Foundation. In February 1936, Dr. Willard W. Beatty was given a temporary appointment as Director of Indian Education. This became a permanent appointment about a year later in 1937. The radical associates and the record of Progressive Education Association of which he was national president have already been discussed herein. It has been established that progressive education is founded upon the philosophy of John Dewey and that his philosophy is antireligious. Whenever criticism is leveled at the Bureau program of education concerning anything which happened before Dr. Beatty became director, the officials of the Bureau always say

that Dr. Beatty cannot be charged with the occurrences which took place before he became director. That answer is not convincing in view of the fact that Dr. Ryan became national president of Progressive Education Association in 1937 about the same time that Dr. Beatty received his permanent appointment in the Indian Bureau. In other words, Dr. Ryan and Dr. Beatty just exchanged positions and the program started under Dr. Ryan has been continued under his associate in progressive education, Dr. Beatty. The evidence seems conclusive that Mexico and the Progressive Education Association are the sources of inspiration of the present program of formalized education in Government-maintained Indian schools.

The Communist program of education, as shown in House Report No. 2290, Seventy-first Congress (exhibit 29 in evidence) and as contained in the books, "The Soviet Challenge to America," by George S. Counts, and "Remakers of Mankind," by Carleton Washburne, both heretofore mentioned, as associates in progressive education with Dr. Beatty, Director of Indian Education, and commonly known to be in entire sympathy with the Russian program, can be summarized briefly as follows:

Children are taught:

1. Hatred of God and all forms of religion; to hold in contempt and disobey parents who believe in religion and to mock all religious ceremonies.
2. Hatred of the capitalist system of private ownership of property, private production, and inheritance.
3. Hatred and disrespect for all forms of Government except communism.
4. The Marxian theory of "production for use and not for profit."
5. Social science as a substitute for spiritual religion and practical experience in the art of living.

House Report No. 2290 states:

"Documents and books presented to this committee indicate that the most terrible kinds of vice are encouraged among the young school children in order to break down family influence, which is the foundation of all religion."

In attempting to establish communism in other countries, the Communist program seeks to indoctrinate all of the above into the school system of other countries and to arouse class hatreds and race prejudice on the one hand and promote social equality on the other to win members for the Communist cause. In this statement, I shall confine my remarks about the educational program of the Indian Bureau to those things which we believe to be in line with the Communist program of education and destructive of the American system of education.

#### RELIGION

In addition to those things which have already been stated about the religious policies of the present Bureau regime, there are some things which apply directly to the schools. In all boarding schools maintained by the Government, it had always been compulsory for children to attend church or Sunday school services on Sunday, either at the school or in nearby churches. On January 15, 1934, following his first order of January 3, 1934 (in evidence as exhibit 97) Commissioner Collier issued an additional order concerning religious activities in the schools, which I offer for the record, marked "Exhibit 110."

Briefly this sets forth that hereafter no Indian child shall be compelled to attend religious services; that no employee of the Bureau shall be compelled to hold Sunday school services; that "any missionary, including any representative of a native Indian religion, may be granted as a privilege the use of rooms or other conveniences in the buildings or premises of boarding schools," if parents (or pupils over 18) request the services of such missionary or denomination; that "proselyting in the Indian boarding school is prohibited"; and that superintendents or principals of boarding schools shall notify missionaries if the parents appear in person before said officials and "knowingly and voluntarily, in writing" register a request for teaching the ministration for the child by a missionary or denomination. All of which again sounds like the fullest religious freedom. However, it must be remembered that many Indian children in boarding schools come from homes at some distance away, which would prohibit their parents from appearing "in person" before any superintendent to request religious ministrations for their children. It must also be noted that there is no instruction to the superintendents to make this order known to parents, or to give it the "widest circulation" possible, as was the case in the letter of January 3, 1934.



At Cherokee, N. C., teachers were given to understand 'at blanks for the parents to sign would be forwarded from the Washington office and that nothing was to be said until their arrival. The parents have never received the blanks and Sunday school services were abandoned at the boarding school. For information about this situation at Cherokee, I call the attention of the committee to pages 035-038 of the printer's page-proof of the Cherokee Investigations of 1936 (exhibit 28 in evidence), and for this record the letter of W. F. Sinclair on page 036. Reverend Sinclair was a missionary living near the school who left the reservation because of the unfriendly attitude of agency officials. After relating that there had been a fine Sunday school and harmonious relations had existed between the agency personnel and himself, Mr. Sinclair states:

"This condition existed until the present administration took charge. After Mr. Kirk was transferred from from Cherokee, I was never able to get enough children together for a religious service. And, while I have no positive proof, I was led to feel that the present administration was, and is, unfriendly to any religious efforts on the part of the Indians. Several months before leaving Cherokee, I came to the realization that efforts were being made, quietly, and under cover, to discredit religious instruction among the Cherokees, and it was my feeling that if I remained there as missionary I would be compelled to express myself in such way as to perhaps embarrass the denominational board under which I was working."

I call the attention of the committee to page 901 of the Murdock hearings (exhibit 26 in evidence), and for this record the letter of Miss Mary Gladys Sharp, dated at Arkansas City, Kans., April 3, 1935. Miss Sharp is a missionary at the Chilocco Indian school at Chilocco, Okla. Among other things, she says:

"This the Indian Office of Washington has done this year. First, rules were that no boy or girl could be required to go to church—it was left up to the boy or girl whether they went or not but the employees were to encourage them to go. And the attendance held up very well. But March 23, 1935, two people were here from Washington and now they won't even let the employees encourage them to go, for that was all they were doing and they were criticized for it. And last Sunday morning at the general Protestant and Baptist service in the auditorium, there were only about 103 boys and 90 girls, making a total of about 193 out of 600 students that should be there. These two people also stopped all Sunday night meetings—and that was when we had our Baptist meeting, every third Sunday night. Also, they won't let us give the invitation any more. \* \* \* These children in boarding schools are not like the ones at home where their fathers and mothers can look after their religious training. They are at the formative age—send a boy away at 13 and get him back at 18 and he is a man—and try and do something with him after 4 years of godless living."

Relative to the situation at Chilocco Indian School, I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 111," a photostat copy of letter addressed to five ministers, dated March 19, 1935, at Chilocco Indian School, and signed by L. E. Correll, superintendent. The letter says:

"I have recently received a letter from the Indian Office, calling my attention to instructions previously issued relative to religious worship in nonreservation boarding schools.

"Please be advised that in the future you will not be permitted to hold revival services, invitation meetings, or in any way hold services in which you ask children to join any religious body while they are students of this school. Of course we will be glad to have you continue to look after those that stated their preference previous to their enrollment in this school."

In other words, no Christian minister or priest could ask any child attending the Chilocco Indian School to accept the teachings of Jesus. At some of the boarding schools in Oklahoma, particularly those which were established by the Five Civilized Tribes themselves when they had independent governments, it has always been customary for Indian missionaries to hold Christian services in the Indian language for pupils attending these schools. It was difficult for the school authorities to know whether or not these Indian-speaking missionaries were asking the children to believe in the Christian faith or to join a Christian church. In one instance of this kind, a full-blood Cherokee Indian missionary, Rev. Jim Pickup, was told to "stay away," and he no longer conducts services at the Sequoyah School for Orphans at Tahlequah, Okla. I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 112," photostat copy of letter from Rev. Jim Pickup to Mr. Joseph Bruner, dated September 27, 1935.



In at least one school, children who attended church services of their own volition at a nearby church and wish to join that church were prevented from doing so. At the Fifth Annual Convention of the American Indian Federation, held in Tulsa, Okla., August 18, 19, and 20, 1938, Miss Maxine Vaughn, daughter of Rev. and Mrs. Jackson Wolf of Salina, Okla., related that while she was a pupil at the Seneca Indian School at Wyandotte, Okla., she and seven or eight other pupils attended a church service at the First Baptist Church at Wyandotte and wished to be baptized and join the church. Rev. J. Grover Scales, an Indian minister, agreed to meet them at the creek near the school that afternoon and baptize them. When they returned to the school one of the girls told the matron about it and after dinner when they were to go to the creek to be baptized, the matron gave orders that no one was to leave the campus that afternoon, so they could not join the church. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 113," the magazine *The Indian Revealer*, October 14, 1938, Post Convention Bulletin of the Federation, and call attention to the picture of Miss Vaughn and the article about this on page 1. I attended the convention and personally heard Miss Vaughn tell these facts. From other sources it has been determined that Reverend Scales and a Sunday-school teacher went to the school, when the children did not appear at the creek, for the purpose of setting another time when they could be baptized; that a matron met them at the door and refused them permission to see any of the children saying they were in their rooms, and when asked to deliver a message about a later date for the baptism, the matron said that they did not allow anything like at the school.

These three instances are all from the State of Oklahoma, where the Indians have been citizens since Oklahoma became a State and where the Indian Bureau has little or no control over the majority of Indians. As to the situation among those Indians who are directly under Bureau control, I ask that the letter of Miss Cecil Cate, of St. Louis, Mo., addressed to Hon. Dennis Chavez and found on page 19081 of the Congressional Record of August 20, 1937 (Exhibit 95 in evidence), be included in this record. Miss Cate sets forth at some length exactly what the results of the school program have been in South Dakota and I call particular attention to her statements relative to the mission boarding schools. This brings up another phase of Indian education—the Mission schools. In many of the treaties made by the Indians with the Government it was provided that any money belonging to the tribe as treaty or trust money could be used to defray the educational expenses for children of that tribe. The Government has used tribal funds thus made available through treaty provision to hold and maintain government schools on the reservations. It has likewise always been the policy of the Government to pay Mission schools a tuition fee out of these tribal funds for Indian children whose parents wished them to attend the Mission schools.

In 1907 the Supreme Court of the United States held that to deny Indians the right to send their children to the schools at their own expense would be "to prohibit the free exercise of religion" among the Indians. Under the new "five-point education program" for the Sioux Indians, in South Dakota, Indian parents could not enroll their children in mission schools if the Bureau decided that there were Government day-school facilities available near their homes, and no contract was to be entered into with any mission school until the proposed enrollment had been approved by the Director of Indian Education. The above-mentioned letter of Miss Cate sets forth the facts that many Indian parents were totally unprepared for such a change from boarding school to day school and that much suffering and hardship were brought to bear upon both children and parents who were forced to come and camp in tents to be near the school and that the mission school decided to enroll a few of the most destitute children on their charity list. When the Bureau found this out the superintendent of the mission school was removed from his position. The letter does not relate how the Mission board was persuaded to remove him but if the case of the Reverend Burnett, herein related is an example of the methods used, there can be no doubt that the Commissioner insisted upon the removal of this man. Miss Cate further states:

"For your information, Senator Chavez, I am attaching copy of the mission contracts which must be signed before the Interior Department will give grants to the South Dakota missions. Briefly this contract means that the freedom of religious education is gone when John Collier has a thumb on the institutions."

I do not have a copy of these mission contracts but they are available to this committee in the Office of Indian Affairs.

In conclusion, Miss Cate says:

"Let us review the Sioux situation as it is today; the rights of the parents are gone over the education of their children; pagan religions are taught little children; pagan marriages are permitted by the Department. The Department does not call it communism but broadmindedness and a beautiful dream that will make the Indians live in a land of plenty 20 years hence. However, if denying parents a God-given right and teaching youth paganism by active propaganda are not communistic principles, then, Senator Chavez, what is communism?"

For further information about the situation in South Dakota, I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 114," the magazine National Republic for April 1937, and for the record, the article beginning on page 17, entitled "New Deal for Indians," by Cecil Cate. The following quotation from this article is self explanatory of a question which arises in all minds relative to this anti-Christian program of the Commissioner.

"The Indian Bureau began to play the old game of forfeits with certain churchmen. 'Heavy, heavy hangs over your head,' said the Bureau as it jangled the 'treaty' and 'trust' moneys of the Indians. 'What shall I do to redeem it?' whispered the churchmen. 'Silence and cooperation' was the answer. This was the 'freedom of speech' allowed to the missionaries in Indian Territory."

Particularly do I call the attention of the committee to the following, quoted from the article:

"What was the reaction of the Indians to this school plan? Their children were lined up and treated like so many chattels so that a new experiment could be carried out by the Department. There were angry words and some defiance. There were parents begging for the right to put their children in the schools of their choice. There were some who stubbornly refused to put their children in school if they could not put them where they pleased. The Pine Ridge Sioux appealed to Mrs. Roosevelt. The Rosebud Indians had already appealed to President Roosevelt. A petition signed by hundreds of Indians and placed in a beautiful beaded cover with the words: 'Suffer little children to come unto Me' was sent to the White House with this letter:

"Dear Mrs. ROOSEVELT: We, the undersigned Indians of the Pine Ridge Reservation, write you as one parent to another. \* \* \* Mr. Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has started a program, which means the end of our mission boarding schools. \* \* \* We know that you would not want some man who does not know your family affairs like you do to stop you from sending your children to a religious school at your own expense if you wanted to do so. We Indians have read and heard about you and we hope our cry to you will be heard. \* \* \* As a mother you know that our children are more precious to us than anything else. Please help us Mrs. Roosevelt."

"This was a cry from the poorest mothers of the Nation to the First Lady of the Land, pleading for religious tolerance and individual liberty. The White House apparently turned a deaf ear and there was not even the courtesy of an answer."

All of these things, from three widely separated sections of the country, indicate that the school program is in line with the philosophy of John Dewey, an atheist and the founder of progressive education.

The new school program very definitely destroys accredited high schools on the reservations and children graduating from them cannot enter schools of higher education without additional work. For this reason, on some reservations Bureau employees send their own children away to attend high school. Industrial education consumes a great share of time and consists principally in having the children do the work around the school. In place of the usual courses in languages and arts, the Indian children are taught Indian languages, arts, and crafts, music, and dancing. In places where Indians have forgotten all of this, the Bureau has a trained staff of anthropologists to revive the language, arts and crafts, music, and dancing. These anthropologists are consulted about everything from educating the Indians to be Indians to the drafting of constitutions under which they are permitted to exist. Children are being trained in the "art of living" on Indian reservations and those youths who are helped to a higher education are being trained for service in the Indian Bureau.



All of this is distinctly un-American and it is contrary to the purpose for which the Bureau was established and the policy and program of Congress for the past 150 years. I digress to comment upon this. As a part of this Nation, known as America, the Indian children should be trained to be Americans and no effort made to make them more race conscious. Personally, I am definitely opposed to the policy of using academic school time to give instructions in Indian languages, arts and crafts, music, and dancing to the exclusion of other courses in similar subjects which are included in the public school curricula. No such effort is made on behalf of any of the many races or nationalities that make up the American population. In the years past, silly sentimentalists have hysterically denounced the Government because children attending Government schools were forbidden to speak their native tongues, and were taught in the English language. Irrespective of administrative abuses which have from time to time existed, it must be admitted that this policy was no different than the one pursued in public schools.

The United States is an English-speaking country. Any semblance of unity in this country demands that all people speak the same language. Thus no classes are conducted in native languages for the foreign-born children, or the children of foreign-born parents, who attend our public schools. Without a doubt, it is a hardship for these foreign children to enter our public schools and receive their instructions in English. But equally without a doubt, through those instructions given in the English language, they become an inseparable part of America, an English-speaking Nation. I have lived in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., which has a large foreign-born population and through my work have come intimately in contact with the foreign-born and their problems. From personal observations I am convinced that the free public schools of America have been one of the greatest forces for welding the polyglot population of America into one united people—Americans. The effort of the Commissioner to revive Indian languages and to have anthropologists spending large sums of the taxpayers' money to compile grammars in various native tongues for use in Indian schools is absolutely and totally unjustifiable. To my mind, it constitutes a crime against the Indian children to thus try to handicap and hobble them by teaching them in their native language. Would Nathan R. Margold, who started into our schools a foreign-born child, be the present solicitor of the Department of the Interior if he had been taught in the Hebrew language?

To return to the school program, "cooperative" training starts early in life and every class has community projects either as a class or as a part of the whole school. The classes have "our pets," "our garden," "our sand table," "our chickens," "our rabbits," and "our" everything else. Occasionally there is rebellion. One little girl with capitalistic ideas, took a turtle to school and when the teacher referred to it as "our turtle," the youngster said most positively "That is not 'our' turtle, that is 'my' turtle." Social science is stressed in all the classes, beginning as early as the second grade. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 115," Indians at Work and call attention to a report of work in a second grade social-science class in a South Dakota school. In another locality sex instructions apparently start in the same grade as a second grade youngster came home and startled her mother by explaining why some eggs were fertile and hatched into chickens and why others did not as she had learned it while studying "our chickens."

I call to the attention of the committee that teachers to fill positions in the Indian schools are not selected from the available civil-service list of regular teachers. The newly appointed teachers and principals are no longer designated as such. They are called "community workers" and "head community workers" respectively and special training in social service is a necessary requirement. Many of the Indian boys and girls to whom loans are being made by the Bureau are being trained in advance courses of social service preparatory to taking up work in the Indian Office. In this connection I wish to point out that no loans are made to pupils until the Bureau has approved of the school to be attended. Examination of the Bureau records will disclose that many are sent to the University of Wisconsin and Columbia University in New York City, both known to be schools of radical thought.

In 1935, the council of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians conducted an investigation into the new educational program which was put into operation at Cherokee, N. C. This was followed by individual investigations by Mr. and Mrs. Fred B. Bauer, Federation members at Cherokee, by Mr. O. K. Chandler,



then Americanism chairman of the Federation, and by Mr. Frank Waldrop, a newspaperman of Washington, D. C., in 1936. These investigations disclosed that:

1. A compulsory bathing rule had been adopted for the day schools; that the older girls spent several hours each week bathing the younger pupils in groups; that children had to be bathed in school twice a week or they could not attend the school; that some children were not in school because their parents objected to the mass bathing.

2. That Sunday-school services had been discontinued at the boarding school and school activities had been instituted for Wednesday evenings when prayer services were held in a nearby mission church.

3. That in violation of a Bureau regulation adopted many years ago, flag-raising and flag-lowering ceremonies had been abandoned; that the flag seldom was displayed over any of the schools or agency buildings; that the children did not have the pledge of allegiance to the flag in assembly meetings and did not sing the patriotic songs of America.

4. That sex was being subversively taught to pupils of girls and boys ranging from 13 to 22 years of age.

5. That books used in the social science classes were supplied from the private libraries of Dr. Harold W. Foght, superintendent of the agency, and C. D. Stevens, community worker who had taken the place of the principal.

6. That John D. Kirk, superintendent, and Dr. Hawkins, doctor for the school, had been transferred from the reservation, over the written protests of the Cherokees, after the said employees had helped to organize a post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars among the Indian World War veterans.

7. That teachers and employees had been instructed to teach socialism and communism.

8. That the books, "Instruction to American Civilization" and "Modern History" by Harold Rugg, member of the Progressive Education Association, were in use in the class rooms, and that these books had been taken out of the schools of the District of Columbia because of their radical teachings.

9. That the books used in the social science classes for pupils in the high school included:

(a) New Russian's Primer, by M. Illin, a Communist, translation by George S. Counts.

(b) Brown America, by Edwin Embrey, a radical.

(c) Rope and Faggot, by Walter White, a Negro radical.

(d) Criminology and Penology, by John Lewis Gillin.

(e) Problems of the Family, by Willystine Goodsell.

10. That Commissioner John Collier considered the use of New Russia's Primer as "collateral reading" in an industrial-geography class as "eminently proper."

This situation is covered in the printer's page proof of the Cherokee Investigation of 1936 (exhibit 28 in evidence) and the transcript of testimony given in the Cherokee Investigations of 1937. (See No. 2 on list of unprinted hearings, exhibit 5.)

I ask to have included in this record from exhibit 28 the following:

Page 020: Statement of Mindy Reed, relative to absence of patriotic songs, etc.

Page 019: Statement of Catherine A. Bauer, relative to absence of flags, etc.

Pages 023-024: Notice signed by Dr. Foght warning parents that opposition to school program will mean loss of work relief.

Page 024: Affidavit of Cas Sneed, relative to his loss of employment because of his opposition to the program.

I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 116," "Exhibit 117," "Exhibit 118," "Exhibit 119," and "Exhibit 120," respectively, the books above mentioned, New Russia's Primer, Brown America, Rope and Faggot, Criminology and Penology, and Problems of the Family, and for the record the short statement concerning each which is thereto attached.

In further support of the findings listed above, I enter the following exhibits as listed:

Exhibit 121: Photostat copy of letter from Mr. Harry Hardin, white World War veteran, to Hon. Victor E. Devereaux, director, Department of Americanism, Veterans of Foreign Wars, relative to un-American and anti-Christian activities at Cherokee.

Exhibit 122: Affidavit of Mr. Harry Hardin, above mentioned, relative to the same.

Exhibit 123: Photostat copy of the affidavit signed by Fred B. Bauer, Cherokee, N. C., relative to the use of New Russia's Primer in the schools.

Exhibit 124: Newspaper clipping from New York American, April 1936, an article written by Mr. Frank Waldrop, relative to the Cherokee Indian schools in North Carolina.

Exhibit 125: Affidavit of Mrs. Maud Walsh, parent, of Cherokee, N. C., relative to fact her girl is not in school.

Exhibit 126: Affidavit of Mrs. Lucinda Bradley Queen, former employee at Cherokee boarding school, relative to several matters.

Exhibit 127: Affidavit of Newman Arneach, pupil at Cherokee boarding school, relative to subversive teaching of sex in high-school art class.

Exhibit 128: Photostat copy of statement made by Newman Arneach, relative to efforts of agency employees to have him repudiate his affidavit.

Exhibit 129: Photostat copy of letter from Commissioner Collier to Hon. Elmer Thomas, March 19, 1937, stating use of New Russia's Primer is "eminently proper."

I also enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 130," photostat copy of an affidavit by Dr. Ellis Bond, former physician at Pine Ridge Agency, S. Dak., in which he relates that the teachers at Pine Ridge were instructed by a representative of the Washington office to familiarize themselves with communism and to teach it.

The things related above happened in part before Dr. Willard W. Beatty became Director of Indian Education. But I recall to the attention of the committee the facts concerning the close association in progressive education of Dr. Beatty and the former Director of Indian Education, Dr. Carson Ryan, Jr. Since Dr. Beatty was appointed as Director, not only the teachers but also some of the superintendents of Indian reservations have been sent to attend conferences of the Progressive Education Association. Teachers have also been encouraged to spend their vacations in Mexico and I know personally of several who have gone to Mexico for their summer vacations. This year it was planned to send teachers down to Mexico to attend a Progressive Education Association institute during this past summer, as was indicated by Bulletin No. 23, of Indian Education, a publication of the Division of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs. I offer in evidence, marked "Exhibit 131," Bulletin No. 24, of the same publication, Indian Education, and for the record, the item on page 3, entitled, "Summer School Notes," which sets forth some facts in this matter.

As the Washington representative of the American Indian Federation, I appeared before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations which considered the Interior Department appropriation bill for 1939, to make our annual plea to the committee to stop all appropriations for the Bureau of Indian Affairs until the radical officials had been removed from office. I called the attention of the committee to this plan to send Indian Bureau teachers to Mexico to study and as a result the committee inserted language into the appropriation act prohibiting the use of travel funds for study outside of the territorial limits of the United States. In the report submitted by the Appropriations Committee on this bill, it is stated, on page 10:

"The committee is definitely not in accord with the proposed plan for Indian Service personnel to make a study tour of schools outside the continental limits of the United States as described in issue No. 23 of Indian Education, published by the Division of Education."

Relative to the school program under Dr. Willard W. Beatty, I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 132," Indians at Work, March 1, 1937, issue, and call attention to pages 20 to 23, reprint of a speech made by Dr. Beatty in January 1937, in which he said:

"During the high-school course if boys and girls wish to get married they may do so and continue their education. If they can have practical experience in living together they will be much better off after they are through school. In many schools where there are many, many thousand acres of land, cottages will be built on plots of 100 acres each for these young couples and they will be trained among other things in child care and guidance."

Does Dr. Beatty plan to add a maternity ward to the school hospitals or include a course in the use of contraceptives in the high-school curricula?

For my own part, as a mother, I would not care to have either my 18-year-old son, or my 15-year-old daughter attending a high school of this kind where they could either secure "practical experience in living" under Government supervision, or have the example of it constantly before them. Particularly I



would not care to have them exposed to such a school operated by officials who encourage so-called "tribal custom" marriages and divorces, the \$15 divorces of the Wheeler-Howard courts and the abolition of a Bureau regulation heretofore strictly enforced which prohibited male employees from associating with girl students. I doubt that there are any parents, either Indian or white, who would care to have their children attend such a school if they could prevent it.

I would like to call to the attention of this committee the new experiment in the Indian boarding schools which has been started by Dr. Beatty and which are known as the "unit-dormitories" or "cottage dormitories," in which both boys and girls are housed together with a man and his wife and an additional teacher, as is stated on page 8 of Indian Education No. 24, in evidence as exhibit 131. As far as I know there are now three schools having this type of dormitory for housing pupils—Standing Rock, at Fort Yates, N. Dak.; Riverside School at Anadarko, Okla., and Fort Sill School, at Fort Sill, Okla. The bulletin states that home economic and English literature classes can be conducted in these homes and given regular classroom credit, in those subjects. I recall to the attention of the committee that according to the article in Indians at Work for March 1, 1936, (exhibit 24 in evidence) Dr. Beatty "acquired his educational philosophies from the fountain of progressive wisdom in Winnetka, Ill., from Prof. Carleton Washburne under whom he served for 4 years. With that thought in mind, I quote:

"Our minds flashed back to the commune we had visited a day or two before in Moscow. Here 30 or 40 boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16 live cooperatively and without adult supervision. One woman cooks for them but the children prepare the vegetables and wash the dishes. They take entire care of the house—we saw one squad on their hands and knees scrubbing the floor; the house was immaculate. They are entirely self-disciplined, but a group of Young Pioneers has the responsibility for developing the right spirit among them. Certainly their spirit was everything one could ask for—free, natural, friendly, cooperative, enthusiastic."

And from page 195, I quote:

"There is no question but that in Russia, not only in the field of mental hygiene but that in that of education in general, there is a clearer vision as to the aims of education and a more thoroughgoing effort toward the achievement of those aims than in any other part of the world. \* \* \* As an example of what can be done in recreating human society through organized, well-thought-out education toward a definitely envisaged goal, Russia is an inspiring example to the rest of the world."

Keeping in mind that the educational philosophy of Dr. Beatty was acquired from Professor Washburne, I enter in evidence, Indians at Work, October 1938 issue, and for the record, marked "Exhibit 133," the article on pages 4 to 8, entitled: "Indian Service Schools, Their Aims and Some Results," by Willard W. Beatty, Director of Indian Education, Indian Service, from which I quote:

"The United States Indian Service has a unique educational opportunity. It enrolls almost 40,000 children in 350 schools ranging from Point Barrow, Alaska, to Brighton, Fla. \* \* \* No single pattern of education will adequately meet the needs of these diverse groups. Least of all can we assume that the traditional pattern of American public education will be suitable to their training. \* \* \* The Indian Service has the advantage that while it cooperates closely with the public schools of the States in which it operates, it is in no case subject to the courses of study required by the public schools of these States. Our problem is distinct and we are under no necessity of conforming to educational patterns drafted in disregard to the situations with which we are confronted. \* \* \* It is believed that our ultimate goals may be more clearly seen in terms of what has already been accomplished than through many pages of theorizing. To this end, a few citations are offered at random:

\* \* \* \* \*  
 "5. Fort Sill in Oklahoma, where the children from the first grade through high school are engaged in agriculture, and the beginning class operates a 5-acre farm from which it produces and preserves enough food to supply its own noonday meals throughout the year, applying the farming experience toward a mastery of speaking English, reading, and number. Here, the junior high-school students operate a farm cooperative in which each has a personal financial interest and from which each is making money. And here the students of the senior high school, almost all of whom own or have access to agricultural land, are prepared through actual experience to operate their own land as successful self-supporting farmers."



From the same magazine, I enter for the record, marked "Exhibit 134," the article on pages 16 to 19, entitled "The Little Red Schoolhouse. What Children Five to Nine Can Do," by Ruth E. Leichter, teacher, Fort Sill School, Oklahoma. I particularly request the committee to read this entire article and to examine the pictures of the children which accompany it. This article recounts that children 5 to 9 live in the little red schoolhouse, that the boys milk the cow and do the chores, that the girls keep house, sew, take care of the milk, churn the butter, can vegetables; that the children operate a 5-acre farm and raise broomcorn, oats, kafir corn, and cotton; that they butchered a hog, rendered lard, made sausage, cured the hams, and made soap. From the article:

"But when do they learn to read, write, spell, figure, and speak English? the visitors ask. \* \* \* Marketing their vegetables, chickens, eggs, pecans, hogs, calves; weighing their butter, handling milk and vegetables; counting chickens, geese, guineas; keeping a breeding chart; learning by living and doing. \* \* \* They sit around the fireplace and talk about the problems of dogs who catch their chickens; about the calf that is about to be born; the time to breed the pony. English and spelling? They get lots of it. And all of this comes not out of the book, but out of life."

Does any member of this committee consider such subjects as the "calf that is about to be born" and the "time to breed the pony" fit subjects for boys and girls aged 5 to 9 years to sit around the fireplace and discuss? Does any member of this committee recommend that children be taught arithmetic by the process of keeping a breeding chart. The avenue of discussion awakened in infant minds can be judged from the following, quoted from the same article:

"One little girl working earnestly on a quilt block looked up and said seriously, 'You know Wobbly Knees (the sow) has a house and eight babies but she don't have a husband.'"

On page 50-51 of the same magazine, is an article entitled: "The Practice Cottage Plan," written by Frances Clifford, student, Oglala Community High School, Pine Ridge, S. Dak. It says, in part:

"The practice cottage plan was put into effect here to teach the boys and girls the work, business, and fun that may be had in carrying a real home.

"The girls' practice cottage at Kyle has been in operation for about a year. Four girls and a teacher occupy this house. Last year there were only three girls and a woman teacher in the girls' cottage and three boys and a man teacher in the boys' cottage. All ate in the girls' cottage so they agreed to help one another with all their work. \* \* \*

"All grades from the fourth through the ninth go to this cottage. They group themselves accordingly. Each group has two chances to live at the cottage in 1 year.

"In the evening after all the work is finished, the boys and girls with their cottage teachers, meet in the living room of the girls' cottage. At this meeting all problems of discipline are settled which come up at the practice cottage. \* \* \*

"The boys and girls learn to plan their work ahead of time; they execute or really do do the work; then they evaluate or criticize their work with the idea of improvement. By so doing, they learn self-expression. They talk over in an informal way what they do and what they wish to learn at the practice cottage.

"All the babies that have stayed at the cottage were nursing babies. The mother stays at the cottage, too, but she is relieved of all care for this baby except at feeding time.

"So effective were the lessons learned by last year's occupants of the cottage that a couple, Rufus Two Crow and Lollie Pawnee Leggins, were married not long ago. Soon Lollie will come back to the cottage to take special training to help her in her new home."

Please note that the oldest pupils were first-year high-school pupils. These are the schools Dr. Beatty is instituting among the Indian children, inspired by the educational philosophy which he acquired from Carleton Washburne. These are the schools of the "new social order" as Robert Gessnor, friend of the Commissioner and chairman of the Indian committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, called the program of the Commissioner—an order "which might well point the way for all of us."

Whatever else may be said of them, these schools without a doubt are an experiment. In the March 1, 1937, issue of *Indians at Work* (exhibit 132 in evidence), Dr. Willard W. Beatty says:

"If things work out the way we hope they will, the Indian Service in the next 5 years will be able to show American education in general a few things about educating young people in life success."

And if they do not work out as anticipated the responsibility for permitting this Communist experimentation in education among Indian children rests squarely upon the Congress of the United States.

The Commissioner enlarges upon the idea and includes the entire Indian Service in an article in *Indians at Work*, April 1, 1937, issue, wherein he is discussing the achievements of the late Dr. William A. White of St. Elizabeths Hospital for the Insane. I enter the magazine in evidence, marked "Exhibit 135," and quote from the editorial by John Collier, as follows:

"But just as truly as St. Elizabeths, and in an even more many-sided way, Indian Service presents *the opportunity for making new discoveries*—the opportunity for clinical experimentation in a large number of branches of social science, most of all, the science of human management." [Italics his, not ours.]

Conclusions on my part regarding any part of this program as herein presented are superfluous. The Commissioner himself has made them. Social science is the theme song of the Communists. Today, the Indian wards of a Christian nation, are the subjects for "clinical experimentation in a large number of branches of social science."

I wish to call to the attention of this committee that John Collier has had more money to carry on his "clinical experimentation" than any previous Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Since he was appointed Commissioner on a platform of curtailing the Indian Bureau and Government supervision of the Indians and reducing the Bureau expenditures, in 1933, the sum of approximately \$260,695,450.44 has been directly appropriated by Congress and allocated from various public works funds to the Indian Bureau. This is an average appropriation of about \$43,000,000 per year for 6 years to administer the affairs of the less than 225,000 Indians who are directly under control of the Indian Bureau. There has been an increase of 1,200 or more regular employees and nobody knows how many part-time employees, any of whom are "coordinators," "administrative assistants," anthropologists, social-service workers, and "community workers." The results upon the reservations have been what?

There has never been a time since the reservations were created when there was greater strife, turmoil, and confusion, amounting in some places almost to revolution, than at the present time. There has not been a single year since the Commissioner was appointed that some Indians have not starved to death on some reservations and most years several. I know of my own knowledge that unless there are some drastic changes in both program and personnel, that there will be many more Indians starve to death this winter. One enterprising superintendent has prepared for this situation by using about \$1,200 of tribal funds, without the consent of the tribal council, to purchase coffins in which the bury indigent Indians, and almost with the same breath denying the tribal council the right to use tribal funds to allay some of the suffering in their midst. I call to the attention of the committee that it is against the policy of this administration to pay per capita payments out of their own funds to the Indians. I enter in evidence, marked "Exhibit 136," *Indians at Work*, October 1, 1937, and call attention to pages 12 and 13, an article entitled "President Roosevelt Affirms Principle of Conservation of Indian Assets by Veto of Per Capita Payment Bills," from which I quote:

"Putting the seal of executive approval on the Indian Service policy of conserving Indian assets for productive uses, President Roosevelt has vetoed two bills providing for per capita payments to Indians.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Agitation for per capita distributions to Indians, from tribal funds, emanates from many sources, and because such payments sometimes seem to be justified by equity and democratic tradition, refusal is occasionally fraught with tension. The Department steadily maintains, however, that future Indian welfare depends to a large extent on the building up of assets for investment in definitely productive enterprises."

Apparently it is the intention of this present regime to carry out their "clinical experimentation in social science" among the Indians regardless of how many individuals perish in the laboratory and then use our own money to bury us. In another editorial the Commissioner quoted with approval the statement of a Chinese scholar who died in 1086, and who said:

"It is better that the few should suffer, rather than that the many should be corrupted."

I enter in evidence, Indians at Work, May 1937, marked "Exhibit 137."

There are other matters which could have been presented here to further verify the charges of the American Indian Federation, but they are matters upon which others are better informed through personal knowledge than I am, so no mention has been made of them.

The Federation has asked continuously for the past 4 years that the radicals in the Department of the Interior and the Indian Bureau be removed from office or transferred from control of Indian Affairs. If it is within the power of this committee to do anything about this situation, then I respectfully ask that it be done. On behalf of the officers and members of this Indian organization, I thank the committee for this opportunity to bring this to their attention.

In conclusion, I have only this to say. The record as herein made, almost entirely out of the written statements of those administering the Department of the Interior, speaks for itself in unmistakable language. It is the record of Indian administration under that great and noble captain of civil liberties, Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, so fittingly called by his friend William Allen White, "Sir Galahad of the Underdog, this our national dog pound"—the American Civil Liberties Union whose executive director says "communism is the goal."

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Stuart Lillico.

### TESTIMONY OF STUART LILICO

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Stuart Lillico?

Mr. LILICO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You live at 549 West 113th Street, New York City?

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have prepared a written statement here, Mr. Lillico?

Mr. LILICO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with it.

Mr. MOSIER. I should like to ask one or two preliminary questions. What is your education?

Mr. LILICO. I attended the University of Washington in Seattle, studied journalism there; my formal education, university education, lasted for 2 years.

Mr. MOSIER. When did you leave Washington University?

Mr. LILICO. I left the University of Washington about 1930.

Mr. MOSIER. Then what did you do?

Mr. LILICO. Subsequently I went to the Orient to do newspaper work.

Mr. MOSIER. Where were you in the Orient?

Mr. LILICO. I was in the Philippine Islands; in China a great deal, and in Japan. I returned from there only this summer.

Mr. MOSIER. You were there for how long?

Mr. LILICO. Seven years and a half altogether.

Mr. MOSIER. Seven and a half years?

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.



Mr. MOSIER. During that time you wrote for newspapers and magazines?

Mr. LILLICO. I wrote for newspapers, magazines; worked on American papers in China and Japan.

Mr. MOSIER. For purposes of the record, will you please name some of the papers that you wrote for, and some of the magazines?

Mr. LILLICO. I worked for the Shanghai Evening Post, an American-owned paper in Shanghai. I worked for the China Journal, an English-owned magazine in China. I worked for the Japan Advertiser, an American-owned paper in Tokio.

I have written several articles for Current History magazine in New York, and I have done correspondence work for the Portland Oregonian and the Baltimore Sunday Sun.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is enough. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. LILLICO. You have asked me to tell you about Communist activity in the United States as it related to similar activities in China. Of course, the Communist activity in China is a matter of common knowledge, I believe, as a result of considerable writings on the subject that have been published in this country. But I was particularly impressed on my return to America by the fact that American missionaries who formerly worked and lived in China, who had suffered most from Communist depredations, were working closely with organizations here that I had reason to believe were connected with the Communist movement in this country.

In the line of my work as a free lance writer, I undertook to look up their antecedents—these organizations—in an attempt to get a magazine story out of it. As a result, I am convinced that these people—that is, these missionaries, most of whom are in entire innocence—are being used as a front to cloak the true aims and activities of the Communist Party of the United States.

The most important of these Communist front organizations are the American Friends of the Chinese People, the Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression.

At least two of these front organizations are collecting money on the streets and in meetings in New York and other large cities ostensibly for relief of civilian sufferers in China. However, it appears that this money has been used for the most part to finance further propaganda.

It should be pointed out right now that nothing was found to indicate that a number of other organizations in the China-aid field, such as the United Council for Chinese Civilian Relief and the Church Committee for China Relief, are anything but what they represent themselves to be.

The history of communism in China is well known to those who have had any close connection with the Far East, but for an understanding of the related Communist activities here it might be well to review this briefly.

The Kuomintang (or Nationalist) Party came into power in 1927 as a result of a military campaign against the old republican govern-

ment in Peking. This was preceded by an open alliance between the Nationalist Party and the Communist International whereby the Soviet Russians undertook to supply advisers and equipment. This arrangement was distinctly one of convenience. Soon after the new national government was organized by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek in Nanking, the generalissimo outlawed the Communist wing of the party. Chiang Kai-shek's Soviet Russian advisers, among them Borodin and Galen (the latter now known as General Bleucher, commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army), were forced to flee. A number of the radical generals revolted against the new government and established a Soviet State in Kiangsi Province. This organization successfully resisted attempts to drive it out until the end of 1934. It was at this time that I visited Kiangsi and saw the success of this drive by the Nanking troops.

As I said before, the Communist-Kuomintang collaboration was one of convenience. The same thing is true today.

Subsequently the "reds" withdrew to Northwest China, where they still have their headquarters. It was there that they were visited for the first time by a number of American correspondents and known Communist sympathizers. Since then a number of these people have been most active in presenting the Communist case to the world.

Among them are Agnes Smedley, who has acted as spokesman for the Chinese Communists for nearly a decade; Edgar Snow, a strongly left-wing writer whose book, *Red Star Over China*, speaks for itself; Anna Louise Strong, long an outspoken defender of the Soviet Union; Earl Leaf, who is today secretary of the China Information Service and an employee of the Chinese Government in this country, and who is in part responsible for the organization of the American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression; and Philip J. Jaffe, who was the first director of the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy and is active in other front organizations.

The Chinese Nationalist Government continued its drive against the Soviet Government of China—headed by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai—until the kidnapping of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek in Sian-fu in December 1936. The settlement of this incident included cessation of all civil war in China and cooperation between the Communist and the Nationalist parties to resist Japanese aggression. This alliance precipitated the fighting that broke out in North China in the summer of 1937 and which has spread to all parts of China.

This is a bare record of the course of events. Many of the details are controversial and I don't want to take the time here to give all of the explanations necessary to go into it completely. It is enough to connect the activity of the Communist Party in China with the Communist International and, through the Communist International, connect the Chinese Communist Party with the Communist Party in the United States.

Within the past year important members of the Communist Party of China have been admitted to high posts in the Chinese National Government. There is, of course, no complete harmony, for all understand that it is the Communist aim and hope to dominate in the future of China.

I will not take the time now, but I can give you quotations from Edgar Snow's book, where he has interviewed the "red" leaders to show that that is their aim, to dominate completely the Government of China and turn it into a Soviet state.

During the days of the first Communist-Nationalist combine, Mr. Earl Browder, secretary-general of the American Communist Party today, was in China and in contact with the "reds" there. For an account of his activities, I would like to introduce an excerpt from a profile in the New Yorker, as far as I know the only biography of the party leader available in English.

This article tells how Browder went to Moscow for a trade-union conference. Let me quote this paragraph [reading]:

In carrying their message of good cheer to the Chinese workers, Browder and his associates journeyed northward from Canton to Hankow, the center of the Communist activities in China. They passed through 40 cities on their trip, making speeches in all of them. In most of their speeches the delegates told the Chinese masses how well Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists were working together to liberate China from imperialist domination. By the time the mission reached Hankow, where it was disbanded, Chiang Kai-shek was slaughtering his revolutionary allies in wholesale batches. While Browder was in Hankow he was elected secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, an outfit organized by the Party to carry on Communist propaganda in the trade-unions of the countries bordering on the Pacific. While secretary of the Secretariat, Browder, as his main activity, edited the Pan-Pacific Worker, which was published at Hankow. It kept him busy during the greater part of 1928.

I also have here an ad which refers to Earl Browder as the foremost authority on the Far East, who was in China during the momentous years 1927-28. I will show you the significance of this paper later.

Browder's connection with China during this period is relatively well known and thoroughly substantiated. I don't believe it is necessary to introduce other evidence. The point that I am making is that a definite liaison between the American Communists and the Chinese "reds" was established at this time. Significantly, it was through the Communist International. My research has indicated plainly enough that this connection still exists.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you mean that the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the United States are working together in harmony and unison?

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the purpose being that the Communist Party of the United States will raise funds for the Communist Party of China?

Mr. LILICO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And are assisting in the program in the United States to aid China; is that right?

Mr. LILICO. Yes.

So much for the background. I wish now to show that many of the organizations that today are most active in this country seeking public aid for civilian relief in China are actually engaged in primarily political work which has as its ultimate goal the promotion of the Communist cause in the Far East. These bodies are operating under a number of names, but they are alike in that the promoters in every case have been members of a small group and almost all are



believed to be members of the American Communist Party or indisputable supporters of that body.

Again I want to make it clear that this is not meant as a sweeping condemnation of all organizations in the China aid field. A few appear to be legitimate. Neither do I want to go on record as wanting to discourage relief measures. I do believe, however, that the best interests of the United States, of the Chinese people, and of world peace can be served by a clear realization that donations to the American Friends of the Chinese People, the Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, the China Aid Council of the League for Peace and Democracy, and the American Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression are utilized primarily for advancing the position of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

Let us take up the case of the American Friends of the Chinese People. I have here a letterhead from this organization, including the names of the officers and members of the National Advisory Board.

Maxwell S. Stewart, the chairman, appears also as a member of the editorial board of *China Today*, the official organ of the American Friends. He is widely known as either a secret member of the Communist Party or as what might be called a fellow traveler. At one time he was an associate editor of the *Moscow Daily News*, and taught in the *Moscow Institute*. He is also connected with the organization known as the *Friends of the Soviet Union*, and is an associate editor of *The Nation*.

Julius Loeb, the vice chairman, appears also on the masthead of *China Today* as cartographer. Nominally, he founded the American Friends of the Chinese People, and an anniversary celebration was held in his honor recently. Actually, I am informed on good authority that he acted as a mere front for Browder, with whom he has long been intimately connected in Communist activities.

The organization secretary of the American Friends is Miss Esther Carroll, who is well known as a quiet and diligent worker for radical causes. New York newspapermen can tell you—as they have told me—that she is almost certain to be found at Communist-organized meetings or wherever picketing is in progress, for instance.

Helen Mallery, treasurer; Helen Holman, affiliation secretary; and Julia Church Kolar, chairman of the organization's boycott committee, are likewise known as tireless workers in behalf of radical activities.

It is to be noted that the names of Maxwell Stewart and Max Yergan, well-known colored Communist who is listed here as a member of the National Advisory Board, reappear in other Communist-inspired activities which I have mentioned.

I wish to show definitely that this group traditionally has supported the cause of the Chinese Communist Party, even during the period when the "reds" were burning American property in China and killing American missionaries. At the foot of the letterhead of the American Friends of the Chinese People is the following statement:

Official publication, *China Today*; a monthly magazine of information and opinion on the Far East.

In other words, the statements of this magazine may be taken to reflect the official opinion of the American Friends of the Chinese People.

In the issue of *China Today* for August 1936 we find an editorial denunciation of the Nanking Government, as represented in Washington by Dr. C. T. Wang, until recently the Chinese Ambassador to the United States. The position is taken that the Red Army of China was the sole hope of salvation for the Chinese masses from General Chiang (p. 207).

In the same issue, the Nationalist regime is generally denounced as reactionary, servile to Japan, and an incipient military dictatorship. I would be the last to deny the truth of this latter inference, but the point is that this magazine, *China Today*, was openly denouncing the Central Government of China and promoting—almost every issue will show—the cause of the Communist Party.

I would like to read in a few other excerpts from this journal showing its pronounced bias in favor of the "reds." Perhaps I should remind you that this took place prior to the Sian-fu kidnapping of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek which I mentioned previously. The "reds" and the Nanking Government were still open enemies.

In connection with this evidence of an international front, I might mention a curious resemblance of names used for these groups. For instance, in this country we have the American Friends of the Chinese People, and the American Friends of the Soviet Union, and the American Friends of the Spanish Democracy. All are closely allied. The Chinese people similarly have Canadian, English, French, Mexican, and South American "Friends," all of whom have a close affinity with Communist elements.

It is worthy of note, also, that Browder's importance as an organizer of front groups is shown by the fact that the American group was the first to be established. After the formation of affiliated groups abroad, his Friends of the Chinese People became the American Friends of the Chinese People.

Next I have a rather remarkable article by a Mr. Hansu Chan, listed in the masthead as an editor of *China Today*. It describes the activities of the Chinese Red Army during the winter of 1935-36 and may be taken to represent the attitude of the magazine (April 1936, p. 128).

A number of articles appeared during 1935 and 1936 that showed that a close connection existed between the editorial staff of *China Today* and the Communist Party in China. In a number of cases, figures and documents on "red" activities in Manchuria and inaccessible parts of China are published. This same information would not have been available to me, for instance. Either the staff of *China Today* had what newspapermen call a "pipeline" to the "reds" or the articles were sheer fiction. (*China Today*, January 1935 and January 1936.)

In the May 1935 issue we find a long appeal to save Gen. Fang Chieh-min, one of the Soviet generals who had been captured by the National Government. That month the American Friends of the Chinese People sponsored a mass meeting demanding the release of this "red" leader. I have no information on the outcome of this gathering. If my memory is clear on this case, incidentally, General Fang eventually "repented" and joined Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's side.

I have here a leaflet also on the connections of the American Friends of the Chinese People, advertising a meeting for an independent China, auspices of the American Friends of the Chinese People, listing as speakers a number, including Mr. Harry Gannes, author of a book, *When China Unites*, which I have here, and former editor of the *Daily Worker* of New York, a Communist paper. I intend to show that this organization has very definite Communist connections and works closely with the Communist organization.

I could continue for some time in this vein, but I believe my purpose is accomplished. It was to prove that *China Today*—and through that magazine the American Friends of the Chinese People—has consistently sponsored the cause of the Chinese Communist Party at a time when it was diametrically opposed to the National Government. In other words, this organization can definitely be labeled as Communist in its sympathies and apparently connected with the Chinese “reds” through the American Communist Party and the Comintern in Moscow.

We move next to the Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression. This was the first to be organized after the appearance of the American Friends. The spark plug has been Mr. Robert Norton, who had been managing editor of *China Today* and who is today concurrently the editor of that magazine. In the boycott committee he holds the position of executive secretary. This group made a move of some interest, opening an office at 5 Maiden Lane in lower Manhattan near the financial district.

The other of these front groups had previously been up in the neighborhood of the American Communist Party headquarters, around Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets.

Thus it is sought to disassociate itself from the other Communist and Communist front organizations, many of which nest in the vicinity of Communist Party headquarters on East Thirteenth Street. I am told that Norton is but recently returned from a trip to Central America and Mexico in furtherance of his organization of the boycott campaign.

I submit separately a letterhead of this body, with the officers and sponsors listed. The treasurer is Margaret I. Lamont, whose husband, Corliss Lamont, is chairman of the American Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. and Mrs. Lamont returned quite recently from Russia and gave an interview to the *Herald Tribune* praising conditions in the Soviet Union very highly.

I believe the committee has already received testimony on the American League for Peace and Democracy, showing that it has definite Communist connections.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I want to interject at this place a statement concerning the League for Peace and Democracy, which former testimony before this committee, backed by documentary evidence acceptable in any court proves that its origin was in Moscow; that it was set up in this country under orders from Stalin, carried here by Earl Browder, and that it has a membership of 4,000,000. The point I want particularly to bring out is that in the *Washington Post* on Sunday there was carried an advertisement of the Modern Forum consisting of a series of lectures on current topics. The sponsors of of the Modern Forum, some 20 or more of them, include several in-



portant Government officials. The advertisement does not say that the Modern Forum is an activity of the League for Peace and Democracy, but in their leaflet it says, "The Modern Forum of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

In the list of the sponsors we find Jerome N. Frank, Commissioner of the Securities and Exchange Commission; Nathan R. Margo, Solicitor of the Department of the Interior; Edwin S. Smith, a member of the National Labor Relations Board, the same Smith whose reappointment the American Federation of Labor have protested. Roscoe Wright, Associate Director of the Information Service, Works Progress Administration; and Hallie Flanagan, who is not a sponsor, is one of the speakers advertised for March 5. All of this it seems to me proves conclusively that many Government officials not only belong to this League for Peace and Democracy, which has been determined to be one of the united-front organizations, but they are active in pushing the principles and purposes of that league.

Mr. LILICO. I have a set of copies of the magazine called *The Fight*, which is published for the national executive committee for the League for Peace and Democracy. The articles in this and the general editorial policy show a direct connection between the agitation regarding Spain and the agitation regarding China. I will submit these to the committee. You can readily see what I mean, that they are tied up closely together under this American League for Peace and Democracy.

I wish now to describe a body known as the China Aid Council of this league. It was organized about a year and a half ago, shortly after the outbreak of war in North China. Its first director was Philip J. Jaffe, who earlier in 1937 made an extensive tour of the Communist area in northwest China. He returned to the United States with motion pictures taken in that district and thereafter lectured on the benefits of Soviet rule.

With the appearance of the China Aid Council, Jaffe took the position of director. Since then he has moved down to the executive committee and been replaced by a young man named Oliver Haskell, about whose antecedents I know nothing. Jaffe, incidentally, appears as a member of the editorial board of the pro-Communist *China Today*, and is also managing editor of the magazine *Amerasia*.

A letterhead of the China Aid Council is also being submitted as evidence. On the executive committee we find Margaret Forsythe, a charter member of the old American League Against War and Fascism, now the American League for Peace and Democracy. She has a close link with radical circles. Another is James Waterman Wise, who has been connected with the American Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MASON. He was one of the speakers at this forum.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir. The sponsors of the China Aid Council of the League for Peace and Democracy may be generally recognized as of distinctly leftist leanings. A few of them, such as Maxwell Stewart, chairman of the American Friends of the Chinese People, and Dr. Max Yergen, we have already shown to be tied up with the Communist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe it is after 12 o'clock, and we will suspend until 1:30.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee took a recess until 1:30 p. m.)

## AFTER RECESS

The subcommittee reconvened at 1:30 o'clock p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lillico, you may resume your statement.

Mr. LILICO. Early in 1937 a new magazine, called Amerasia, appeared. The managing editor is Philip Jaffe, director of the China Aid Council at its outset and now a member of the executive committee. This publication, with which some of you may be familiar personally, maintains a scholarly attitude in its open support of the Chinese cause and in its articles and editorial comment.

A proposal which Mr. Jaffe is urging is for an American loan to assist in the industrialization of China. He suggests that \$5,000,000.000 be allocated from the P. W. A. funds for this purpose.

Recently, Mr. Frederick V. Field has appeared as chairman of the editorial board of Amerasia. To place Mr. Field properly, we must look on page 74 of the Directory of Youth Organizations, published by the National Youth Administration for New York City. There we find a listing of the Pioneer Youth of America, the president of which is Mr. Field. The purpose of this organization, according to its own report to the administration, is "to prepare children for the struggle toward a workers' society." The program calls for older boys and girls to "become aware of movements seeking to win their rights and to participate in such movements," and thus "to gain some insight into the nature of capitalist society and learn how changes are made." If the name of this group did not prove its soviet connections, the program would. Listed under affiliations we find the most radical of the labor unions, particularly centered in New York City.

Mr. MOSIER. That is now the headquarters.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir; the headquarters are at 219 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York City.

Mr. MOSIER. How many of these youth movements are there?

Mr. LILICO. Do you mean the Pioneer Youth movements, or the so-called—

Mr. MOSIER (interposing). I mean the youth movements that have some connection with Communist activities.

Mr. LILICO. I cannot state exactly. I did not make a particular study of that part of it. I just traced Mr. Field as being the head of it.

The next of these Communist "front" organizations is the American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression. I submit a publication giving the names of the initial members of the national board.

On this list, however, we find several of the names that have already come up in connection with other parallel groups. There is Philip Jaffe, a contributing editor of China Today, which we have shown to be Communist motivated. Another is Maxwell Stewart, former editor of the Moscow Daily News. We find Margaret Forsyth again. And here we once more meet the name of Earl Leaf, who is registered with the State Department as an employee of the Chinese Government.

The object of this American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression is to obtain what amounts to a complete sever-

ance of trade relations between Japan and the United States. At the next session of Congress the committee and allied groups—including the Communist Party itself—will attempt to bring all possible pressure on you gentlemen to make this a law. At the same time, I believe, these organizations will endeavor to have the embargo on shipments of war materials to Loyalist Spain lifted. Thus, we find them engaged in two contrary activities, one seeking to stop trade with Japan and the other aiming at sending supplies to Spain, all in the name of international justice.

It is particularly in connection with these boycotts and embargoes that these groups are now active. To show the direct connection with the Communists I would submit an excerpt from a speech by Earl Browder, as reported in the *Daily Worker* of New York, official organ of the Communist Party.

I will read that:

I would emphasize for the general attention of everybody the necessity to be at work now to contribute all we can to the common work of preparations so that the coming Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy which takes place in January in Washington around the time of the opening of the new Congress should really be a gigantic gathering of the forces of peace of the American people. There can no longer be any neglect of this question, and our party must furnish that guarantee that all the forces of the American League are really mobilized, activated, or organized everywhere for this major action. This we must do, of course, simultaneously with all of the current work that I have already outlined, one of the main channels of which is the American League and the trade unions and all the organizations that naturally belong with the American League. Everything we do now must begin to carry within it preparations for this congress of the American League.

Mr. MOSIER. What issue of the *Daily Worker* is that?

Mr. LILLICO. Of September 26, 1938.

Thus we have from no less an authority than the president of the Communist Party itself that the "reds" are directly behind the move to stop all American trade with Japan and that they actively support the work of the ostensibly independent peace organizations.

So much for the affiliations of these groups. Investigation into the disposal of funds which they obtained from the American public through mass meetings, subscription drives, and street solicitation showed that far more than half of the net proceeds were being devoted to what were called educational purposes. In a number of instances, incidentally, the drives showed an actual deficit and no indication was given of how this was made up.

The CHAIRMAN. Earl Browder is not the president of the Communist Party.

Mr. LILLICO. I am sorry; he is the secretary-general, and I will correct it.

All organizations wishing to collect money from the public in New York are required to obtain a permit from the Department of Public Welfare. This permission is apparently always granted. Those sought by the groups of which I am now speaking were given by Mr. Herman N. Levin, acting for Mr. William Hodson, Commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare. In the case of license No. 1810, granted on December 16, 1937, to the American League for Peace and Democracy, New York City Division, the license states that the proceeds of street solicitation are to be used to "promote peace education and for China relief." The definition of peace education is apparently left to the directors of the League, which we



have already shown to have a Communist background. Also, it is worth noting that no statement is made on how the money will be divided between the two purposes.

Inevitably, many Americans who gave money to this organization in the belief that they were aiding Chinese war refugees were actually contributing to the spreading of Communist "peace propaganda."

The CHAIRMAN. What do you have to substantiate that statement?

Mr. LILLICO. I have the reports of these organizations to the department of public welfare in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. They were subpoenaed by the investigator of this committee.

Mr. LILLICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Later on, you can go into a little more detail about this money being raised, with a statement of what the reports show.

Mr. LILLICO. I will do that. In only one instance could I find any accounting and even that was not a sworn statement. It showed that as the result of tag days held by the American League for Peace and Democracy under Department of Welfare licenses, a total of \$931.10 was "collected for peace and education." An item of \$736.64 is marked "money turned over for China." From parallel references I gather that this latter sum was given to the National China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which apparently has filed no accounting of its receipts and expenditures. There is no clue to the disposition of the money allocated to "peace education" and we must presume that it was used to finance further propaganda.

Under date of December 15, 1937, the League for Peace and Democracy reported that during the year ending January 30, 1937, donations and other receipts totaled \$10,349.22.

The CHAIRMAN. That was just in the city of New York?

Mr. LILLICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Evidence before us showed that they collected over \$1,000,000 in the United States.

Mr. LILLICO. I am taking this from the reports of the welfare department.

At the same time, expenditures amounted to \$12,952.98, a deficit of something more than \$2,000. The report did not require information on how this difference was made up and none was supplied. However, 10 persons were named as having received "commissions, fees, wages, and emoluments" during the year. A statement in the report said that the entire proceeds, less legitimate expenses, would be devoted to the purpose or object for which the fund was raised. On the basis of these reports and other available information, there seems to be no way for the American public to obtain a full accounting of the money it has contributed to this organization. It is worth noting that in most cases the boxes used by the solicitors mention only China relief.

The reports to the Public Welfare Department include a number of similar discrepancies and confusing factors. I believe they are available to you for further inspection.

Now, the point I have been trying to make throughout is twofold. In the first place, my information and experience have indicated to me that these organizations I have mentioned are actually "fronts"

for the Communist Party and, through it, for the Comintern. A great many of the workers in China aid-field definitely are not "reds" and would be able to refute me without any trouble if I said they were. The fact remains, though, that they are unwittingly giving their aid to an extensive program of Soviet activity that is of definite harm to the interests of the United States and which is of slight aid, if any, to the Chinese people.

Furthermore, I have found little to show that the money collected from the American public is being devoted to Chinese civilian relief. The records indicate that the greatest part of it is going for "peace education"—a term which can only be interpreted by the leaders of the collecting organizations. Since we have found those leaders to be avowed Communists or "fellow travelers," the inference is that the money goes to finance "red" propaganda in the United States.

If you have followed the activities of the Communist International and its relations with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, you will realize how closely they are bound together. It is because of this fact that these maneuvers of the American Communists are potentially dangerous to the United States. The ultimate object is simply to have the United States take the initiative in and bear the expense of crippling Japan in anticipation of an eventual war between that country and Russia. Secondly, these activities will convert China into a soviet state if it should emerge victorious from its present war. It is these two projects that the American public is supporting when it contributes to the continued existence of the Communist "front" groups I have mentioned today.

I hope I have made myself perfectly clear on the organizations involved. They include the American Friends of the Chinese People, the Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression. Investigation into their sponsorship has shown them to be the result of work by the same set of known Communist supporters. The fact that many of the names appearing on their letterheads are those of well-known people whose antecedents are above reproach is an indication of the same policy. That is to dress the windows of these "front" organizations with prominent persons who are obviously too busy to take part in their affairs. Such detail work is left to the men and women whose activities we have followed today. Parenthetically I might add that a great many other radical workers, whose names do not appear in the letterhead, are constantly moving from one body to another.

These facts lead me to believe that an overwhelming majority of the anti-Japanese activity in the United States is now controlled by the Communists. I would not want to be quoted as saying that sentiment against Japan in this country has entirely been worked up by the "reds," but there is no denying that these people are capitalizing on the natural feelings of the public. The boycott movement is certainly being kept alive through their unremitting efforts. The information I have given you on the American Communist Party's open backing of the coming pressure on Congress for a complete severance of trade relations with Japan prove conclusively how far this goes.

The CHAIRMAN. I have found all the way through the activities and strategy of the Communists that they take advantage of any international situation to promote the welfare and interest of Soviet Russia.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it is for the cause of Russia and on the side of Loyalist Spain.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore, all friends of the Communist Party of the United States, and their front organizations, change their attitude from one of strict neutrality to one in which they want the United States to take an active part on behalf of Loyalist Spain.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When we go into China, we find that, at the beginning of the struggle, when Chang Kai-shek was opposing the Communists, the Communists of the United States and throughout the world were denouncing the Chinese Government.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But when the coalition was formed between the Chinese forces in China, then we find the Communist Party changing its policy, and they now want to go to the aid of China. Does not that indicate that the policy of the Communists in the United States and of their front organizations is determined by the Comintern?

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is just in the interest of Russia in each particular situation.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir. Originally, it was in the interest of Russia to support the Chinese Soviet against the Nationalist Government. Now, when the two are merged, it is to the interest of Communists to support China against Japan.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we find these front organizations, which have some counterpart in the other movements, taking the same attitude. For instance, if you take the Spanish situation, you have the Friends of Spain, and other organizations to aid the Loyalists, and they use the same framework organization to fit every emergency.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Primarily for the purpose of raising funds in the United States.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And no one knows what percentage of those funds ever reach their destination.

Mr. LILICO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as the records you have been able to get shows, very little reaches China on the one hand or the Spanish Loyalists on the other hand.

Mr. LILICO. Very little directly reaches them. I do not know how far their front organizations' money goes. It is apparently turned over to another body.

The CHAIRMAN. We see from their literature that they are beginning a concentrated drive over the country, and that is, apparently, directed at the next Congress.



Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir; presumably so, to urge legislation to do that they say will forbid the shipment of war materials, and in this case that refers particularly to Japan. Since Japan is now importing only war materials that would mean a complete severance of trade relations, so that there would be a very small trickle of business.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it is the policy of the Communists to cripple or hinder any country in a war against Russia?

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Whoever they may happen to be at the particular time.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is very interesting to note the systematic and concentrated drive right on at this time. We see evidence of it every day. What do you draw from the fact that none of these organizations or front organizations have denounced communism?

Mr. LILICO. It is obviously that they are either the same, or we could give them some latitude and say that they are very left wing Liberals or open Communist supporters. I do not believe in labeling anyone a Communist because he is a Liberal, but it is obvious that there is a very strong Communist backing in the whole thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not that be accounted for by the fact that any number of those in prominent positions are well-known Communists, and would not that keep down any effort to condemn communism in them?

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They avoid anything that approaches a criticism of communism.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir. Then, besides this particular material here, I found that a lot of this criticism of what they call Fascist activities was outspoken, while the Communist activities were ignored.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct to say that under false pretenses Communists are raising funds in the United States to further their own activities in the United States?

Mr. LILICO. That is true, in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Thousands of Americans are contributing to a propaganda campaign, the ultimate purpose of which is to involve us in foreign entanglements, always on the side of Soviet Russia.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you yourself are not in sympathy with, or you are not taking any side in favor of, Japan?

Mr. LILICO. Not the slightest. I have often spoken against Japan, so far as that is concerned, or against some of their activities.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not approve the conquest of any country by force of arms.

Mr. LILICO. No, sir. I have tried to make myself a neutral observer.

The CHAIRMAN. You appreciate the fact that there is a natural sympathy for any people who are victimized, and they naturally sympathize with China as they would with any country that was being overrun in a war.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Communists simply exploit this sympathy to further the cause of communism with American money.

Mr. LILICO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you for your testimony.

(Documentary material submitted by Mr. Lillico was marked "Lillico Exhibit No. 1, November 22, 1938," and filed with the committee.)

### TESTIMONY OF SAM BARON

• (The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you some preliminary questions before you go into this discussion.

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. BARON. Sam Baron.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. BARON. In Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. In what year were you born?

Mr. BARON. In 1903.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you immigrate to the United States?

Mr. BARON. When about 2 years of age.

The CHAIRMAN. Your parents came to the United States?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were brought here with them?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have lived in the United States ever since, or this has been your home.

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately when were you naturalized?

Mr. BARON. About 25 or 30 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Your father and mother were both naturalized citizens?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you locate?

Mr. BARON. In New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have lived there ever since?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been your home from the time you landed until the present time.

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir; aside from the periods when I was traveling.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not taking into consideration your various travels, but you have always regarded New York as your home?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What has been your education?

Mr. BARON. Grammar school only.

The CHAIRMAN. Only a grammar-school education.

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to do much reading?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir; quite a lot.

The CHAIRMAN. You have acquired your education through your own efforts.

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been or you are a Socialist, are you not?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a member of the Socialist Party?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a member of the Socialist Party?

Mr. BARON. Since approximately 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. For the purposes of the record, not to get into any arguments about socialism, or anything of that sort, I want to ask you some questions. First, do you hold any office in the Socialist Party?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir; I am an alternate member of the executive committee of the Socialist Party of America, and I am also a member of the State committee of the New York Socialist Party. I hold positions on other committees, too numerous to mention. I think we could rest there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it correct to say that you have taken a very active part in the Socialist Party?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You were also a candidate, were you not?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir; I was a candidate for the House of Representatives from Kings County in the last election, on the Socialist Party ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected with the I. L. G. W. U.?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir. That is the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did you hold in that organization?

Mr. BARON. I was assistant manager of the investigation department, or you might call it the accountancy department.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hold a position in the Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir; I was vice president, and subsequently president of the union.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hold any position with the United Spanish Society?

Mr. BARON. I was secretary of that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever connected with the Socialist paper, or the Call?

Mr. BARON. I was formerly on its editorial board and its correspondent, or its correspondent in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. You were its correspondent in Spain?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that gives your background. What I want to do is to have you briefly explain to this committee the difference between socialism, or what the Socialist Party believes in, and the Communist Party, in the United States, or what they believe in, and teach. Give us the distinction between the two, from the beginning on down. Do not make it too lengthy, but we would like to have for the record a correct statement of the distinction between them.

Mr. BARON. I wonder if I might suggest, Mr. Chairman, that if you will let me proceed I think it will become clear, throughout my testimony, the distinctions between these two organizations—the vital,



active distinctions as they crop up all through my testimony. I think in that way you will have a graphic illustration of the tremendous fundamental differences between the Socialist Party or the Socialist movement and the Communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. That is fine. Now, in that connection will you touch on this: Are you familiar with the Fourth Congress of the Labor Socialist Congress held in Vienna from July 4 to August 1, led by the British Labor Party? Are you familiar with that?

Mr. BARON. Was that last year?

The CHAIRMAN. No; that was back in 1931, was it not?

Mr. BARON. Oh, yes; I know what you refer to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Fourth Congress. The reason I wanted you to touch on that is that we have a report on this congress by Mr. Saposs, which report has become a matter of controversy in view of a statement issued by Mr. Madden, who evidently made the statement before reading the article; and if you have any information on that Fourth Congress, along with your explanation, I would like you to bring it in.

Mr. BARON. Yes; I will touch upon it to the best of my ability as I go along.

The CHAIRMAN. Particularly with reference to the division that grew up there between the majority, who wanted to pursue peaceful methods, and the minority, who were the revolutionary socialists, and who wanted to achieve their objectives by force and violence.

Mr. BARON. As I stated to the committee, I presently hold office in the Socialist Party of America. I have been subpoenaed by this committee, and I am here testifying because I want to testify. If I thought that I shouldn't, no subpoena would have forced me to testify. I do not hide behind the subpoena.

However, I must face facts, and one fact is that this committee, in certain sections of the working class, there is a pronounced feeling against; and because that is so, I want to make public my letter of resignation from the Socialist Party of America.

In making public this letter I want to demonstrate that I testify only as an individual, and that no organization is responsible for my testimony.

I quote from the letter:

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR COMRADES: Writing this letter is without doubt the most difficult task I have ever had to perform. I am a Socialist and will remain a Socialist, but despite this I think it is only fair that I offer my resignation to the Socialist Party.

The other day I received a subpoena ordering me to appear before the Dies committee to testify regarding my experiences in Spain. I assure you my decision to appear was made only after days and sleepless nights of earnest thought. I can never rest in peace if I refuse this opportunity to expose the vicious, murderous role of the Communists in Spain and perhaps to aid in saving the lives of anti-Fascists of all nationalities who lie rotting in the prisons of Spain only because they refused to follow the political and tactical line of the Stalinists.

(The letter referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit A," November 22, 1938.)

The CHAIRMAN. That does not make the resignation effective; that is just the tender of the resignation?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It has to be acted upon by the party?

Mr. BARON. That is right. In other words, I do not want to resign from the party, but I offer them this opportunity to accept it if they care to.

I wish also at this time, so that there may be no confusion on the outside or to the committee, to place in the record various credentials from the Socialist Party and from the Socialist Call, in order to show that what I have stated before the committee is a fact.

Here I have a credential from the Socialist Call——

The CHAIRMAN. From the Socialist what?

Mr. BARON. Call. That is the official organ of the Socialist Party.

This is my credential as a correspondent in Spain.

**(The letter referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit 1," November 22, 1938.)**

Mr. BARON. Here I have a credential from the Socialist Party for my activities in Spain.

**(The letter referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit 2" November 22, 1938.)**

Mr. BARON. Inasmuch as I made two trips to Spain during the present war, I have two credentials from the Socialist Party.

**(The letter submitted was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 3, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. I am also going to place in the record a copy of the stationery, which indicates that I was secretary of the United Spanish Societies, whose function was to organize the Madison Square Garden meeting for the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, Fernando de los Rios. That was his first public meeting in New York.

**(The paper referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 4, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. There are two things I am going to do now. Inasmuch as I am going to testify relative to the Communists, and also on the Spanish issue, I know the committee will not object if I first show my relationship, my personal relationship and activities to the Communist movement and to the question of the war in Spain.

I am going to place in the record here a newspaper—a foreign newspaper that I accidentally picked up in Europe which, peculiarly enough, has reproduced a picture of the Madison Square Garden meeting in New York, in which I am photographed with the Ambassador.

**(The paper referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 5, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. And at the same time I wonder if I can move over to the map and indicate the territory that I traveled as a correspondent, which will give a background to my testimony later on?

The CHAIRMAN. Surely.

Mr. BARON. The first time, on entering Spain, I flew in from Toulouse, France, down to Valencia.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that, Mr. Baron?

Mr. BARON. That was in the early part of February 1937.

One of the trips I took by automobile was from Valencia all the way down the Mediterranean coast, through Alicante, through Carta-

gena, down to Almeria, right up to the Murcia front, which is outside Malaga. From Murcia I went back to Almeria, went all through the fronts around the city of Jaen, and the Cordova fronts, and returned to Valencia. Then I went to Madrid and was in that city for a month, and returned by automobile to Valencia.

Then on another trip by automobile I went to Albacete, from Albacete to Alicante, from Alicante to Valencia, and from Valencia on out of Spain by plane to Toulouse.

On the second trip, which was in September 1937, I came by railroad from the border town of Pucierda, by train down to Barcelona, and stayed for a time at Barcelona, went down to Valencia and stayed there for a while, returned to Barcelona, and then on out into France.

I tried to compute the mileage, and I got somewhere around 5,000 miles of Loyalist territory, speaking with various Government officials, speaking with leaders of the trade unions, political organizations, and with the humble rank and file of the workers and the farmers.

Mr. MOSIER. And all the time writing stories back for the Call?

Mr. BARON. Oh, yes.

Now, to corroborate that, I am going to place in the record—and here let me interject. The reason I am going to this trouble is that the Communist press has carried on for many months a slander campaign which would lead the reader to believe that I had been nowhere in Spain but in the city of Valencia, in order to discredit anything I might say. So I am going to put into the record what is known in Spain as a salvoconducto, which means a safe-conduct pass. In other words, you cannot go from one place to another without securing this pass from the Government officials.

Here is one from the Spanish Ambassador to France, which, in effect, tells whoever is concerned in Spain that I am all right, and so forth and so on, and to give me every cooperation.

**(The paper referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 6, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. I have another from the Spanish Ambassador to France, on my first trip to Spain.

**(The paper referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 7, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. And here, from the military organizations and the governmental departments, are nine safe conduct passes to various parts of Spain.

**(The documents referred to were marked "Baron Exhibit No. 8, November 22, 1938," Nos. 1 to 9, inclusive.)**

Mr. BARON. In addition to that, I am going to put in the record hotel bills in many cities that I have stopped in in Spain.

**(The papers referred to were marked "Baron Exhibit No. 9, November 22, 1938," Nos. 1 to 13, inclusive.)**

Mr. BARON. Now I shall relate, as briefly as I can, the ceremony of the flag that I presented to the Loyalist Government from the Socialist Party of America, to which occasion much publicity was



given, and I have here photographs and Spanish newspapers that tell about it.

**(The papers referred to were marked "Baron Exhibit No. 10, November 22, 1938," Nos. 1 to 7, inclusive.)**

Mr. BARON. The Government even went so far as to reproduce my speech and the reply to it in pamphlet form, which was distributed widely through Spain.

**(The document referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 11, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. Also, in connection with my work in behalf of the Loyalist Government—and I want it distinctly understood that I support the Loyalist Government in its war against what I call international fascism—let the record show an interview by Frank Tinsley, a correspondent for Reuter's Agency. He interviewed me upon my return from Madrid to Valencia, and I have here a certified copy of that interview, with the stamp of the censorship upon it. My opinions are very clear in this interview, and I want the record to show it.

It is headed up:

Reuter's by telephone, April 23, 1937.

For Sunday papers: Valencia.

"The insurgents are shelling Madrid as they have never shelled it before. It is awful, and I cannot find words adequately to describe it." These words were spoken by an American journalist from New York, Mr. S. Baron, in an interview with Reuter's correspondent today upon his return from Madrid. He has been there for some weeks, and has been through the horrors of the repeated shelling visited upon the city with terrific intensity this past week.

"They are bombing Madrid every day now, sometimes three times, and sometimes twice. The shelling seems to last about 40 minutes on the average, and the missiles are falling all over the place. No more is there any question of a definite objective it would seem," he continued. "The insurgents now have two batteries trained on the city, one at Carabanchel and the other at Garabitas, and from their dual bombardment we get a cross-fire. Never shall I forget the sound of the shells. In some places you can hear the report as the gun is fired. Then there is an agonizing wait of a second or so, then comes the wail of the shell and instantly a sickening crash as it strikes and bursts within a building or on one of the thoroughfares.

"They are using, it seems, smaller shells first for range-finding purposes, and then, when they think they have got the range, they let us have much bigger ones, which literally make the vicinity in which they fall shudder.

"Notwithstanding the strain of all this, the people are still bearing up really wonderfully. I was sitting in a cinema one day watching Charlie Chaplin's film, *Modern Times*, when a bombardment started. There was not the slightest panic. Nobody got up and walked out, and people just stayed where they were and saw the picture through."

Mr. Baron said that, unlike recently, when the people paid little attention to the occasional shelling of the city and made little or no attempt to go to the shelters provided, today there is a concerted rush for places of safety. Sometimes there is panic, the crowds rushing blindly in any direction as long as they can get away. And then, as soon as there is a lull and the bombardment seems to have ended, back they come unconcernedly to the boulevards and go about their business. When a shell falls in the street and injures anyone there is a rush to help the victim and he or she is hurried into a nearby building or a passing car is commandeered to speed him to hospital. One reason why so many women have been killed, Mr. Baron believes, is that instinctively they try to protect the children with them instead of flinging themselves on the ground or darting into doorways when a shell is heard approaching. The men, he thinks, are quicker on the whole to take shelter.

It is estimated that some 200 shells fell on Madrid on Thursday alone, and Mr. Baron, in a rough guess, told Reuter that he thought between 6 and 7

hundred must have fallen in the city within the week. "It is estimated," he said, "that more than 100 people have been killed during the week and a tremendous number injured.

The Madrid newspapers are now calling upon the people to take every advantage of air raid and bombardment shelters, or better still, to evacuate the city to save themselves from being killed. To bring home to the people the full horror of the thing, the papers are printing terrible photographs of women and children, taken where they lay after being killed by shells.

In conclusion, Mr. Baron said, "The terrible sights which the journalists have to look upon these days in Madrid when they go out to see the results of a bombardment, beggar description. I saw both legs blown clean off a man in the vicinity of the Grand Via, and his shout of agony I shall never forget as long as I live."

**(The paper referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 11-A, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. Upon my return from Spain the first time, I want to put in the record various newspaper clippings which report stories, pro-Loyalist stories, from my speeches that I have made around the country, including a clipping which shows my picture on the front page, in connection with a story for Loyalist Spain.

**(The papers referred to were marked "Baron Exhibit No. 12, November 22, 1938," Nos. 1 and 2.)**

Mr. BARON. Here I have an article written for the Jewish Daily Forward, in which my picture appears, in behalf of Loyalist Spain.

**(The paper referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 13, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. So it must be clear to the members of the committee that my activities in behalf of Loyalist Spain have been many, and that I do not come to this committee in behalf of any organization or force in the United States that is opposed to the Loyalist Government. That is the point that I want to make very strongly.

In addition to these things that I have stated, I broadcast over the Government station in Madrid, EAQ, to the United States; also I gave news reports over the radio station UGT in Madrid in behalf of the Loyalist Government in Spain.

That about sums up, but the last item is this Government identification card, showing that I was an accredited correspondent in Spain.

**(The card referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 14, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. Now I am going into the second question, and that is my personal activities in relation to the Communist movement from 1931 on. So these two things will give the personal background to the matters that I am going to testify to later on.

As a member of the Socialist Party of the United States, I may say that there were conflicts which subsequently resulted in a split in that party, and one of the crucial questions was the Socialist Party's attitude to the Communist Party. There were those who believed in the united front, and there were those who did not believe in the united front. I at that time fought strenuously with those who believed in the united front, and when the Socialist Party split I stayed with the official Socialist Party, to indicate my support of the united front.

In 1935 I was a delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention in Atlantic City, and in that convention a proposition was put forward to the convention, which, in effect, would bar members of the Communist Party from holding office in any union in the American Federation of Labor. I was against that proposition. And let me add, before I go any further, that in 1935 I was against that proposition, but in 1938, if I were given the opportunity, I would vote for the proposition; and that ever since the day the Communist Party of the United States has put into its constitution a proposition wherein they pledge that they will drive out of the labor movement all Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, and other proven enemies of the working class.

Now, I want you to specifically bear that last part in mind—"and other enemies of the working class." Under that provision they sit in judgment, and they say, and they prove to their satisfaction—in other words, what I mean to say is this: They are the judge and jury, and when they decide that a member of the working class should be driven out, they proceed to give instructions to their friends and to their stooges and to their members in organizations, economical and fraternal.

Now, inasmuch as the Communist Party has gone into a matter of legislating on driving people out of the labor movement, I would, in turn, be for a proposition which would drive the Communists out of the labor movement.

But it is interesting to tell—I hope it will be interesting—that when this proposition came before the convention I, being opposed to it, went to Phil Murray, who is now head of the steel union, and I said to him that if this proposition is passed it will be used as a blanket to get all those people who are in opposition on other questions; that this amendment to the constitution would not be limited to Communists, but that certain people would be able to get other elements in the trade union movement, other than Communists.

Phil Murray said to me that I have got something there and would I speak to John L. Lewis about it. I asked him, "Where can I see John L. Lewis?" and it so happened that he was stopping at the same hotel that I was at Atlantic City, and that night, with John L. Lewis and Phil Murray, I spoke my heart out for a half hour against this proposition, and when I got through, John L. Lewis said, "We haven't discussed it; we haven't made up our minds: but have breakfast with me tomorrow morning and I will give you the answer."

So the following morning I had breakfast with John L. Lewis, and he told me that "They are going to fight against this proposition barring Communists from the union, from the A. F. of L." And at that time I think John L. Lewis was perfectly correct.

But I only want to show my activities in conjunction with the Communists.

**(The document referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 15, November 22, 1938.")**

Mr. BARON. If I have not made this point clear, I will wait and you can ask me questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee does not care to ask any questions at this time.



Mr. BARON. Further, although witnessing in Spain many things, the very thought of which makes me shudder, I came back the first time and still propagated, or rather, wrote in behalf of united action, and I quote from the Socialist Call of June 12, 1937:

In this hour when Fascist bombs and shells are bursting over Spain, it is essential that unity be restored in order that the government may be able to carry through the war to a successful conclusion.

(The clipping referred to was marked "Baron Exhibit No. 16, November 22, 1938.")

Mr. BARON. That is just one paragraph of my united-front aspirations.

I have mentioned that I was president of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union. After the 1935 A. F. of L. convention I came back to my union, and I was told by the Communist faction in the union that they would not permit certain members of the union to run for office because they disagreed with them politically. You can well imagine my position. Here I had just returned from the A. F. of L. convention, where I had fought for the right of the Communists to be inside of a trade union, and I come back to my union and the Communists tell me that they wish to exclude others from holding office in a trade union. And the example I make there is that, in the very nature of things, the Communists are as totalitarian as any given Fascist movement in the world; that they do not tolerate opposition, and they will do everything under the sun to eliminate opposition wherever it rears its head.

Well, of course, I told them I would have nothing to do with any such plan. And Louis Merrill, who is now international president of the United Office and Professional Workers Union of America, C. I. O., and a Communist, came to me and made me a proposition. That proposition was that the Communists would support me for the presidency of the B. O. & P. W. Union if I would lay off in the fight that was to occur in the union between them and the elements they could not tolerate. In other words, the proposition was that I should sell out my following and lay low in that fight. Well, I threw Mr. Louis Merrill out of the office.

Then they thought a woman could do what a man could not do, and they sent a woman to me, a Miss Norma Aaronson, who is a leader of the dual office workers union in the days when—you have heard a lot of testimony about this—in the days when the Communist movement had this dual union, when it split away from the organized labor movement and set up its own union. This girl was the leader of that union, but since they have liquidated that union, she came into the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union.

They sent this woman to me to make the same proposition. I refused.

I think I can draw this point to a head by saying that the Communists, of course, having liquidated their dual union, were able to mass forces, and the anti-Communists in that union were defeated.

After this defeat I still went on and thought that unity was a wise thing under the circumstances, and I was named to the executive committee of the North American Committee for Spanish Democracy,

and on the executive committee of the North American Committee I functioned in behalf of Loyalist Spain.

That is all I wish to say in connection with my activities in relationship to the Communist Party and to the issue of Spain.

Now, I come to the testimony that I wish to give this committee. But, however, before giving this testimony, I would like to say this. The greatest issue presented by the Communist movement of the world is the people's front against Fascist aggression. There are various other slogans, but they all fit into the same picture, and that is their most fundamental alleged objective.

But this slogan there are all sorts of united fronts, all sorts of organizations created to perpetuate the supposed ideals of this slogan. But I want to show what a mockery this slogan is in actuality, by starting first with Soviet Russia. And let us see what has happened there, and under the domination of the Communist Party and the domination of the polit bureau over the Communist Party in Russia, and the domination of Joseph Stalin over the polit bureau, therefore making it a personal dictatorship.

From the beginning Soviet Russia has been one purge after another. It started with the Kronstadt sales, who were exterminated because of their opposition at the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution against the powers that be.

After the Kronstadt sales were liquidated, the Bolsheviks started on the anarchists and liquidated them. Following them were the Monchavists and all forces who believed in democracy. They were exterminated.

Then came the struggle between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Trotsky said, "Let us do it this way at this time," and Stalin said, "No." Trotsky was out, and expelled from the country because he dared to take the dispute out to the people.

With the elimination of Trotsky there was a campaign against those who followed his leadership, and this campaign has gone to the extent of a climax in the last 3 years where it seems that every bit of opposition to Joseph Stalin has been purged, either purged up against the wall, or purged by being sent into the various prisons of Soviet Russia.

That is a thumbnail sketch of Soviet Russia under the leadership of this organization that calls for a people's front against the Fascist aggressors.

Now, let us go to Germany. In Germany, in the years 1931 and 1932, the Communist Party of that country collaborated and voted together with the Nazi Party of Germany. They voted together in the Reichstadt, and acted together in Prussia, and this was the greatest contributing factor for Adolf Hitler coming to power. That was in 1931 and 1932.

Let us go further, in 1934, in Austria. In Austria, when Dollfuss was suppressing every iota of democracy in Austria, and the democratic organizations were defending themselves, the Communist Party called these people social Fascists. These people who were defending themselves against these forces were called social Fascists.

And every time I hear this slogan called out, united front, people's front, democratic front, let us get together, and the rest of it, to my mind comes the picture of the dead and those who are in prison in

Soviet Russia and those in prison in Spain, all holding up their arms and saying they want a united front.

Then we are told that this is in the past, that the Communist movement is no longer that way, that we really believe that our first duty is preserve democracy. Well, let us see. Let us see if that is so, and we will go into Spain in the years 1936 to 1938, and we will see whether the Communist movement has any desire for democracy.

On July 18, 1936, a revolt started in Spanish Morocco, declared by General Franco, but the real leader was Gen. Sanjurjo. But, fortunately, by an act of God, his plane, coming from Portugal, crashed, and he was killed before he could take up the leadership of that revolt.

There was a situation where the legal Government of Loyalist Spain would have crushed that revolt within 2 months, if they had had the material to do it.

So let us turn to this workers' fatherland, Soviet Russia, and see what happened there. I am going to quote from a famous French writer by the name of Andre Gide, who was in Soviet Russia at the time the Spanish revolt started. This quotation is taken from his book, "Return From the U. S. S. R."

The author tells of a banquet in the Soviet Union at which he was a guest. One of his traveling companions, also a Frenchman—

\* \* \* rose and in Russian suggested that they drink a glass to the triumph of the Spanish Red Front. They applauded tepidly but with some discomfort, it seemed to us; and immediately, as if in reply, "a toast to Stalin."

At my turn I lifted my glass for political prisoners in Germany, Yugoslavia, Hungary. They applauded, this time with genuine enthusiasm. They clinked and drank. Then once more, immediately "a toast to Stalin." Concerning the victims of fascism in Germany and elsewhere, they knew what attitude to have. But concerning the disturbances and the trouble in Spain, public and private opinion awaited the directions of Pravda which had not yet spoken up.

I read this for the purpose of telling this committee that Soviet Russia did not send in any aid to Spain until approximately 4 months had passed. That is something I am angry at, but I do not know whether the committee is angry at it.

In other words, I am trying to show that, despite these slogans, Soviet Russia plays its own politics.

But once the aid was sent into Spain, along with that was imported Cheko and the OGPU.

Let me quote from the Russian newspaper Pravda, which is the official organ of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia and of the Communist International. On December 17, 1936, just shortly after the first shipment went into Loyalist Spain, they wrote as follows:

As for Catalonia, the purging of the Trotskyites and the Anarcho Syndicalists had begun. It will be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the U. S. S. R.

Speaking about the testimony with reference to Trotskyites and other important testimony, let the record show that so far as I am personally concerned you can take Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin and put them on an island somewhere and let them fight it out. I have no sympathy for the political principles of any Communist group, and what I am saying here is that at the beginning of the war Soviet Russia had already declared that they would wipe out the opposition to the Stalinist movement in Spain.



Let the record also show that authorities on political matters in Spain who have been there and come back, have wrestled with the question as to how many Trotskyites there are in Spain, and the top figure that any authority would give is 20 followers of Leon Trotsky.

So you can readily see that the basis, the premise, is false, that this slogan, "Trotskyite Fascist," is the groundwork for getting rid of other elements that are in the Communist Party.

In Soviet Russia the newspapers show an agent of Japan and Germany up against the wall, and he is shot. In Spain they show an agent of Franco, a Trotskyite Fascist, and he lands in a dungeon or worse.

So that was the beginning of what I think has contributed more for the apparent lack of success of the Loyalist forces against international fascism in Spain. From that moment I personally had experiences in Spain which indicated or revealed graphically that statement I have read about the beginning of the purge. And the first incident that I have in mind to relate to you I have written down so that there may be no mistake about it. It was one of those trips that I referred to on a map of Spain, and on this trip were Edward Kennedy, of the Associated Press; Frank Tinsley, of Reuter's Agency, the English agency; a Spanish interpreter by the name of Sancha; and a chauffeur. We were making this long, tedious trip through the southern front, and were on our way back, nearing Valencia, when this incident occurred.

We were speeding at 50 miles an hour on the road back to Valencia. In another hour we would be back in the capital. About 500 yards ahead of us was the little town of Gandia. A few carts and a stray automobile here and there made up the slight trickle of traffic.

Suddenly a splutter of rifle fire burst across the road. Thomas stamped his foot on the brake and we jerked to a stop. From farther up the road, near the village, came a bedlam of shouting. We waited, staring intently down the now-deserted highway. Then we saw a young man, dressed in a leather jacket and breeches, running at top speed, an automatic in his hand. Soon he disappeared from sight. Nobody attempted to cross the no-man's land that lay between us and the town.

Along the eastern side of the road were clustered orange groves, and behind them, out of sight, the calm Mediterranean. A great distance away, men peered cautiously from behind trees and flimsy fences as the firing continued intermittently. There was no motion at all, since the revolver-carrying young man had fled. Beside the occasional shots that still sounded in the orange groves, the only evidence of something wrong was the fact that a few heavy-looking objects lay in the road, but we were too far away to make out just what they were.

The minutes dragged slowly by as we remained seated in the car, speculating on the cause of the disturbance. We were far from the lines, only some 40 miles from Valencia, and it was impossible that any Fascist soldiers could have reached this point. Someone suggested that a landing-party might have gotten through from the sea, but we rejected that idea. Had any Fascist ships approached the coast and attempted to land men, the whole area would have

been alive with Government forces and a brisk battle would be under way instead of this guerilla-exchange of shots.

We finally decided to make a dash for the town. We took a vote on the matter and even Tinsley, pale as a ghost but determined to get the story, insisted on it. Tomas ground the accelerator against the floor boards and we sped ahead at more than 60 miles an hour. I was in a back seat next to the window on the right. In spite of our rapid motion, I could see that a dead man lay in the roadway not far from three wrecked motorcycles. Above the roar of the motor I heard a cry for help and saw another man in a leather jacket lying against a fence, his hands raised in a gesture of pleading, the fingers twitching feebly in anguish—his whole demeanor indicating that he had been wounded. I shouted to Tomas to stop, but before he could do so we had already moved on to the very edge of the town where we had seen the men who had taken shelter behind the trees. The shooting had ceased, and Sancha, our Government interpreter, climbed out on one running board while I got out on the other. We raised our clenched fists in the Republican salute as we jumped off, and the car rolled away from us to be almost immediately surrounded when it came to rest by a group of workers, who immediately trained their rifles on us.

We stood in our tracks and made no move as we heard the men arguing with each other. "Shoot!" was the thesis of some. We merely held our clenched fists in the air and I yelled a desperate refrain: "Prensa! Prensa! Prensa!" indicating that we were newspapermen. The barrels still pointed at us, the militiamen still looked down the sights as they continued to argue. For some reason, Sancha said nothing to them until I grabbed his arm and shrieked: "Tell them there is a wounded comrade down the road." They stopped their debate then as to the wisdom of shooting us without any further investigation and discussed the information we had brought. But no one started in the direction of the injured men. I began to curse. Sancha burst into their new debate with a storm of words, and I shouted at him, "Tell the bastards if they don't get him, I will."

I turned my back on their rifles and started down the road. Had I been less excited I would probably have done nothing, but I had seen the agonized face of the man, and by this time I was able to approximate what had happened. He was obviously a dispatch carrier for one of the military units maintained by one of the anti-Fascist groups and had been shot while speeding down the road on his motorcycle. Once I had turned I realized to what danger I was exposing myself, but it was better to keep on walking. I wondered if I would hear the sound of the gun before the bullet hit me.

But they did not shoot. I suppose it is harder to fire at a man's back. That probably explains why victims are blindfolded and required to face the firing squad. Now, I was frightened by the thought of going down the open road in full view and possibly meeting a bullet from ambush. I crouched and ran behind a thin wicker fence that separated the orange groves from the highway. In back of it I found a shallow irrigation ditch and crawled along it. Soon I became aware that someone was following me. It was Sancha.

Together we made our way, screened from the road by the fence, until we could hear the cries of the wounded man. With bare hands we ripped away the thin wood, which was rotted by the weather and splintered easily between our fingers.

We reached the dispatch carrier without any difficulty. He had been shot through the arm, and a deep stain on his left side indicated that another bullet might be lodged there. Blood covered his clothes and the ground around him. As Sancha and I prepared to lift him and carry him back with us he protested, and Sancha explained that he was insisting that we also take his companero, the man lying dead in the road 15 feet away. Sancha could not bring himself to tell the poor fellow that his friend no longer needed our aid; he promised that we would come back immediately and get the other, too. We had carried him only a short distance when we heard a car behind us going toward the town. I stood in the center of the road and forced it to stop, its passengers almost green with fear.

We put the injured man in the rear seat and Sancha and I attempted to administer first aid, after cutting his clothes away. I am afraid we did a terrible job: our tourniquet was almost useless, for we had no stick with which to turn it tightly on his arm. We insisted on accompanying him ourselves to the hospital in Gandia.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a great deal of detail in that story. Can you not abbreviate that by telling us, in effect, what the point is to that?

Mr. BARON. This is the only item I am giving very much time to, and I do it deliberately because I want to show in detail, not in just a passing reference, to a certain extent, the condition that existed in Spain right after the Communist newspaper in Soviet Russia stated that they were going to exterminate the opposition.

There are many other items as to which I do not go into detail, but I do go into detail on this one because there were representatives of the American press present throughout the whole thing. That is the only reason I am going into such length on this item.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, that instance typifies the new policy of purge that the Communists put into effect in Spain at that time.

Mr. BARON. In the beginning of it; yes. To continue now with the story of this incident.

Meanwhile, we had succeeded in establishing some of the bare facts. The three dispatch carriers had been coming through Gandia and were fired upon. One had escaped—the man we saw on foot with drawn automatic; one had been killed and the other wounded.

We pushed on to Valencia, eager to get the story out. But night still found us on the road, stopped at the outskirts of the capital by a tremendous crowd of armed workers who had already heard the news and barricaded the highway. In the darkness, we could make out the figures of men hurrying back and forth in a state of excitement. They allowed no one to pass. Every car had been stopped at the point of the gun, and even after we presented our credentials, they refused to permit our car to go through their lines. It was clear from their confusion that they were not acting with Government au-



thority. One of their spokesmen explained that since we were newspapermen we could go into the city by street car, but we must leave the automobile behind. We argued, threatened, demanded that they phone officials in the Foreign Press Office of the Government, until they finally consented to let us continue. Tinsley and Kennedy, whose foreign clothes made them suspects as Fascists in the eyes of the crowd, were quite relieved to get on. But we were stopped again—this time by a group of men in uniform whose conduct revealed that they were acting in an official capacity.

We never got the story out. Rubio Hidalgo, chief of the foreign newspaper censorship in the Ministry of Propaganda, showed great interest in the story, and then refused to permit its transmission. No angle that we could suggest was acceptable and he put an end to my pleas with the statement: "Save it for your memoirs, Baron."

No one with any degree of responsibility would offer an explanation for the Gandia incident. Clearly it was not Fascist soldiers who had done the shooting—there were none for miles. It might have been the much talked of Quinta Columna, the Fascists in the rear whom Franco had boastfully described as his fifth column. But even the explanation seemed hardly reasonable. There was little to be gained by the Fascists from such an attack which could only serve to expose them to personal danger without winning any sort of advantage for their cause. But there was a third alternative, which we believed was being tacitly accepted by the people; the incident was part of the internecine warfare that was raging behind the Loyalist lines between working-class forces.

That night I was awakened in the Hotel English by the sound of a terrific explosion in the street. Next day I learned that an automobile and two passengers had been blown to bits. Anarchist leaders insisted that the victims were comrades who had been bombed by Communists.

These two items, one, this shooting outside of Gandia, illustrated what I said before, of the beginning of a reign of terror. The reason the story was never printed, as Kennedy, of the Associated Press, and Tinsley tried to get it out, is that in payment for the help of Soviet Russia the Communists were able to get control of the Censorship Department in Loyalist Spain.

That explains why I am going into detail on the terror because it has not appeared in the press of the United States by virtue of the control of the Communists of the agencies of news.

I have here a further illustration of the tenseness and the strain under which the people were at the time this terror started, and I tell of a bullfight which I attended, when all over the stadium there were fist fights and worse, and when I asked the officials in whose box I sat what was the meaning of it, they told me that the Communists again were after their opponents.

Sometime after the bullfight, I received an invitation from Liston Oak to lunch with him. At that time, as this release will indicate, he was the chief of the foreign propaganda section—that is, the English section of the propaganda. He took care of the English propaganda, propaganda to England and to the United States. I

want to put this in evidence to show his capacity at the time in Loyalist Spain. I am going to refer to Liston Oak.

(The release referred to is as follows:)

LISTON M. OAK, PRENSA Y PROPAGANDA EXTRANJERA, CALLE CAMPANEROS 1  
VALENCIA

VALENCIA, February —.—The hand-made silks of Spain, prized throughout Europe by lovers of fine fabrics, are once more being woven on the ancient looms of this city.

More than 5,000 examples of Valencia textiles are on exhibition at the Institute of Silk here, the product of 30 mills which have organized under one head as the unified textile industry.

Two large rooms are entirely decked with damask and brocades. Great flags of natural silk hold the walls, one of the banner of the city, the other of the textile industry union.

Lyons once vied with Valencia in the manufacturing of beautiful hand-loomed silks, but today the French mills have installed machines and Spain alone is master of the ancient craft.

Some of the Valencia fabrics are priced as high as 500 pesetas (about \$50) a meter, not only because of the quality of the natural silk, gold and silver, but also because of the length of time it takes to produce, skilled weavers turning out only 8 or 10 centimeters a day.

Steps are being taken to teach young weavers to handle the handlooms. The weaving of these precious silks requires long practice and a definite artistry. Production today is principally in the hands of old men and women.

Today's exhibition is the most complete ever held, archives from the fourteenth century failing to reveal any to compare with it. Sabater Filliol has been named by the Spanish Government to travel to the United States and Europe to propagandize the silks.

VALENCIA, February —.—All hospitals in Republican Spain with more than 300 beds are requisitioned for the use of the Ministry of War in the decree issued recently. The order includes Red Cross and Red Aid establishments, as well as these occupied by the International Brigade. The war department has allotted 10 pesetas (about a dollar) a day for the maintenance of each patient.

MADRID, February —.—Behind a vast Velasquez painting hanging in the drawing room of the palace of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera here a secret apartment was recently discovered containing arms, ammunition, as well as lists of Socialists arrested by the police in 1934.

Rivera, one of the plotters of the Fascist uprising last July, was tried and executed a few months ago by the Republicans at Alicante. He was the older son of the former dictator, Primo de Rivera.

VALENCIA, February —.—Although begging has been a profession in Spain for many centuries, a stubborn attempt is now being made to wipe it out. The Ministry of Health and Social Service recently adopted a measure creating a free soup kitchen, a retreat for the aged, and several children's homes here.

There is no place for the idle in our new economy, which is based on work, says the decree.

Plans are projected for a group of schools for the blind and other disabled.

VALENCIA, January 31.—Diego Martinez Barrio, the parliamentary president of the Spanish Cortes, which convened today, made a speech last night in which he declared that generals now serving under France had assured him

and President Azaña a few weeks before the July rebellion of their loyalty to the Republican government elected in February 1936.

"The Fascist generals," he said, "are characterized by hypocrisy and disloyalty." He mentioned General Horodes as an example. "While they were protesting their devotion to the principles of democracy they were conspiring with foreign Fascist agents for a rebellion. At that time all these people admitted the defeat of the conservative parties in the February elections and the triumph of the popular front parties."

Barrio stated that certain European powers are hoping to dismember Spain today as Turkey was dismembered in the nineteenth century. "We are an attacked nation invaded by foreign Fascist powers, but we are not a moribund," he declared. "Referring to the defeat of the Napoleonic armies in Spain," Barrio said, "it will likewise be here on Spanish soil that the eclipse will begin of certain audacious powers who wish to dominate Europe."

"President Azaña has said that a war of independence is being fought here. Already the Spaniards are face to face with foreign invaders. To fail to take up arms against them is an act of treason. He who fails to take the side of the government is serving the enemies of Spain.

"Those who have betrayed the state can never return to it. No one can expect to reestablish the state apparatus as it existed on July 18. After our victory the Spanish people will decide the future for Spain. \* \* \* Within the framework of the constitution let us find the formula which will permit us to transform our nation into a federation of republics each one with the organization that suits it best. \* \* \* But the first task is to win the war. That can only be done by complete collaboration with the government. That is the meaning of discipline. \* \* \*

MR. BARON. Some time after the bullfight I received an invitation from Liston Oak to lunch with him. Though I had never met him in America I knew of his activities in the Communist Party, and as a member of the Socialist Party which had been the target of vicious Communist attacks I was inclined to be suspicious of him. He was now in charge of a government bureau of foreign propaganda, the literature of which was distinctly colored by the point of view of Communist officials in the bureau. Oak had behind him a long career of service in the Communist Party of the United States. He had been the manager of its Workers' Library Publishers, a member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker, and the director of publicity for the party's national office in election campaigns. For 3 years he had been editor of Soviet Russia Today, organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and later editor of Fight, the organ of the Communist-led American League Against War and Fascism. I was loath to trust him.

We ate in the restaurant of the Hotel Ingles. I could see at once that he was deeply troubled; his intellectual face furrowed by an inner struggle that was most evident in his eyes as he peered through his glasses. It was apparent that he was going through the same conflict that has been disturbing many Communist intellectuals of late and which has resulted in driving numbers of them into the various dissident sects that now abound on the radical scene. At first I would not share with him my own fears about what was happening in Loyalist Spain but his suffering was so obviously the result of his sincerity that I could not question his good faith. He had recently been offered a position on the Moscow Daily News by Borodin but had decided to go to Spain instead, where he felt he could be of more service.

A visit to Russia a short time before had served only to increase his perplexities. Since our meeting he has put into writing some of the spiritual agony he experienced in those days and of which he



told me at this time in Valencia. Of his observations in Russia, he said:

It confirmed my worst fears about the Stalinist dictatorship, the suppression of all honest opposition and democracy and civil liberty within and outside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviets, and the trade unions. Worst of all, I saw the great gulf between the bureaucracy and the masses. The reigning apparatus which included party members and the Red Army, was reaping the lion's share of the benefits of "socialist" construction. I saw that party members were living in terror, that all independent thinking, all intellectual integrity had been destroyed.

In Spain he hoped to find the antidote for his despair, and he had plunged into the work of organizing a Loyalist propaganda campaign in England and the United States for the government. But the same intolerance and ruthlessness were to be found in the Spanish Communist movement and he realized that he was still "a cog in the Stalinist machinery of falsification, repression, and reaction."

He talked with the leaders of other working-class groups, with Andres Nin, Julian Gorkin, Jose Andrade, Jose Escuder, all leaders of the P. O. U. M. [party of Marxist Unity] and with Souchy and other anarchist leaders. They convinced him that the Communist Party in Spain was actually "kidnaping, torturing, and murdering anti-Stalinists, suppressing their meetings and newspapers, carrying out reactionary measures to destroy the conquest of the workers and peasants made in July and August 1936; blackmailing the other organizations in the Government by making Russian aid conditional upon Stalinist control."

He tried to continue his work in Spain but could not. About a month after our meeting in the Hotel Ingles, he left Spain. Explaining his departure, he has written—I want the members of the committee to please note this following quotation:

I met George Mink, American Communist, who boasted about his part in organizing the Spanish G. P. U. and offered me a job—to put the finger on "untrustworthy" volunteers entering Spain to fight against Fascism, such as the members of the British Independent Labor Party and the American Socialist Party.

Throughout my testimony I am going to refer again to Americans and how they, of course, became victims of a wide reign of terror. This is the first quotation. There will be many more.

Liston Oak's story is more than a personal tragedy. In it is the terrible disaster that the Communist Party has brought to the international working class, the disaster which has led Andre Gide to exclaim that we must not believe that the Soviet Union and its policies will determine the fate of international socialism. Thousands of others, like Gide and Oak, have become increasingly conscious of the catastrophic consequences of the various twists and turns of the Communist International as the Soviet Union has become gradually enmeshed in the maze of imperialist diplomacy. In the hearts of some, hope has dwindled into despair and faith betrayed has frozen into cynicism. Fortunately for the world, so far as others concerned, the effect of such events has been to bring home the need for reevaluation of accepted theories, resulting in a recognition of errors in the old faith and a rediscovery of the more basic truths.

Even among my fellow correspondents I could see how events reshaped their philosophy. One of our number, a journalist who

represented an international foreign news agency, was a devoted Communist. With pride he showed me a letter of rebuke sent from his London office chiding him for his partisan reporting. Knowing that I was a Socialist, he liked nothing better than to argue with me and justify every move in the 20-year history of the Communist International. No act of which the Communists had been the authors was subject to criticism in his eyes. For hours on end he would insist that the Communists were correct in their suppression of other working-class groups. On my second trip to Spain he was no longer to be seen in the foreign press office. He had been arrested by the Communists for some injudicious remark, held incommunicado, and released only after pressure had been brought to bear in his behalf by newspapermen.

Another of my friends, an English correspondent who had been a member of the Communist Party, changed visibly from day to day. The Communist policy of intolerance as applied in Spain—in the very name of democracy—made him realize that freedom cannot be won through tyranny, that workers cannot be emancipated through the suppression of their organizations. Labor cannot win peace and happiness through dictatorship of a Communist Party any more than through the dictatorship of a fuhrer. Its only hope lies in the processes of workers' democracy.

I want now to read from a newspaper, the New Leader. It is the official organ of the Social Democratic Federation, with headquarters in this city. The headline is:

Communist Cheka at Work in Spain.

Abramowitz's Son Held as Hostage.

Young Mark Rein But One of Many Social Democrats Kidnaped or Murdered Since Bolshevik Element Has Got Upper Hand.

I want this story in the record to show also that the Communist reign of terror did not apply, as they claimed, only to Trotskyite Fascists but applied to everyone—and I cannot repeat that too much—who is in disagreement with the role of the Communist Party. I quote from this newspaper, the New Leader:

A few hours before going to press, the New Leader receives permission to divulge a story which has in large part been known to a number of trusted Socialists on both sides of the Atlantic for some time past, but which could not be released because at least one human life seemed to be at stake.

It is the story of the kidnaping in Barcelona, more than 5 months ago, of an ardent young anti-Fascist, son of a leading Russian Social Democratic exile who has well earned the hatred of the Bolshevik dictatorship and of its allies and agents abroad. The motive of the kidnaping being easily surmised, and the ruthlessness of its instigators well known, the father and friends of the victim have till now avoided such publicity as might have endangered his life, meanwhile making every effort to ascertain pertinent facts and obtain his release.

The possibility of proceeding quickly and perhaps the reason for it, have passed.

Now it can be told and the telling well illustrates the methods of the Russian Communist Party and its Comintern and throws a vivid light upon the tragic conditions which have grown up in Spain as a result of the failure of the great democratic powers to take normal and decisive action when Fascist rebellion in that country first began.

## MARK REIN KIDNAPED

Shortly before midnight on April 9 a clerk on duty in the Hotel Continental at Barcelona received a telephone call for Mark Rein, a guest in the hotel. Connecting with the room and making sure that Rein had the call, he paid no further attention to the matter. A few minutes later he saw Rein go out on the street. From that moment the young man has not been seen.

When his absence was noted the next day, the appearance of his room indicated that he had gone out hastily expecting to return very soon.

On April 14, letters postmarked "Madrid, April 13," were received by the hotel and by a friend of Rein's, a Russian engineer named Nicola, saying that no one should worry about him and that he would be back in a few days. The letters were in Rein's handwriting, but the date in the letters, also "Madrid, April 13," was in another hand. It was physically impossible that a letter mailed in Madrid that day could be delivered in Barcelona on April 14.

I would like to say this, that it takes a week for a letter to go from Madrid to Valencia, and if you look on the map and note the distance between Madrid and Barcelona, a letter postmarked in Madrid on the 13th could not arrive at Barcelona on the 14th. That is a physical impossibility.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you about ready to get down to your experiences; what you saw over there, and so forth?

Mr. BARON. I have a few more items as a prologue to my own experience. I do not want this case to rest upon my personal experience, but I want in the record as many corroborating experiences of other people who have been in Spain, so that the issue presented is not one concerning myself personally against the Communist Party but the expert testimony of many people who have been in Spain and who have witnessed certain things.

The CHAIRMAN. May I suggest that you refer to those documents and hand them to the reporter, those that are supporting statements? It is not necessary for you to read them in detail. Would not that serve your purpose just as well?

Mr. BARON. If you think it is advisable, that is all right with me. May I finish this one item?

The CHAIRMAN. All right; go ahead.

Mr. BARON. It is revealing as to the methods used by this underground, illegal movement, how they operate.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have well illustrated it and supported it with references to the experiences of a number of others. I think you have emphasized that point very well.

Mr. BARON (reading) :

The postmarks are believed to have been forged—which would not be difficult.

Nicola, who was working as a technician for the anarchistic (and anti-Communist) trade unions in Catalonia, informed the Obrero Solidaridad, which published the news of Rein's disappearance. He also promptly informed Rein's father, who is widely known under his revolutionary name of Raphael Abramowitch—a Russian Social Democratic exile, living in Paris and a leading member of the executive committee of the Labor and Socialist International.

The father at once came to Spain, where he spent nearly a month, visiting Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid, following up every clue. He learned a great deal, but was not definitely able to locate his son.

It was first of all ascertained that persons representing themselves as police officers, but now known not to have been such, had visited the hotel and questioned some of its employees about Rein.



Abramowitch interviewed men of all factions. From all he received assurances that they knew nothing about the affair and promises of aid in his investigation. He got the impression that certain ones knew more than they would tell.

#### FALSE CLUES OFFERED

The German Communist Fritz (Karl Arndt) suggested that Rein had been arrested for registering under a false name. Arndt seemed not to know that Rein was the true family name.

Another German Communist, the one-time Reichstag member Dengel, told Abrahamowitch that his son had probably been murdered by the Trotskyites in revenge for having given the German Communists in Barcelona some information about the P. O. U. M. or Trotskyist organization.

It was found that these stories did not tally with known facts any more than they tallied with young Rein's character. They were apparently fabricated in an attempt to throw the father upon a wrong track.

Suggestions tending to implicate the local anarchists were, on being checked up, found to be equally flimsy.

#### LINK TO CHEKA

Through a Russian social revolutionist exile another line of investigation was opened. This man interviewed Alfred Hertz, who is known to be prominent in the Bolshevik Cheka abroad, and by a few questions involved Hertz in such contradictions as convinced him that this Chekist knew the inside truth about the matter and was trying hard to conceal it. In May he succeeded in interesting Mecca, a chief of the Catalonian general staff, in solving the Rein mystery and in measures against the Bolshevik Cheka—but early in July Mecca too vanished from sight and certainly not by his own will.

Before his disappearance, however, Mecca had established the fact that one Gomez Emperador, a secret police agent active in the neighborhood of the Continental Hotel, had, without the knowledge of his superiors, been maintaining close relation with Hertz and Arndt, of the Cheka. On being questioned by Mecca about the disappearance of Rein, Emperado showed great agitation, and shortly thereafter he absconded from Spain.

#### ALREADY 40 VICTIMS

The Rein case does not stand alone. The kidnaping and murdering of Socialists, and particularly of Russian Social Democrats, who have been serving the cause of democracy in Spain, has become almost a routine. The number of such victims has now run up to 40 or more. Rein himself, being an advocate of United Front, was not particularly obnoxious to the Communists, who now have largely the upper hand in Spain. In his case, however, there was a special reason, not for murdering him but for spiriting him away.

Rein's father and friends are convinced that he was kidnaped by Cheka agents: that he is still alive and has either been taken to Russia or is being held on a Soviet ship; and that the purpose of his captors is to extract information from him or to blackmail his friends into giving information, which would be useful to the Moscow dictatorship in its frantic efforts to cut off oppositionists in Russia from contact with the outside world.

The CHAIRMAN. You are offering such pertinent facts as you have, and what you want to do is to support it with as much documentary evidence as you can; is that correct?

Mr. BARON. I know it is tiresome to listen to a person reading for a half hour on end, but I am concerned not so much with the ears of the listeners here as to get this thing so much in full in the record that there will not be any chance of those people and the working class that I want to reach misunderstanding this as a personal issue between myself and the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I can understand that, especially in view of the fact that the critics are always hollering about unsupported allegations.

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. BARON. I can give you personal experiences here for hours on end. But I shall not do that. I am only taking the highlights.

There is another gentleman who has been in Spain. He is John Dos Passos. I think he is one of the most prominent writers in the United States. He has written many books, and he is very familiar with the Spanish question. He has been a devoted follower of the Communist movement for years. John Dos Passos went to Spain. I had seen him in Spain, spoken with him; had seen him in Paris and spoken with him there, too. I wish to quote just two paragraphs from what he said, and what he has written when he came back from Spain. In other words, he is another authority on this.

On the debit side it must be admitted that they have brought into Spain, along with their enthusiasm and their munitions, the secret Jesuitical methods, the Trotsky witch hunt, and all the intricate and bloody machinery of Kremlin policy.

The question which cannot be answered now is whether the Spanish people will have paid too high a price for the fine new army they have organized, and whether the Communist Party, once its social objectives are gone or translated into pie in the sky, won't turn out to be only one more magnificent instrument for power, which means a magnificent instrument for oppression.

That is from the magazine Common Sense, issue for July 1937.

In this quotation Dos Passos is not certain whether the price paid by Loyalist Spain for Soviet aid has been too great, but I have never asked Dos Passos. If I asked him today, I think he would agree with me that the price has been ruinous.

Now, I have quoted from Americans and newspapers, and I would like to take the time to read some quotations from the Spanish press, from all over Spain, which deal with the operations of the Communists in Spain. You will understand the importance of this. Not only do I produce statements of Americans who have been in Spain but I also have here translations from Spanish newspapers which tell of the operations of the Communists in Spain. I think that all of these things put together will make my personal testimony a little more understandable to the general public. It is my contention that when you tell the average person that a Communist has murdered someone, he will look at you and say, "I do not believe it." It is hard for a person to believe it. It is hard for the average person on the street to believe that one person was murdered by another person for political reasons in the working class. Now, the only way you can combat that approach is to so gather material that it is impossible for any person who reads it to decide that the one who is testifying is not telling the truth. I have been giving you quotations from newspapers and magazines and now I want to give you some Spanish translations. Is that all right?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. BARON. It is as follows:

It is siesta time in the little town of Villanueva de Alcardete in the Province of Toledo, and the date is March 15, 1937. Jesus Lozano Camara, proud of his membership in the anarchist C. N. T., which numbers more than a thousand here, is idling the afternoon away, standing in front of the union headquarters. His neighbor, Manuel Blanco Barrios, is a short distance away, but nearby is Vicente Villa Nueva, a Communist militiaman, better known as Facote, who calls Jesus to him. They exchange a few words and Jesus turns away, walking a few yards.

Suddenly Facote lifts his arm skillfully and whirls a hand grenade through the air. The anarchist workman is blown to bits. As if the act had been a signal, a volley of shots is poured into the headquarters of the C. N. T. from the offices of the defense committee and from the plaza.

The following week Solidaridad Obrera, the C. N. T. newspaper, reports the events:

One of the leaders of this attack was the militia sergeant, Maximino Merin Mansanero. The following day he was a member of the tribunal which was to investigate and judge the events. When the attack began there were 4 or 5 comrades and some 10 children in the C. N. T. headquarters, also two comrades from the U. G. T. (Socialist Union) and one left Republican. For some time before our comrades were being arrested as they came in from their work in the fields. Their union cards were taken away from them and torn up, and they were thrown into a cellar where, a few hours before, the mayor of the town had given a banquet to the militia and the political leaders, and they had conversed with great excitement about the C. N. T. Some of our comrades were met with hand grenades when they came into town. One was able to get away. Another was riddled by seven bullets as he stood in the doorway of his house. All together, 16 corpses were taken away at 9 o'clock the next morning, having been left in the streets overnight.

Among the dead was an aged worker, respected in the community as one of the founders of the Socialist Casa del Pueblo.

In Madrid the situation was far worse. The city being under siege was naturally subject to the strictest military discipline and the authority of the municipal officials had been set aside. Extraordinary powers rested in the hands of the defense junta of Madrid, and under it the Commissioner of Public Order functioned. That post was immediately seized by the Communists, who used it as a base from which to extend operations of their extralegal Cheka. Communist succeeded Communist in that office—Santiago Carillo, Serrano Ponsela, and then Jose Cazorla, whose conduct brought forth public protests from Premier Caballero himself. In Caballero's administration public opinion was stirred by the fact that the Commissioner had ordered the arrest of Verardini, an Anarchist in the service of the general staff of the central army. He was held for a few hours and after his release, in spite of the express orders of General Miaja, who headed the defense junta, Carillo gave publicity to the arrest in order to besmirch the reputation of Verardini. The junta rebuked the Commissioner of Public Order and authorized the publication CNT to set forth the facts. On doing so it found that Carrillo had the power to prevent the circulation of the issue.

Cazorla, one of Carillo's successors, won a reputation for severity toward non-Communist, anti-Fascist workers and leniency toward Fascists held under charges of cooperating with Franco. While a nephew of Mariano Sanchez Roca, Under Secretary of Justice, was arrested without any specific accusations, the nephew of the Fascist general, Queipo de Llano, was freed without any hearing on formal charges lodged against him. Cazorla had reached the post of Commissioner of Public Order only because of his membership in the Communist Party and his willingness to cooperate with its Cheka. He claimed that he had been a member of the Transport Workers Union of the C. M. T., but that organization stated publicly that his named appeared nowhere in its records and that his assertion was false.

I asked Caballero last October what his government had done about the situation that was then developing. "We recognize the existence



of the Cheka and undertook a definite course of action to eliminate it," he said. "That was one of the reasons why the Communists launched a campaign of slander against me."

In other words, a former Premier of Spain, started the terror against the Communists, or a reign of terror against the Communists, and the Communists, in turn, started a slander campaign against Caballero.

It was during Caballero's administration, at the end of April, that the revelation of Communist oppression brought about the dissolution of the Madrid defense junta on orders from Valencia. In Murcia the cruel system of persecution—the shootings, secret arrests, and raids on workers—resulted in Government action and the imprisonment of those responsible.

Murcia is one of the industrial and commercial centers of Loyalist Spain. It is the little Chicago of this section, for through it pass the arteries of trade to the seaport of Cartagena and the rest of Spain. Because of the investment of foreign capital in this region and the fact that part of the population consisted of commercial entrepreneurs, there were a large number of Fascist sympathizers in the province. Socialists in Murcia complained to me when I was there that little was being done to cope with the menace and expressed grave doubts concerning the loyalty of the local officials who hated the working class organizations, particularly the C. N. T. which was very strong. The Communist Party was weak, and intent on destroying its rivals, imposed a reign of terror on the people in which reactionary officials were happy to join. An investigation was launched, largely because of the demands of the C. N. T., and in April 1937 the legal machinery of the Republic was brought down on the heads of the guilty. Every political and economic group in the popular front, except the Communist Party, denounced the criminals.

The National Committee of the C. N. T. has declared:

On April 8 and 10, the principal figures in the murder gang were arrested. According to a document signed by the Popular Front, the Libertarian Youth, the Provincial Committee, and the local federation of the C. N. T., they come from a certain political sector which has ruined our eardrums with its cries for responsibility and "single command," which others must obey and which it alone may violate.

The newspaper Cartagena Nueva summarized some of the evidence adduced in court:

The Cheka began to function when Luis Giola was Civil Governor of the Province \* \* \*. Our investigations resulted in the discovery of a secret torture chamber on Trinquete Street. The chief of the Cheka was a police commissioner, later replaced by Torrecillas, an ex-druggist and known sadist. Shortly thereafter, the Cheka moved to Frenaria Street, and, as it did not completely trust the chief of police, it sent to Cartagena for Commissioner Argimino.

One of the victims, a Jose Maria Garcia Sarrano, testified that while at work in the finance section of the treasury department, he was placed under arrest. Under the supervision of Torrecillas, he was beaten and tortured in an effort to extort a confession.

I denied everything, since I knew nothing. They were trying to make me accuse the leaders of the Murcia C. N. T. of being Fascists. This I resisted \* \* \*. Then they put me face to the wall. I could hear them cocking their guns. Torrecillas said to me, "You have 5 minutes left to live, you can still

save yourself if you talk." I answered nothing. I was insane from the torture \* \* \*. Torrecillas began to count \* \* \*. Suddenly I heard "Fire!" and a volley at my back. Terrified, I felt myself all over.

And finally:

I signed a paper which they showed me. I do not know what it said. I suspect it must be some senseless declaration. I swear that if I have accused anyone, he whom I have accused is innocent. I signed the paper as I might have signed my own death sentence.

The signing of such declarations is not unknown to me. In a Valencia jail, controlled by Communists, I have been asked myself while under charges, to affix my signature to a document whose contents I had no opportunity to study.

Continuing its summary of events, Cartagena Nueva says:

We have presented our information about the sinister Murcia Cheka of irresponsible elements, invested with authority dishonoring the Republic. The Court of La Cathedral has continued its investigations. \* \* \* We know that yesterday, with due process of law, the following police detectives and rear-guard police involved in this scandalous affair were arrested and held for trial: Ramon Torrecillas Guijarro, one of the chiefs of the Cheka and police detective of the third class since last November before which time he kept a tavern in Madrid and was a drug clerk; Domingo Ranchal Garrio, another Cheka terrorist, organizer of the torture; Angel Sanchez Larresco; Emiliana Alonso Moreon; Mariano Caravac Botia. These latter three were involved in an affair affecting 50 men, whom the Cheka held without authority and at the mercy of the criminal passions of the Chekists. The five are now in jail, having been heard by Judge Amado del Pozo.

We publish this with no partisan aim. We feel that people must learn the full seriousness of what happened in Murcia in the line of the Madrid happenings \* \* \* under the illegal directions of Commissioner Cazorla. We are sure we are not mistaken. Our proof is the Valencia government's order dissolving the Defense Junta of Madrid. And, if the arrests in Murcia do not suffice, another proof is the removal of the civil governor of Murcia, Antonio Pretel.

I think of an incident in Barcelona, where the Cheka was even more vigorously in operation, that occurred during an air raid. I had just left a group of anarchist leaders who had been describing to me the details of the terror which haunted them. As the Fascist planes circled overhead, dropping their bombs, I scurried through the street. Ahead of me was a group of Communists singing with a great display of bravado. The words of their stirring tunes revolved around the theme of—liberty.

There is another aspect of the Spanish situation which is important to members of trade-unions and people prolific in united-front organizations of the Communist Party, and that is we found in the united front, at the time of the war, that the Communist Party and some other movements continued proselytizing campaigns. In other words, I mean this: Everybody agreed that while the Government was at war, there would be no partisan politics; there would be no organizations set up against another; and that officials in the Army would not use their positions to win over membership for the Communist Party. You will understand from that what I am trying to get at, and that is that though the Communists continually talk about being leaders of the united front, at the same time it is true they have never kept their bargain once they are in the united front.

I think the chairman has asked how is it possible that the Communists gain control over so many organizations, and I answered that the Communists have organized groups, disciplined and active, in

various organizations. Since they are willing to use any methods, any violent methods, the other forces in the particular organization become disgusted, and do not attend the meetings.

They do not attend the meetings or any other activities in the organization, whether it is a trade-union, whether it is the Workers Alliance, or whether it is the League for Peace and Democracy, or any of the hundreds of other organizations connected with them. They become disgusted at the conduct of the Communist members of the organization. I want to show that the Communist problem is not one of Spain, Soviet Russia, Austria, or Germany alone. These are their world-wide tactics. They operate all over the world in the same manner as they do in the United States and elsewhere.

Now, on the subject of proselytizing in Spain. I will read this:

The Government, conducting the war against Franco, had no means of preventing the operations of the Cheka that was now beginning to function. Determined to utilize the situation for partisan advantage, the Communists were using every device, peaceful and violent—for the purpose of gaining the upper hand, regardless of the effect it might have on the war. Obviously in the midst of the civil war, if unity were to be maintained, political rivalry between the working class groups had to cease. When the Cortes convened on February 1, 1937, Caballero, as premier, was compelled to sound a note of warning:

I am a party man \* \* \* and when I came here I gave up absolutely nothing of what I am politically. I am in no way a renegade to any of my ideas. But seeing the danger to my country, I thought it my duty to assume the responsibility of this burden, and to leave for a later time my ideological aspirations. And I beg of you all, whatever your political parties or trade-unions, to think of nothing else but winning the war at this moment. If we do not win the war, all our social aspirations are lost.

But such pleas were useless. Communists in military and civil positions continued to utilize their posts as recruiting offices for their party, thereby rousing bitter feeling among members of other anti-Fascist organizations whose one concern was the successful conduct of the war. Caballero publicly denounced proselytizing in the army, and after his removal the situation grew even worse. His successor in the Ministry of War, Indalecio Prieto, leader of the right-wing Socialists, finding that military effectiveness was being jeopardized by the propaganda, was compelled to issue a formal decree which referred to the partisan activities of certain political groups and then provided:

1. Leaders and officials of the army in command of troops are prohibited from taking part in public meetings of a political nature.

2. They are likewise prohibited from making public statements for the press and from taking part in radio broadcasts. Those newspapers which, in contravention of this order, publish interviews with leaders or officials of the army, without prior approval of the Ministry of National Defense, will be subject to severe punishment.

3. No military reviews or parades may be held without the explicit authorization of the Minister of National Defense. The same requirement is valid for any meeting or ceremony in which army units are to take part.

Only the Communists objected to the enactment of the decree and even threatened to withdraw from the Government if it were adopted. While the two Communist members of the cabinet could be easily replaced, the implication that the Soviet Union would withdraw its



aid was serious. Nevertheless, Prieto called their bluff, and after weeks of fulmination against the Government in their press, they finally "accepted the decision."

Caballero aroused considerable laughter from his audience when he spoke in Madrid by referring to the self-righteousness with which the Communists were saying, "So that you may see that we are good boys, now we recommend that this decree be accepted." The laughter was largely occasioned by the fact that everybody knew the Communist proselytizing had not ceased with the Government's order. A young Socialist officer, on furlough, sitting in the Socialist headquarters in Valencia, told me of the conduct of Communist officers who spent much of their time in attempting to enlist their subordinates into their party. A letter he had sent to Socialist headquarters complaining about the practice was intercepted, and he was summoned to appear before his superior officer, a Communist, who told him that the writing of such letters was unwise.

I think I have made that point clear.

As you know, I am in rather bad health, and I wonder if you could adjourn until tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn until tomorrow morning, and then you will get down into the matter of your personal experiences.

Mr. BARON. I do not know how long it will take me. I have some matter that I would like to go into the record to corroborate things that I have charged.

The CHAIRMAN. You can place them in the record without reading.

Mr. BARON. Then, tomorrow morning I will place in the record these documents, and will then go into my personal experiences, if that is agreeable.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. The subcommittee consisting of Mr. Mosier and Mr. Mason will go to Cleveland Friday morning for the purpose of holding some executive meetings to hear some witnesses. They will leave Thursday night and be in Cleveland Friday morning. There are a number of witnesses there that they want to interview on Friday and Saturday.

We will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee adjourned to meet tomorrow, November 23, 1938, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., Honorable Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. The Chair is in receipt of a telegram from Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Party, which reads as follows:

[Telegram]

BOSTON, MASS., *November 22, 1938.*

Chairman MARTIN DIES,  
*House Investigating Committee:*

Sam Barons appearance before you is completely repudiated by Socialist Party. Ill health may lead him to distort and exaggerate stories of Spanish situation. We are concerned for preservation of civil liberties everywhere but we believe Spaniards are today struggling for them far better than your committee and we again renew support to heroic Spanish struggle against fascism.

NORMAN THOMAS,  
*National Chairman, Socialist Party.*

You may proceed, Mr. Baron.

## TESTIMONY OF SAM BARON—Resumed

Mr. BARON. I want the record to show that I requested that that telegram from Norman Thomas be read into the record.

I want to say I think Norman Thomas is one of the greatest living Americans, that wherever civil liberties, wherever there is an injustice committed against the freedom of the people, Norman Thomas is in the forefront of that struggle.

In Tampa, Fla., when the Ku Klux tarred and feathered Joseph Shoemaker, who subsequently died from that treatment, Norman Thomas was there fighting the good fight.

In Terre Haute, Ind., when martial law was invoked, Norman Thomas was there.

When the sharecroppers were fighting for their rights through Arkansas and other States, Norman Thomas was there.

In Jersey City, when civil liberties were abridged, Norman Thomas was there.

Not only in the United States, and issues concerning it, but even concerning Soviet Russia, Norman Thomas has been in the forefront to point out to the citizens of the United States that the practices of the Communists in Soviet Russia are vicious and murderous.

As to Loyalist Spain, the daily press will continuously show that Norman Thomas has come out and made statements against practices in Spain which I am here now testifying to.

What seems to be troubling the Socialist Party is that your witness is appearing before a committee of the House of Representatives, and I fail to find the distinction, for officials of the Socialist Party go to the courts of the State of New Jersey and try to adjudicate grievances and try to point out that civil liberties are being impaired, and when I come before a committee of the House of Representatives I am doing exactly the same thing—I am trying to tell the people of the United States that there is a certain movement in this country that, if they get power, Mayor Hague will be a lily in comparison to what this movement would do if they got power. And I refer to the Communist movement.

Norman Thomas takes occasion to point out that I am sick. I admit I am sick. I am suffering from duodenal ulcer of the stomach, and I spent several weeks in the hospital this past summer, and I do not think Norman Thomas really means to infer that my testimony will be—how shall I put it—not credible because of this ailment.

And to indicate how the Socialist Party does feel, at a meeting of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party last month, from October 14 to 16, in Baltimore, Md., this witness sat as a member of that executive committee, and at that executive committee, of which Norman Thomas is a member, I was appointed secretary of a very important committee of the Socialist Party, and at that time the Socialist Party did not think that my ailment impaired my judgment or my ability.

I quote a paragraph:

The committee—

Referring to the committee I spoke about—

The committee is to report to the N. E. C. (national executive committee) by the middle of December. Sam Baron is to act as secretary and to keep in touch with the national office on progress of work.

There is one other point I want to make, and I will be through, as to distorting and exaggerating.

When I returned from Spain in December 1937, I reported to the national executive committee, and the national executive committee adopted a resolution, based upon my report, that, in its entirety, shows the same thing I am saying here.

In 1937, at the national convention of the Socialist Party, they adopted a resolution there that they made public, and which indicates that everything I have reported they accept.

Mr. MOSIER. I wanted to ask you this question, for my own information. Now, if you will—

Mr. BARON. May I interrupt you a moment?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mr. BARON. I want to put into the record a letter, addressed to whom it may concern, concerning myself and my character.



The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you read it.

Mr. BARON. It says:

*To whom it may concern:*

The bearer, Sam Baron, is a loyal Socialist and an active labor man. He has done excellent work in the Socialist Party and in official position in the Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants Union.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to keep these documents where I only quote from them.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. BARON. There is the signature, if anybody wants to see it [indicating].

Here, in the official organ of the Socialist Party, is an answer to one Hans Amlie, a brother of the Wisconsin Congressman, in which the national executive committee takes it upon itself to answer the libelous charges of Hans Amlie, who fought in Spain, to indicate that what I have to say on Spain the Socialist Party has long ago been accepted as fact, and that when Norman Thomas unconsciously leaves the door open by referring to the fact that I am sick, he leaves the door open for his enemies and my enemies in the Communist movement to insinuate something entirely different than what Norman Thomas meant, and I say Norman Thomas is doing an unkind act.

Mr. MOSIER. I have been interested in our investigation to find so few people, Americans, or those who live in America, who have actually been in Russia, or actually have been in Spain, and who—I do not know how to express it, but it is almost an overgenerous attitude on the part of people in America connected with the Communist movement, to accept reports and rumors and stories that people tell who have never been near Russia or Spain. I wanted to ask you, as a practical matter, since you have been in Spain, were there many Americans in Spain who were capable of exercising an unbiased judgment in the matter, who were not connected with either one side or the other, reputable newspaper men, for instance? You know what I mean?

Mr. BARON. I understand your question.

For the most part, those who went to Spain, were under the domination of the Communist Party. Those who broke away, like myself—of course, you know what results. It is a terrific slander campaign, to break down my credibility, and so you only have the public statements made by people who are under the domination of the Communist Party.

There is the press; there are the correspondents in Spain, but they are limited and handicapped because there is a censorship, and that censorship, without doubt, is under the control of the Communist Party of Spain. Thereby the Communists remain the heroes of the struggle against Fascism in Spain, when the Communists are in the smallest minority of the population of Spain. I think that answers your question.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; that answers it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. BARON. I want to place in the record a statement by the national executive committee in answer to Hans Amlie.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY ANSWERS HANS AMLIE

Hans Amlie, a member of the International Brigade, returned to this country from Spain several weeks ago to deliver an attack against the Socialist Party of the United States.

His letter was published in the Daily Worker and widely circulated by the Communist Party. The Socialist Party of the United States, as all decent sections of the world labor movement, has been a vigorous critic of the Communist Party in Spain because of its vicious and brutal persecution of revolutionary workers who do not agree with the line of the Communist International.

The following is a reprint of the letter issued by the national executive committee of the Socialist Party in answer to Hans Amlie:

DEAR MR. AMLIE: You gave much publicity to your recent letter to us which contains many serious and damaging misstatements of fact about the Socialist Party in relation to Spain. It becomes necessary for us to correct those mistakes.

We do so in full appreciation of the services that you rendered the Spanish cause. We are glad that the Debs Column attracted your attention and sent you to Spain where you could render that service. Doubtless it is because you were so busy at the front that you were unable to keep in close touch with what was actually taking place behind the lines. You were consequently subject to being misinformed by the Communists who control propaganda in the International Brigade.

Those primarily responsible for the campaign in behalf of the Debs Column have already corrected certain of your misstatements about it. It was never intended to form a separate unit but only to send picked men to work with the International Brigade. And we repeat that we are glad that you did what you did in this capacity.

Let us, however, examine some of the very erroneous statements you make:

1. You say that Sam Baron left Spain after "a long delayed deportation." Your informant misled you. Sam Baron left Spain of his own free will without Government pressure. The Loyalist authorities were deeply apologetic because of his arrest which was effected at the instance of Communists. Further you say: "It is quite possible that if Baron hadn't been an American he would have been shot for treason."

Apparently Baron's act of treason in your eyes was his authorship of articles in the Socialist Call. Yet after the publication of those very articles Baron was given letters of introduction to Government authorities in Spain, including Premier Negrin, by Ambassador Fernando de los Rios, who was fully aware of the American Socialist Party's position and the writings of Baron. Obviously the Ambassador, while he differed from those articles, did not regard them as treasonable, in which respect he showed an understanding of what freedom means that your Communist informants completely lacked. Political criticism on the part of those who love a cause is never treason.

2. You may say that in Baron's article in the Socialist Call he "describes his fellow Spanish Socialists, who lead the Barcelona government, as the 'Spanish Cheka'." Another grievous error, Sam Baron has charged the Communist Party of Spain, not the Socialists, with maintaining a Cheka independent of the government.

This charge, alas, is confirmed by former Communists like Liston Oak who worked for many months in the censorship bureau of the Loyalist government and had a distinguished record as former editor of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today"; by John Dos Passos who writes: "It must be admitted that they (the Communists) have brought into Spain along with their enthusiasm and their munitions the secret Jesuitical methods, the Trotsky witch-hunt and all the intricate and bloody machinery of Kremlin policy," and, with much detailed evidence, by the representative of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, John McGovern, member of Parliament, in his pamphlet *Terror in Spain*.

Mark Rein, who had gone to Spain to serve the Loyalist cause and who suddenly disappeared, was on the basis of circumstantial evidence the victim of that Cheka. He is, as you know, the son of the distinguished Raphael Abromovitch, member of the executive committee of the Labor and Socialist International.

3. You charge the Socialist Party with support of the POUM and of the Barcelona rising of last May. Both charges are false. The Socialist Party of America does not support POUM and criticized the Barcelona rising. It did

insist that there were Communist provocations for the latter and that POUM by its loyal service against fascism is entitled to be considered in any united front plans. Its members certainly are entitled to civil liberties and freedom from Communist "liquidation". Contrary to Communist reports, POUM has not organized armed revolt, and the arrest of its leaders, the suppression of its press, etc., are an indefensible black spot on the escutcheon of Spanish revolutionary honor and integrity. When you repeat Communist charges against the POUM to the effect that it is "an ally of Franco and the Nazi Gestapo" you should at least offer evidence, and of this we find none in your letter.

4. In your letter you say, again obviously from Communist informants, that "Caballero is the enemy of the Spanish Socialist Party and is treated as such." Wrong again, Largo Caballero is still a member of the Socialist Party of Spain with which he has been affiliated all his political life and is recognized not only in that country but by the international Socialist movement as one of its leading spirits. He rendered magnificent service to Spain in establishing a united front government, primarily of the workers, in dark days. He fell from power because while grateful for such help as the Soviet Union gave to Spain he would not accept Russian dictation and because he objected to the Communist policy of denying workers' rights to their critics of the left. He and his followers, the Left Socialists, are still honored Socialists and still rendering loyal service to the great anti-Fascist cause. Only a year ago the Communists hailed this same man as "the Spanish Lenin," and it is they who have changed, not he.

Finally, may we say that the Socialist Party believes that it is consistent with the highest loyalty to the great anti-Fascist cause in Spain, consistent with support of the Loyalist government in its necessary activity to protest earnestly against any intrusion of the Fascist spirit of brutality and repression in the conduct of the Loyalist cause. We have always acknowledged the military support which Communists in Spain and out of Spain have given to that cause. But in the name of the working class of the world: in the name of those ideals of liberty and justice we protest against such crimes against liberty as must be laid to the door of the Communist Party in Spain both through their own direct action and through their influence on the Government.

Sincerely yours,

ROY E. BURT,

*Executive Secretary, The National Executive  
Committee, Socialist Party, U. S. A.*

MR. BARON. I want also to place in the record an open letter to Louis Fisher, correspondent for The Nation, a weekly publication. This article is written by myself, and my purpose in putting this article in the record is to show that Louis Fisher is a Communist propagandist.

(The matter above referred to is as follows:)

#### OPEN LETTER TO LOUIS FISCHER

MY DEAR LOUIS FISCHER: For some time I was of the opinion that you were the slickest peddler of Moscow wares in that overcrowded profession.

I speak in the past tense as it seems from your latest dispatches (The Nation, September 3rd, 1938), for example, you expose yourself as an undiluted Communist propagandist. Not that I blame you personally. Machiavelli himself could not have guided the Communists in Spain better, with their cross and double cross line. That would explain your contradictory reports, don't you think, Louis?

We will start with your September 3rd, 1938, article:

"But the *phenomenon* which haunts the European proletarian movement—the mounting bitterness between Socialists and Communists—has not spared war-torn Spain." (Italics mine—S. B.)

To you, the fellow travelers and the rest of the Stalinist stooges it must be a "phenomenon." How else can you justify your statements of over a year ago—the purpose of which was to discredit Francisco Largo Caballero and his supporters—that organic unity was just a matter of days or weeks at best. Yes, you did your utmost, following Caballero's forced resignation, to get this idea across. Even though it was plain as the nose on your face and that beret on



your head that it was an impossibility, as the entire Socialist rank and file would have revolted and probably united with the anarchists. Too bad you have to eat your words at this late date.

But you have an explanation for the "phenomenon"—"There are Socialists who accuse the Communists of wishing to monopolize jobs and propaganda." Nothing more than that, Louis? Just jobs and propaganda? Couldn't any of the following have something to do with it?—Communist deal with Prieto to force Caballero out; Communist deal with Negrin and del Vayo to force Prieto out; the extermination of the P. O. U. M.; forcing the Anarchists out of the Catalonia and Central governments; the reign of terror against Proumists, Anarchists, and Caballero followers; the terror by the Cheka, the Political Police, and the S. I. M. (Military Intelligence Service); smashing of collectives by the Communists; forcing down the throats of the Spanish leadership, policies dictated by the Kremlin more suitable to their own foreign policy than to the needs of the Spanish masses. Just as an afterthought, how is it that you have never once written of the terror, which other correspondents have thought important enough to warrant many dispatches? Just jobs and propaganda?

I see where Prieto is now openly hunting for the Communists. You write "Without Prieto the left republicans would be isolated and reduced in influence." You remember when the Communists rewarded Prieto for helping remove Caballero by making him the dominant force in the government, Minister of War and Minister of Air and Marine. At that time trumpets and hosannas hailed the new "People's Army," the "offensive Army," in short, "a new deal" under a "Victory Government." The glory was all Prieto's, paralleled with a world-wide campaign—in which you did your part—to slander Caballero and his followers in the Socialist Party, in the U. G. T., and among the anarchists. Now you infer Prieto is an exponent of truce and compromise. Another "phenomenon," Louis?

Your inspired barbs are not restricted to the Republicans and Socialists. "The Anarchists are fighting more ardently at the front and less so in the rear." The meanness of that crack is obvious, but what is fascinating is your non-chalance in saying to one of the most powerful movements of Spain: You do the fighting and dying, boys, just leave the government, the police, the army administration, in our (Communist) hands.

One thing I can't quite understand: Why you are most vicious towards Caballero and his followers? Haven't you told us repeatedly, for almost a year and a half now, that they were through; that they were discredited; that they were without influence? Why then do you devote so much space to them? Why do you use every shoddy trick known to journalism against this "bankrupt group"? You say, "But some of the vocally most militant Socialists are defeatists and therefore forfeit popular support, for whatever past leaders may think, the people and above all the Army, insist on a new, anti-fascist Spain, which alone can guarantee Spanish independence. That is why, today, Negrin and del Vayo are the Republic's natural spokesmen. *They reject compromise.*" Here I must confess that I don't understand you (not much)! Are you trying to say that Caballero, Araquistain, Pasqual Thomas, Baribar, Carrillo, Carlos Hernandez, and the others are for an old, fascist Spain? And when you speak of "Spanish Independence," does that mean independence of Soviet Russia also, as the militant Socialists insist?

However, you reach the height of scurrility when you leave the thought that Caballero and the others are for compromise. When you say that you lie, and all their acts and statements will bear me out.

Haven't you any shame at all? You with your swank apartment in the Mayflower Hotel in Central Park West in New York and your sumptuous place in Moscow. You, slandering Francisco Largo Caballero, one of the greatest labor leaders in Spain—six times in prison for his ideals—an only son still a prisoner of the fascists because he wouldn't permit the government to grant the exorbitant demands for his exchange—this man with over 50 years of service to the working class. Is it any wonder that Luis Araquistain—member of the permanent committee of the Cortez and former Ambassador to France, wrote that you "had little respect for the truth when it conflicted with your party interests"?

You criticize Caballero and the others, saying they are "defeatists." How short your memory is. Can't you recall that over a year ago Caballero warned that if policies urged by the Communists were pursued "the revolution would be shipwrecked and victory endangered"? Take a look at the map of Spain as of May 1937—when Caballero resigned—and at the present time. The divisive,

double-crossing, terrorist policy of your Communist movement is responsible, and not those you slander as "defeatists."

Your campaign to discredit Caballero is not new. When the Communists found he wouldn't take orders they forced his resignation and from that moment on you have used that "impartial" pen of yours to discredit him.

Let us go back along the road you traveled as an "earnest liberal" reporting for the Nation.

After the Anarchist inclusion in the Cabinet in October 1936 Madrid girded itself, though limited in military equipment, for the siege. Whereas the war up until Caballero's advent into the government had been a succession of defeats in engagements with the rebels, the Loyalists now began to score victories. The stopping of Franco at Madrid, the rout of the Italians in Guadalajara, the long thrusts into Badajoz and Pozoblanco were achieved. Reorganization of the army proceeded and preparations for a protracted war got under way. To be sure, there were some military defeats, for it was during Caballero's regime that Germany and Italy made their heaviest contributions of men and arms to Franco.

Caballero became Premier in September 1936 and was ousted by the Communists in May 1937. Louis Fischer in a dispatch dated June 25, 1937, explaining why "the Communists overthrew Caballero," reports as bland statements of fact that "Caballero began to lose his hold on the people when he allowed the enemy to approach a Madrid unprepared for defense. The government's hasty departure to Valencia further lowered his prestige." It is unfortunate that Mr. Fischer cannot erase his own writings, for his dispatch from Madrid dated October 25, about a month after Caballero began to serve, reads: "Immediate help from the outside can prevent a debacle. Meanwhile this city is preparing for a siege."

It would have been the worst sort of blunder for the cabinet to risk the whole future of the war on the fate of the capital city. It will be remembered that the American Government did precisely the same thing in evacuating Washington during the War of 1812. But a long list of historical precedents is hardly necessary to rebut the Communist criticism, for since the removal of the government to Valencia, another transfer has taken place. I was in Valencia in October 1937 when Caballero's successors—obviously with less reason—packed up and moved from Valencia to Barcelona. But Louis Fischer has not yet published his comment and announced that the "government's hasty departure from an unbesieged city has lowered its prestige." Nevertheless, the Communists continued to denounce Caballero for the cabinet's decision to leave Madrid—despite the fact that the Communist members of the cabinet themselves participated in the decision. Geoffrey Cox, correspondent for the London News Chronicle, writes that "The Communists had urged the Government to leave a month earlier." On the other hand, "the Anarchists were for the Government staying in Madrid at all costs," even attempting to turn the officials back on the road to Valencia.

The herculean task performed by Caballero in the beginning of his premiership is impossible to describe. The government was starved for military materials, was lacking a disciplined and well-trained army and yet under Caballero's leadership, Madrid was saved. The Communists have frequently asserted that Caballero was to blame for military defeats, but I leave it to Mr. Fischer's dispatches from Madrid before "the Communists overthrew Caballero," as Mr. Fischer put it frankly, to indicate the facts. I have gathered the following statements from his articles in the Nation, dated during the first three months of Caballero's administration:

"A Madrid daily said on September 29 that 5,000 disciplined fighters could win the war for the government. Certainly they could check the enemy. The government has not got them \* \* \* The Loyalists have been without air-plane support for the last fortnight which is the chief reason for the enemy's advance \* \* \* Airplanes bomb, circle, then bomb again with complete impunity, for the government apparently has no fighting planes to drive away these giants \* \* \* The Loyalists suffer from an insufficiency of machine guns, which Franco has in abundance. If this deficiency can be remedied, fear of the foe's superior armaments will disappear \* \* \*." It was not until December 6 that Mr. Fischer gladdened the world with the news that "the government has lately had placed at its disposal a considerable number of tanks, air-planes \* \* \*." Russia had at last come through, 5 months after the start of the war and 2 months after Mr. Fischer himself had asked the question "Will Moscow save Madrid?"



After 5 months of Caballero's regime, Mr. Fischer wrote: "The Republican Army is considerably improved." At the same time he was writing—and this, after Caballero is supposed to have lost favor because of the removal of the government to Valencia—"The government's greatest element of strength is the hearty support of the population."

Thus the reasons assigned by the Communist spokesman for the downfall of the Caballero cabinet are exploded by Louis Fischer's own statements. Only once did Mr. Fischer even hint at the truth, and that was when he wrote cryptically: "His (Caballero's) relationship to Russia wavered." The truth is that Russia's relationship to Caballero had wavered, and it was for that reason—not for any alleged incompetence that Caballero was ousted. The premier was removed, not by the presidential palace, in Valencia, not by the will of the Spanish masses, but by the Kremlin in Moscow.

Now, you might wonder why I went to all this trouble. I will tell you. I think it is about time the Nation did one of two things. Either throw you out for your evident bias and your services to the Communists while posing as a fair and impartial reporter or state above your articles, "By Louis Fischer, a Communist Propagandist."

Sincerely,

SAM BARON.

Mr. BARON. I also want to place in the record clippings from the New York Times dealing with my arrest in Spain.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

[The New York Times, Friday, November 5, 1937]

#### NEW YORK EDITOR HELD IN VALENCIA

SAM BARON, OF SOCIALIST CALL, NOTIFIES FRIENDS IN PARIS OF "TROUBLE" WITH REDS—ACCUSED OF TROTSKYISM—HE WENT TO SPAIN TO SEEK A FAIR TRIAL FOR P. O. U. M. MEN SEIZED IN MAY'S RIOTS

PARIS, November 4.—Sam Baron, a member of the Socialist Party in New York and one of the editors of the Socialist Call, today informed friends here that he was under arrest in Valencia, Spain, accused by Communist agents of Trotskyist activity.

Mr. Baron went to Valencia 3 weeks ago as an observer for American Socialists with special interest in obtaining fair trial for the members of the P. O. U. M. (anti-Stalinist Communist wing) who were arrested after street risings last May. Before he left here he made arrangements that in case of his arrest either by Spanish Government agents or by Communists he would communicate with Paris by code.

Today a message in that code was received, telegraphed from Cerbère at the Franco-Spanish frontier, where the word apparently had been carried by some messenger. The decoded telegram reads:

"Sam Baron under arrest in Valencia. Communist agents charge him as Trotskyist. He is in trouble."

It is not clear whether Mr. Baron was arrested by the government police or is being held by Communists. It is presumed here that the former is the case.

Sam Baron is an accountant who has for several years been active in the organized-labor movement and in the Socialist Party. Less than 35 years old, he has been for a number of years president of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants Union, now a C. I. O. affiliate.

At the offices of The Call it was denied that he has ever been connected or interested in the Trotskyist organization. It was pointed out that for several years he had held important positions with both the local and State organizations of the Socialist Party. It was said that he was on very friendly terms with leaders of the Loyalist Government in Spain and carried letters of introduction and support from Dr. Fernando de los Rios, Spanish Ambassador to the United States.



[From New York Times, November 16, 1937]

## AMERICAN FEARFUL FOR LOYALIST CAUSE

BARON, SOCIALIST, IN VISIT TO SPAIN FINDS DISTRUST OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE—  
 REBELS READY FOR DRIVE—SAY ALMERIA, ON SOUTH COAST, WILL BE THEIR NEXT  
 GOAL—ARAGON THRUST TO FOLLOW

[Wireless to the New York Times]

PARIS, November 15.—Returning to Paris today from Spain, where he had been for 1 month, Sam Baron, American Socialist, expressed his conviction that, unless there was an immediate change in the Loyalist Government to include the Largo Caballero Socialist and U. G. T. trade-union groups and the C. N. T. Anarchist-controlled trades unions, "the war against the Fascists" would be lost.

Mr. Baron spent 4 months in Spain earlier this year and returned there to learn what had happened to arrested P. O. U. M. members. His interest in their fate brought down on him the denunciation of the Communists, who regard P. O. U. M. members as Trotskyists. He was imprisoned at Valencia and kept under strict supervision during the latter part of his stay.

He said he found conditions much worse than during his former visit.

## FINDS DISTRUST FOR PRIETO

"What is wrong," he said, "is that an overwhelming majority of farmers and workers distrust the present Prieto Communist coalition. [Indalecio Prieto is the Defense Minister in the present Cabinet.] That distrust is due to five distinct causes.

"The first is dissatisfaction with forcing Francisco Largo Caballero [former Premier] out of the government last May. He is by far the most popular political leader among the Spanish masses, and they resent the Communist campaign against him.

"The second reason is dislike of the reign of terror by secret police, informers and spies of the Communist Cheka.

"Thirdly, there is arbitrary use of censorship for the political advantage of those in control.

"Fourthly, the loss of Asturias and the failure of the Government to win any victory has depressed the population. Even the Brunete offensive, which was intended to relieve pressure on Madrid, did not succeed.

"Fifthly, the removal of the Government to Barcelona has been very unpopular, both as an admission of failure and because of the political complications that are likely to follow."

Compared with conditions during his former visit, Mr. Baron said, the plight of the civil population now was desperate. Food supplies had been reduced to severe siege rations. Under the present regime democratic forces had lost their spirit and this, coupled with severe privation, had weakened their resistance.

## AID TO LOYALISTS REPORTED

HENDAYE, France (at the Spanish frontier), November 15.—Insurgent officers at Irun asserted today that 10 Russian and 4 Czechoslovak officers had arrived in Spain to help direct the Spanish Government's defense against the imminent insurgent offensive.

The first phase of this drive, insurgent sources said, would be launched this week—within 2 days if weather permitted—with Almeria, a port on the southern coast, as first objective. Insurgent officers spoke of the drive as Generalissimo Francisco Franco's "supreme" offensive, designed to smash Government resistance before winter set in.

The thrust at Almeria, it was indicated, would be followed quickly by a drive on the Aragon front, in northeastern Spain, where the insurgents would try to hammer their way to the sea. The coming offensive was more freely discussed in insurgent quarters, indicating that preparations were completed.

Government leaders, asserting they were ready to meet "everything Franco can throw against us," prepared for the coming storm by small operations designed to straighten and strengthen their lines in Aragon.

Insurgent reports said Premier Juan Negrin had refused the request of General José Miaja, commander of Government troops in central Spain, for reinforcements to meet an expected insurgent assault on Madrid.

#### MADRID PRESS OFFICE MOVED

MADRID, November 15.—The four American newspaper correspondents remaining here breathed more easily today with the transfer of the censorship and press offices from the recently shelled foreign office. For obvious reasons, correspondents are not permitted to disclose the new location in a less exposed building in a sector rocked a year ago by aerial bombardments but unmolested recently.

This is the second move for the press crops. The telephone building was abandoned in April. It has been struck 161 times by Insurgent shells. The foreign office was hit several times last month, the pressroom was damaged and several persons near by were killed.

Government troops struck out from besieged Madrid tonight and wrested a small hill from the Insurgents southwest of the city along the road to Toledo.

West of Madrid Government artillery fire broke up an insurgent effort to repair a bridge at Puente Nueva on the Jarama River, a new military base.

The destination of reportedly new Italian troop detachments behind the insurgent lines was partly cleared up today by dispatches that reported thousands of the foreign legionnaires were pouring into western Andalusia. (Almeria, where the rebels say they plan to strike next, is in eastern Andalusia.)

Heavy fighting again broke out in the Pozoblanco sector of the southern front, north of Cordoba, where rich olive groves and the world famous Almaden lead mines are situated.

Insurgent deserters in Aragon were quoted as saying 10,000 new Moorish recruits had arrived in Aragon. This coincided with air observers' reports that huge concentrations had been seen.

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Mr. BARON. The second item deals with my statement in Paris upon my release from a dungeon in Spain.

I have another clipping I would like to put into the record, which is headed, "Barcelona Unrest Rumored at Border."

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From New York Times, March 16, 1938]

**BARCELONA UNREST RUMORED AT BORDER—EXTREMISTS REPORTED PUSHING FOR PEACE IN GOVERNMENT—LOYALISTS MAKE DENIAL—THEY PLEAD FOR UNITY—1,500 PRISONERS TAKEN BY THE REBELS NEAR ALCANIZ—SOME, DISARMED. ESCAPE**

PERPIGNAN, France (at the Spanish border), March 15 (AP).—Travelers reaching the French border from Barcelona reported today that extremists there were demanding reorganization of the Spanish Government, confronted with a crisis as a result of the Insurgent Armies' sweep toward the Mediterranean.

The extremists, Syndicalists and Anarchists, were said to be demanding Anarchist participation in the Government and liberation of Anarchist prisoners, including 4,000 on prison boats in Barcelona Harbor. The movement was described as spreading from Barcelona to other parts of Catalonia. Unverified reports said Syndicalists already had liberated a number of prisoners from Catalan jails.

(Barcelona officially denied there was any disorders or unrest there.)

Other border reports said the Barcelona regime was mobilizing all youths over 18 years old for a final stand against the Insurgents' drive. The Government was reported to have closed all primary highways leading to the Aragon front to civilian traffic.

#### PARIS HEARS TRUCE IS SOUGHT

PARIS, March 15 (A.P.).—The newspaper Temps, which is close to the French Foreign Office, said tonight that "rumors of negotiations between the Republican

(Spanish Government) authorities at Barcelona and Nationalist (Insurgent) authorities reached Paris early this afternoon."

"Thus far," the Temps added, "we have been unable to get confirmation of these rumors."

The Spanish Embassy issued a denial of reports that the Barcelona Government had asked for an armistice or offered to capitulate. It also denied reports of disorders in Barcelona. The embassy declared that military operations were being carried out normally.

At Port Vendres, France, a small crowd gathered on the Mediterranean water front following upon reports that two French destroyers were expected there with Barcelona refugees, including some important political leaders.

Mr. BARON. I want the committee to bear in mind as I read off articles from the Socialist Call, the official organ of the Socialist Party, I want you to recall that the contention is that my story is exaggerated. In other words, the Socialist Call, the official organ, has carried all these statements I have referred to.

I would like to place in the record at this point an article in the Socialist Call headed "Loyalist Unity Can Still Win Spanish Civil War." That article is by your witness.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, July 16, 1938]

#### LOYALIST UNITY CAN STILL WIN SPANISH CIVIL WAR

By SAM BARON

Since July 1936 the Spanish workers have been engaged in a heroic struggle of concern to the entire international working class. All should pay homage to those heroic workers who have fallen in the civil war. Those workers who are fighting against feudal-Fascist rebels of Spain and their Fascist allies from abroad are waging the front-line fight against the wave of reaction now threatening to engulf the world.

Through their own might, their own organizations, the workers of Spain, overcoming the failure of the first war government succeeded in beating back the initial Fascist onslaughts. The victory of the workers in those July days grew out of the spontaneous unity of anti-Fascist forces faced with the immediate threat of fascism.

The international working class now looks with sorrow at the Fascist military victories in the past weeks. The workers of the world look with sorrow at the disunity of the Spanish workers.

The Fascist military victories in Spain cannot be separated from the external international situation, and the internal situation prevailing in the working class of Spain.

#### BRITAIN AIDS FASCISTS

During the period of the struggle, the capitalist powers have carried through a policy which has directly aided fascism. Italy and Germany have participated in an actual invasion.

Great Britain through its vassal, Portugal, has actively aided the Fascist cause: it has blocked or sabotaged every effort of the Loyalist forces to arm itself. The Government of France, despite the fact that it rested upon the Socialist and Communist Parties which are in sympathy with the legitimate Spanish Government, had followed the demands of French capitalism for collaboration with the British Tories.

The false neutrality legislation of the Roosevelt administration must be condemned for allowing the free shipment of war materials to Italy and Germany for Franco, while blocking arms shipments to Spain, to which it has a legal right.

#### RUSSIA FLOUNDERS

The Soviet Union, because of its policy of aligning Russia with the "democratic" powers, has refused to break with the nonintervention pact even when



the committee ignored the open military aid to Franco from Fascist Germany and Italy.

Basic in the determination of Soviet policy was its attitude toward Great Britain and France. Despite the cost to the working class movement, the objective of Soviet Russia was to convince the capitalist democracies that they have no fear of Spain becoming Socialist. This desire to bow down to the just fear of Britain and France was motivated by Soviet Russia's desire for a military alliance between the "democratic powers" and Russia for a defeat of German fascism.

The policy of Soviet Russia in relation to the nonintervention committee was reflected in the policy of the Communist International and the Spanish Communist Party inside Spain.

#### DEMAND REPRESSIONS

In return for arms and other aid, Soviet Russia demanded political concessions and the suppression of all elements that desired to carry on the achievements of the workers in taking over the Government and the economy. The concessions included the ouster of the P. O. U. M. and later of the Anarchists from the Catalan Government. Through the Government and outside the Government, the Communist Party of Spain acted against the collectives and against workers' control of production.

To carry on the drive for the suppression of the revolutionary workers, the Communists created an illegal police force which was used throughout Spain. Workers were jailed in private prisons, workers were murdered by the Communist Cheka, and workers' organizations in Madrid and other provinces suffered destruction of their press, their buildings and physical equipment.

These repressive measures against the workers and their organizations resulted in the Catalonia street fighting of last May.

#### CABALLERO

Following the May events, Largo Caballero, Socialist trade union leader and premier, was presented by the Communists with the ultimatum of using government military forces to suppress the left under threat of noncooperation from the Communist International. This led to Caballero's resignation.

The reorganized cabinet further divided and split the unity of the Spanish workers formerly maintained by Caballero through the barring of representatives of the C. N. T. and U. G. T. from the government. With the control of the government in the hands of the Republicans, the Communists, and the right wing Socialists, the terror against revolutionary workers which had functioned formerly illegally, became a legal part of the activities of the Communist-controlled police in various provinces.

The nonintervention of the democratic powers, and the division and discord was reflected in the morale of the workers in the handicapping of the military struggle against the Fascists. The recent failures of the working class of Spain can thus be traced to the role of the capitalist democracies and the Communist International.

The hope of a victory, even at this late date, in Spain is dependent upon: (1) The repeal of the neutrality act of the United States; (2) the breaking of the nonintervention pact; (3) a return of the Caballero policies would result in a maximum amount of unity in the working class toward its goal of a workers Spain; (4) freeing of all antifascist working class prisoners in Loyalist Spain; (5) the increasing of aid to the workers of Spain from the workers throughout the world; (6) the refusal on the part of the international working class to handle munitions, or materials of war going to France or Fascist Italy and Germany.

Mr. BARON. Here is another article in the Socialist Call headed, "A Spanish Incident."

The CHAIRMAN. We will accept all those as exhibits to substantiate your statement.

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir. There is some very important material in this article which I am not testifying about, but which the public would be very anxious to read. I am trying to save the time of the committee.

The reason I read so many articles yesterday is because I wanted to get the meat of those articles into the record. If I just make these exhibits it does not hold that up.

Here is another article in the Socialist Call headed, "A Spanish Incident," by Liston M. Oak, a former official of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he now in New York?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

(The matter above referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, September 11, 1937]

#### A SPANISH INCIDENT

(By Liston M. Oak)

It was Andres Nin who introduced me to Hans.

Hans came into the cafe in Barcelona with Molines, a member of the executive committee of the P. O. U. M., and an editor of La Batalla. It was a small cafe in one of the narrow crooked streets leading from Via Durruti to the Ramblas. We had agreed to meet there because it was a cafe frequented by anarchists, and there was little danger that a Stalinist would happen in who would recognize me.

When I asked Molines for this interview he warned me against coming to the P. O. U. M. headquarters. "If you want to get out of Spain safely," he said, "you'd better not let them know that you are interested in getting the viewpoint of P. O. U. M. leaders. The Stalinists don't like to have foreigners in Spain talk to us. Especially members of the Communist Party. No use taking needless risks."

While we were eating snails and drinking bitter black coffee, Nin had told me—I was frankly skeptical—about the activities of the Spanish G. P. U. built by the Spanish followers of the big boss in the Kremlin. He also said that the Stalinists were blackmailing the other parties in the People's Front Government.

#### RUSSIAN AID

"The anarchists reluctantly agreed to expel the P. O. U. M. from the Generalitat," Nin declared, "because the Stalinists demanded it as the price of military aid. That was in December. Madrid had been saved the month before by belated eleventh-hour aid from Russia—paid for of course by gold shipped to Moscow, but welcome nevertheless, since France and England refused to sell us munitions. But the anti-Fascist militia was in desperate need of more planes, machine guns, ammunition, tanks. With sufficient equipment in December we might have decisively defeated Fascists on the Madrid front, driven them back. It would have been the turning point of the civil war.

"The anarchists and some left Socialists held out, indignantly protested against the Stalinists' slanders against us as Trotskyist agents of Franco. But they finally capitulated so that the badly needed war materials would be supplied by Russia."

At that point Molines arrived with Hans.

Hans was the sort of man that an American visualizes as a "typical German." Big, stout, a broad, round, florid, jovial face, surmounted by a shock of close clipped blond hair. Indubitably an "Aryan."

With the first bottle of wine, and in answer to my persistent questions, Hans told me a little about his experiences on the Madrid front. He had arrived in October from Russia, where he fled from Germany after Hitler took power. He was a member of the Thaelmann Battalion and had been wounded twice. He was now recuperating from the second wound; was still a patient in a hospital near Barcelona, established in a beautiful villa abandoned by a Fascist landowner when the plot to seize power was defeated on July 19.

With the second bottle I learned something about Hans' opinions of what was happening in the Soviet Union. I had recently been there myself and wanted to check up on my own impressions and what I had heard from so many others.

"I am very glad to be here, not in Moscow," Hans stated simply.

"Why."

It was difficult to get him to talk freely. But when it came, it came in a torrent of words, bitter, harsh words.

#### RUSSIAN TYRANNY

"Soviet Russia has become a new kind of tyranny for those Communists who do not worship Stalin and give constant and humiliating obedience to the Stalinist distortion of Marxism. The fascist totalitarian dictatorship of Hitler, under which I was tortured in the Columbia House, and spent 2 months in the Oranienburg camp, is far worse, of course. But it is the great tragedy of our time that there are more Communists, more political prisoners, in prison in Russia than there are in Germany and Italy combined."

Hans paused and all the joviality, all the light, had gone from his face. Suddenly I felt the impact of his disillusionment. That silence was embarrassing, disconcerting, painful.

"Perhaps I was too optimistic, too naive, too idealistic, about the Soviet Union," Hans continued quietly. "I had gone to Moscow once before, as a member of a delegation of German workers. We saw a celebration on Red Square on May 1, in 1930. It was tremendously impressive. We were shown magnificent new industrial plants, apartment houses, schools, hospitals. For the week we were there we saw nothing but signs of great progress—and there is no doubt there has been very great progress since. When I returned in 1933 as a refugee from the Hitler terror I saw proof of continued building, enormous industrial development, everywhere.

"But after a few months I began to see another side of Soviet life under Stalin. I was no longer a tourist, but a worker, and saw things differently, from the Soviet worker's viewpoint. I saw that the bureaucracy is getting the largest share of the benefits of this progress. I saw that there is a gulf between the bureaucrats and the masses. I saw that the wages that most workers get is just enough to live on, and not a very good life either. I saw that the bureaucracy is a new tyrant, guarding its privileges and power zealously and liquidating opposition even more ruthlessly than the capitalist class crushes revolutionary opposition.

"To me democracy, liberty, is as precious as bread and wine. I do not like a totalitarian dictatorship whether it is Fascist or Stalinist. I don't think a Trotskyist dictatorship would be much better. I recognize the differences, and they are important, but life is intolerable when one cannot think, speak freely, cannot breathe freely, cannot have an opinion unless it has received the official stamp of approval of a dictator.

"Every Communist in Russia is expected to be a spy. Children spy upon their fathers and mothers and brothers. You cannot be sure of your best friend—he may report you to the G. P. U. if you get tired of seeing Stalin's moustaches everywhere, or if you don't like the tiresome diet of black bread, cabbage soup, herring, and potatoes, meat once a week, and tea. More comrades suddenly disappear, their wives say mysteriously they have been sent on a long trip, you never hear from them again. Party leaders who have given their lives for the revolution, former comrades of Lenin, trusted, praised, are today heroes and tomorrow traitors.

"I escaped and other Communists have escaped from Hitler's concentration camps, but no one ever has escaped from Stalin's. Dimitrov and others were tried before Nazi courts and released. No one accused of being a Trotskyist traitor in Russian courts is ever found innocent and permitted to leave the country. He is framed, as you Americans call it, and shot.

"Yes, I was glad to volunteer to serve in the Thaelmann Battalion and come to Spain to fight fascism, to get a chance to fight the forces backed by Hitler, to fight against Nazi imperialism, to fight for a Spanish revolution—because I am an internationalist.

#### NOT LENINISM

"But what do I find? Here in Spain I have seen the Stalinists gaining control. Month after month, they gain more influence in the government, in the army and police. They expel the P. O. U. M. from the government; they force through reactionary decrees weakening the position won by the revolutionary workers and peasants; they sabotage the revolution under the slogan, win the



war first. That is not Leninism. That is not what I came to Spain to fight for. "I have joined the P. O. U. M. brigade; let them call me a renegade Trotskyist, an agent of fascism. He laughed cynically. "They lie so much that nobody believes them any more anyway."

## A WEEK LATER

I did not see Nin until a week later.

"You were skeptical when I told you about the work of the Spanish G. P. U.," he said. "You didn't believe me when I told you the Stalinists have murdered dozens of revolutionists, beginning with Durruti, and that others have been jailed or just disappeared.

"Remember that German comrade we talked to a week ago? The day after you saw him, he walked out of the Hotel Falcon, where our P. O. U. M. comrades stay. Comrade Ortega saw him across the street; he was hailed by someone, evidently an old friend, sitting in an automobile. Hans got in and they drove away. That's the last we have seen of him."

"But \* \* \* what does it mean?" I asked.

"It can mean only one thing. Hans was to go next day to the Huesca front. He'll never get there. His wife got a letter yesterday. It was a queer letter, from Madrid. Hans wrote that he had made a mistake in leaving the Communist Party to join the P. O. U. M. He wrote that if he was killed in action at the Madrid front, she should remember that he was loyal to the Comintern to the end. She'll never hear from him again. He was kidnapped by the G. P. U. and taken to Madrid where he'll either be shot secretly in jail, or sent out at the front into no-man's land, in a special squad, composed of soldiers the Stalinists don't like, and if the Fascists don't kill them all the Stalinists will. That's the way they killed Durruti. Another hero killed defending democracy."

Three months later Nin was himself murdered in Madrid by the Stalinist G. P. U.

Mr. BARON. I have here an item from the New York Times headed "Valencia Criticized By Largo Caballero." That is from a former premier of Spain.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From New York Times, Monday, August 9, 1937]

## VALENCIA CRITICIZED BY LARGO CABALLERO

FRENCH INTERVIEW REPORTS THE EX-PREMIER DECRYING REGIME'S "ERRONEOUS MILITARY POLICY"

HENDAYE, France (at the Spanish Frontier), August 5 (A. P).—Former Premier Francisco Largo Caballero has taken an attitude strongly critical of the Spanish Government's conduct of the civil war, the newspaper Independent of Perpignan, France, said today.

"I cannot approve of the erroneous military policy or the discriminatory social attitude" of the present Valencia régime, the paper quoted Señor Caballero as having said in an interview. The newspaper did not say from what city in Spain it had obtained the interview. Señor Largo Caballero resigned last May after 6 months as Premier.

Insurgent officers reported yesterday that an anarchist rebellion had broken out in Albacete and other important Spanish centers and that Señor Caballero was leading the movement. French border reports said that Catalan police had established a special zone along the French frontier, ten miles deep, to prevent desertions. Special passes were required from citizens wishing to go into the area.

Rightist French newspapers carried Barcelona dispatches to the effect that more than thirty leaders of Barcelona political groups had vanished in recent days in a "purge" of Leftist ranks. The dispatches declared that Catalan Leftists were in a state of turmoil and that the vanished leaders were believed to have been executed in an attempt to end internal dissension.

"I am now a spectator of events," Señor Largo Caballero was quoted as having said in the French interview. "When I was obliged to resign people said that the Government would win the war. Although this victory will come, it is not yet here.

"My support for a victorious war does not necessarily mean unconditional support of the Government. I feel, furthermore, that it was unwise to remove from power those who had since the beginning given heart, and even blood, to fight fascism."

He strongly criticized the Government military command, declaring that it should have foreseen the Insurgent drive on the Teruel front and taken measures to halt it.

Mr. BARON. Here is another article in the Socialist Call headed "The American Workers Must Halt Roosevelt's Aid to the Fascists," by the witness before your committee.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, June 12, 1937]

#### THE AMERICAN WORKERS MUST HALT ROOSEVELT'S AID TO THE FASCISTS

(Last week, the Socialist Call carried an article by Liston Oak on the events in Spain, dealing especially with the friction in Barcelona. This week, we are running an account of the civil war in Spain by Sam Baron, who has just returned from 4 months' stay there, in which he deals in part with the Barcelona events. Next week, the Call will run a political analysis of the same problem, reprinted from the Berner Tagesblatt, paper of the Swiss Socialists.)

By Sam Baron

Imagine that you are standing on New York's Broadway. Suddenly you hear a dull thud in the distance, then 5 seconds of maddening silence, and from the skies a screaming 8-inch shell swooshes and hisses toward you. Before you can move, it lands 15 feet from you, right in a crowded streetcar. The crash tears at your eardrums and the deafening explosion is followed by the grinding friction of the falling debris. The percussion throws a blast of air into your face, and the force hurls you off your feet. Then—the groans of the injured and dying. That is Spain today.

At this date, it is no longer necessary—after the bombarding of Almeria, for example, by the Nazi ships—to labor the fact that Italy and Germany are bringing the firebrand of fascism into Spain as part of their world-incendiary plan. But I cannot refrain from bringing to the attention of American workers evidence which I witnessed with my own eyes as I followed in the wake of the retreating Italian Fascists after the historic Guadalajara rout. Among documents of the Italian war department I found ample proof of the charge against Italy. I have before me now some Italian-made cigarettes left by the retreating Fascists in their precipitate flight. From an abandoned military truck I removed a metal plate, bearing the name of Fiat, indicating Italian manufacture.

#### THE U. S.

But most significant to me as an American worker was my discovery of exploded rifle-bullet shells, bearing the imprint "U. S."—hundreds of them—lying around the positions evacuated by the Italians. It was sickening to realize that the bullets aimed at the workers of Spain had been manufactured in my own country, which boasts of its democracy and love of freedom, which even now, under the guise of a neutrality law hastily passed in the name of preserving peace, denies to the Loyalist Government the right to receive arms and munitions.

Under the mask of embargoing both sides, the United States is providing arms to Franco by permitting sales to the belligerent nations, Germany and Italy. The only comfort I could gain as I stood in the Guadalajara battlefield and saw these evidences of a lying, reactionary "neutrality" was the recollection of the statement released by the Spanish Government that as of February 1937, Americans had contributed \$250,000 to the cause of the embattled workers, besides medical equipment, food shipments, clothing, and manpower.

Those bullets are a challenge to the American workers—a challenge which can be answered only by the sending of further aid and by the waging of a struggle here to put an end to the mockery of "neutrality" through which our Government has abetted in the Fascist uprising against the Spanish workers. Not another American bullet must leave these shores for the guns of Franco's thugs!

## NEUTRALITY

At this time all American workers and friends of liberty must cry out against this sham neutrality of our Government. The very least that we can do, after the outrageous denial of arms to the legitimate Government of Spain, is to take steps to keep the American friends of fascism from continuing their "neutral" support of Franco.

Important in our Socialist campaign in support of Loyalist Spain must be the drive to compel President Roosevelt to use his power under the Neutrality Act to label Italy and Germany as the belligerents which they are in fact. Roosevelt has ordered a boycott of the Loyalist Government; let us compel him through the power of our organized sympathy for Spain to enforce a boycott against those who would destroy the Spanish workers. A minimum respect for liberty must mean: No aid to Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini. A decent respect for justice must mean: All aid to the Spanish anti-Fascists.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of such aid. In their hour of trial by flame and sword, the Spanish masses look to their brothers throughout the world, not only for the benefit of their contributions to the heroic resistance against Franco, but also for their wholehearted solidarity. Come what may, international fascism must know that the workers of the world are united in their determination that Franco shall go down to defeat in the company of his Italian and German henchmen.

Such unity of the workers is possible in spite of the theoretical and tactical differences which have existed between their various organizations in the past. Those disagreements have taken their toll in a tragic list of defeats for workers in such countries as Germany, Italy, and others. Those differences still exist, and will, for workers are true to their own convictions.

But even with the range of controversies in their working class philosophy, there is enough to bind all in ties of solidarity against their class enemy which today is blasting at the foundation of justice with shell and bomb.

Within Spain itself those differences still exist, and in many cases still assert themselves, often to the danger of the fight against fascism. No friend of the Spanish masses can do his full duty to his heroic comrades in that country unless he understands, with working class sympathy, just how these forces are operating. From a sympathetic understanding and realization of how disunity may be—and sadly enough, in many cases, is being—engendered, we can be helpful in building the greater class loyalty which overshadows factional interest.

## CABALLERO

It was in such a spirit that Francisco Largo Caballero, left-wing Socialist leader, then head of the Government, spoke to the Cortes last February 1. "I am a party man," he declared, "and when I came here I gave up absolutely nothing of what I am politically. I am in no way a renegade to any of my ideas. But seeing the danger to my country I thought it my duty to assume the responsibility of this task, and to leave for a later time my ideological aspirations. And I beg you all, whatever your political parties or trade unions to think of nothing else but winning the war at this moment. If we do not win the war all our social aspirations are lost. \* \* \* He who conquers will make his ideas triumph."

In that same spirit Federico Urales, veteran leader of the Anarchist movement, one of its most militant publicists, hastened to reply in a letter addressed to his lifetime adversary, the distinguished Socialist and trade union leader.

"As you know I am an anarchist," he said. "As you are a Socialist and the writer of this an anarchist, we have had long controversies and polemics \* \* \*

"I shall not cease to be an anarchist, but I shall not be with those who, while the war is going on, do destructive work—and by that I mean those who find excuses for not going to the front, those who criticize the work of others, those who divide the working class, those who pass their time being paid for making war when they don't do it, and who retard the victory by not making the sacrifices when the occasion demands. I do not consider these my comrades but indeed consider them to be, either through malice or stupidity, agents of fascism \* \* \* For me, to win the war is more important than the revolution because as we have said, again and again, to lose the war is to lose the revolution and our lives as well."



## UNITY

As head of the government, Caballero bent all his energies in the direction of achieving this spirit of solidarity among the rival political groups essential for military defense against Franco's assaults. To a great extent he effected this purpose. How great this achievement was is demonstrated by the fact that he succeeded in getting the Anarchists to enter his government—the first time in the history of the world anarchist movement that such a step was taken. It was this policy which made possible a greater degree of unity and that turned the tide in the military conflict when the situation almost seemed hopeless. That Caballero's government finally fell was due to the fact that strong opposition to this policy existed throughout his administration and ultimately led to Caballero's resignation and his succession by the present Negrin government.

## THE REASON FOR THE CHANGE

The change in regime is the result of a combination of conservative Socialists and the Communist Party, pulling at Caballero from the right, and a combination of extremist anarchist elements who reject the policy of Urales and the P. O. U. M. (Party of Marxist Unity), pulling from the left. Caught in the clash of these extremist forces, Caballero, though supported by the overwhelming masses of Socialists, trade unionists (both U. G. T. and C. N. T.), anarchists and unaffiliated workers and peasants, was compelled to leave the government rather than pursue policies which would bring greater division.

Along with him, others of the leading figures in Spain—men like Foreign Minister Alvarez del Vayo and the dynamic revolutionary Socialist Luis Araquistain, who occupied the key post of Ambassador to France—stepped out. Under their leadership, the march to socialization had already begun despite right-wing objections and despite the tremendous economic difficulties presented by the war situation and the overcrowding of cities to three times their normal population with some 2,000,000 refugees.

Transport facilities, hotels, restaurants, barber shops, 2,500,000 hectares of land (as of February 1937) had been taken over together with enterprises abandoned by Fascist owners. Commercial institutions and industries not socialized were being placed under the control of the trade union of the workers. If Spain is to reap a harvest from the sacrifices it is making and free the workers from the shackles of capitalism, it will be such men as Caballero, Del Vayo and Araquistain who will be summoned again to lead the way.

The internal difficulties of Loyalist Spain have already arrested attention because of the Barcelona uprising and similar incidents, which must be laid squarely at the door of those who opposed Caballero's efforts to give full democratic rights to all workers' organizations within the unified ranks of anti-Fascist fighters.

## THE COMMUNISTS

To begin with, there was the Communist Party, whose outlook is in conformity with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which sees its national interest as requiring the maintenance of the international status quo. The Communists, like others, wish to limit the struggle of the Spanish workers to a wholly respectable war for political democracy; but they have refused to tolerate the existence, to the left of them, of such political forces as the anarchists and the P. O. U. M. They exerted continual pressure on Caballero to suppress those movements—a policy which he rejected as dangerous to the unified fight against Franco. Despite Caballero's protests, the Communists and right forces continued with their program, giving the extremists in the anarchist and P. O. U. M. ranks an issue on which to fight. One of the results was the Barcelona uprising.

It is necessary to know something of the anarchist movement. From its very nature, it is undisciplined and each unit insists on following its own will. Its character is thoroughly revolutionary based on a profound love of freedom and hatred for all concepts of dictatorship, proletarian and Fascist alike; but its organizational structure is such as to form a happy hunting ground for agents of the underground Fascist movement, the Cinco Columna or Fifth Column. In view of the Communist attacks on the anarchist movement, it was no difficult task for the Fascist provocateurs to aggravate the situation and mutual attacks and assassinations took place.

The anarchist leaders were aware of this menace, but in many instances, their appeals to their undisciplined followers were futile. Urales had clearly de-

scribed the danger when he wrote to Caballero in February that "I do not consider these my comrades but indeed consider them to be, either through malice or stupidity agents of fascism."

In the P. O. U. M., which is the legitimate child of the Comintern's Third Period, the same process of aggravation took place. The P. O. U. M. judged the situation very much as the Communists of the Third Period had viewed the Austrian civil war when the Socialists took up arms against Dollfuss: the heroic fighters were "social Fascists" and "betrayers of the working class."

The Communists, refusing to recognize this child of their own begetting, called for the extermination of the P. O. U. M. as "Trotskyist" though the P. O. U. M. itself was expelling the Trotskyites from its ranks. Because of its disruptive policy, the P. O. U. M. was losing influence; but the bitter attacks on it served only to arouse its members, already stirred up by provocateurs, into open conflict with the Government.

These clashes might have been averted if the judicious policy of Caballero had been permitted to function. It was his belief that individual overt acts against the Government would be suppressed; but he would not yield to the demands for a general suppression of working class movements, particularly when large sections of them were interested in cooperating in the fight against fascism.

#### WIN THE WAR

In this hour when Fascist bombs and shells are bursting over Spain, it is essential that unity be restored in order that the Government may be able to carry through the war to a successful conclusion. The factional interests which led to this internal strife must be brushed aside. All who have contributed to this friction will suffer the same consequences if through their acts Franco should win. Whatever cabinet is in office, the prime concern of all must be the winning of the war. If Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini triumph it will not matter who is right. When they are defeated, the working class can go on to the solution of its differences within the framework of its own class democracy.

It is around this thought that the hopes of the Spanish masses are built. This was the thought of Urales, the anarchist, who does not like what he terms a "red dictatorship" but says with a sense of loyalty to his class that "the Spanish workers should choose that rather than fascism." This same loyalty led Caballero to answer the letter of Urales in their correspondence which is an inspiring charter in the history of labor:

"We were, as you say in your letter, political opponents who fought with the ardor of men of deeply rooted ideals. I recall it now with some sorrow when I think that it had to be the war—this brutal war which we are suffering—which has brought us together spiritually."

Stirred by this spirit of unity, the workers throughout the world must root out fascism and destroy it by building in its place a socialist society which will not allow the seeds of economic and political tyranny to flourish. Only the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth is the answer to fascism and war, the bloody twins of capitalism. The next step in the onward march to a socialist world is the defeat of Franco in Spain. By uniting to defeat the forces of international fascism in Spain, we shall open the road that leads to socialism.

Mr. BARON. I have here a document which is signed by many trade union and liberal organizations calling for the release of your witness from a dungeon in Spain. In other words, organizations in the United States that acted upon my arrest.

(The matter above referred to is as follows:)

#### PROVISIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF WORKERS' RIGHTS IN SPAIN. *New York City, December 23, 1937.*

DEAR FRIENDS: AS you no doubt know, this committee was organized to effect the release from prison of Sam Baron, whose arrest in Spain had shocked the labor movement of the entire world. Baron has been released and is now back in the United States.

It is obvious, however, that the arrest of Sam Baron was merely one in a systematic attempt to victimize all non-Communist working-class elements who raise their voices against dictatorial methods of the loyalist regime.



Frequent reports are coming out of Spain telling of unauthorized arrests, kidnappings, and, in at least one case, of murder of loyal anti-Fascist fighters. We cannot afford to remain quiescent in the face of all this. Unless a determined effort is put forth against such tactics now, the forces of bigotry and dictatorship in the working-class movement will receive tremendous impetus. The oath recently administered publicly to Communist Party applicants, in which they swore to fight to the death against practically all non-Communist elements in the labor movement, indicates that they have no intention of confining their repressive activities to Spain.

Those of us who treasure working-class democracy and tolerance have a duty now to band together and extend a helping, fraternal hand to anti-Fascists of kindred views in Spain.

On Saturday, January 22, at 2 p. m., a conference is to be held of all interested organizations at Webster Manor, 119 East Eleventh Street. We urge your organization to elect delegates to participate in this conference, at which plans will be made to safeguard the democratic rights, the civil liberties of all working-class elements in Spain who are actively supporting the Loyalist government in its heroic struggle against fascism.

It is to be understood, of course, that no organization will be invited or admitted which has not given concrete evidence of its support to the anti-Fascist struggle. Among the organizations represented at the provisional conference were: Shirtmakers Union, Knitgoods Workers Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (Locals 117 and 155), Catalan Anti-Fascist Committee, Matteoti League, Young People's Socialist League, Barbers' Union, Suitcase, Bag, and Portfolio Workers, Industrial Workers of the World, Socialist Party, Jewish Section Socialist Party, Group "Carlo Rosselli," Young Circle League, "Il Martello Group," and Independent Communist Labor League.

Fraternally yours,

Louis Nelson, Norman Thomas, Rose Pesotta, Jose Castro, Carlo Tresca, D. Benjamin, Murray Baron, Jack Shannon, Jack Altman.

Mr. BARON. Here is another article by this witness in the Socialist Call, headed "Communist Terror in Spain."

(The matter above referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, October 30, 1937]

### COMMUNIST TERROR IN SPAIN

TRIAL AGAIN POSTPONED FOR P. O. U. M. LEADER

By Sam Barron

Paris, France (via Queen Mary)

Caballero forces in the U. G. T. claim a majority of at least 250,000. This cannot be disputed since even the Communist controlled censorship permitted that claim to pass out of Spain through the foreign press.

Caballero, authoritative sources claim, represent over 1,000,000 in the U. G. T. and has the confidence of the estimated 2,000,000 in the C. N. T.-F. A. I. (Syndicalist movements). Also the loyal support of 29 Socialists in the Cortes against the 33 at present supporting Prieto and Negrin.

The Socialist youth are expected to break away from the Communist-controlled youth movement within the next few weeks.

Latest developments resulting from the Communist campaign to terrorize and exterminate all political opposition to the left:—

Benito Pabon, chief defense attorney of the imprisoned P. O. U. M. leaders, Gorkin, Andrade, Bonet, and Escuder, was reported in Marseilles, refusing to return to Spain unless given guarantees by the Negrin government that he would be protected against the Communist unofficial Cheka operating in various provinces. It is reported that he justified this unusual request by citing the arrest of his associate counsels, Barriobero and Rusinol in Catalonia. The authorities there claim it was "protective arrest," it is alleged. Incidentally, Pabon is presidente comision Asesora Juridica (advisors to the government on legislation of laws) and also is the Zaragoza deputy to the Cortes.

Trial date has yet to be set for the indicted P. O. U. M. leaders. The reason attributed for this is the insistence of the Government on an open trial and the



demand of the Communists—the real prosecutors—for a closed trial. Observers are amused at this since the Communists have been screaming for weeks that they can prove that these men are “direct agents of France and international fascism.”

The Government has not been convinced, evidently, as they have freed 50 rank and file Poumists on October 5.

Ilsa Wolf, with whom I constantly associated in Madrid, well-known Socialist Democrat and militant Socialist and now a refugee from Nazi Germany, has fallen from grace with the Communists and has been accused by them of being a “fascist spy.” I am happy to hear that the Socialist Party officially has taken up her defense. Ilsa is a loyal militant socialist, working day and night in Madrid as reporter and journalist for Claridad, as director of Radio Station UGT and escort to the front line trenches of many of the visitors to Madrid.

Gabriel Moron, director of public safety and former governor of Almeria Province, resigned—some say in disgust—after the disappearance and likely murder of Andres Nin, P. O. U. M. leader.

The Caballero forces are firmly convinced that the majority of Fascists imprisoned or shot as spies held Communist Party cards at the time of their arrest; a list of these prisoners requested has yet to be furnished.

One item the Communists have been unable to suppress \* \* \* early in May a huge spy ring was discovered in Madrid, and who do you think was the leader—none other than Lujan, right-hand man of General Miaja, member of the Communist Party!

The Russian ambassadors to Spain have created quite a deal of talk here; Marcel Rosenberg, recalled some time ago, is reported to have been jailed because he wasn't more efficient in exterminating the P. O. U. M. The present ambassador some time ago returned to Russia, causing Spaniards to wonder why Russia has no ambassador in Spain through these hectic days.

President Azana is reported to have expressed his anger with those carrying on the campaign against Caballero.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your purpose here?

Mr. BARON. The text of those articles goes into details of the activities of the Communist Party in Spain. It quotes authorities and it lays down the basis I am trying to bring out, and my major contention, that the Communist movement is not concerned in any united front, but that its chief objective is to eliminate its opposition and the organized forces they call the Fascist power.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Baron, might I interrupt at this point?

Mr. BARON. Certainly.

Mr. MOSIER. I asked you yesterday, when you started to define—not exactly define, but tell us your conception of socialism——

Mr. BARON. As compared to communism?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; and you said you would develop that as you went along, and I am just refreshing your memory, not to forget that, because we would like to have that in the record. You can do it at this time, if you like.

Mr. BARON. Suppose you ask me that again this afternoon, and I will make a special point to answer it.

I have an article in here from the British New Leader, published in London, which is headed “Government Wants Amnesty for Anti-Fascist Prisoners but Communists Have Prevented It.”

(The matter above referred to is as follows:)

#### GOVERNMENT WANTS AMNESTY FOR ANTI-FASCIST PRISONERS BUT COMMUNISTS HAVE PREVENTED IT

REMARKABLE REPORT BY JOHN M'GOVERN

Since the beginning of the Civil War in Spain the I. L. P. and the International Bureau have been anxious that every possible aid should be given to the

Spanish workers in their struggle against Franco, and that the full fruits of their early economic conquest should not be lost. During the last 8 or 9 months there has been growing evidence and uneasiness amongst militants, inside Spain and outside, at what seemed to be a vital departure from the previous policy of workers' control. Various changes in the governing body have taken place. More moderate capitalistic elements have been introduced. The slogan of Workers' Power has been replaced by the magic word "Democracy," and war has been waged on every member of the C. N. T., U. G. T., and P. O. U. M. who has resisted this change.<sup>1</sup>

There has been in consequence a serious weakening of the workers' anti-Fascist front in Spain. An army of anti-Fascists have been incarcerated in Spanish prisons for periods up to 6 months. Andres Nin, Kurt Landau, and many other comrades are believed to have been murdered whilst in the hands of the police.

#### WORKERS STORM VALENCIA PRISON

The International Bureau and the I. L. P. agreed to send a third delegation (Professor Felicien Challaye and myself) to Barcelona to interview members of the Government and investigate the charges by visits to prisons. On November 24 we left Paris for Barcelona, arrived on the 25th, and began our work immediately. Our great desire was to strengthen the Workers' Front and win the war against Franco and his capitalist allies.

We had a 2-hour interview with Senor Irujo (Minister of Justice) and his personal secretary, who is the Minister's brother. We had a very frank discussion over the question of prisoners and the possibility of an amnesty for all anti-Fascists. Senor Irujo informed us that the question of an amnesty had been considered by the Government, and that every Member, with the exception of the Communists, had been wholly in favor of releasing every genuine anti-Fascist prisoner. The Communist members of the Government were violently opposed to the release of any of the prisoners. On November 21 a large army of workers from the C. N. T. and other militant Socialist bodies went to the gates of the Valencia Prison and threatened to pull down the prison if the prisoners were not released.

#### THE EXCHANGE OF MAURIN

I raised the question of the exchange of Joaquin Maurin, who is now in Saragossa Prison (in Franco's territory). I submitted a list of possible persons in Government prisons. Senor Irujo again informed us that the question had been before the Government, and that all but the Communist members were in favor of an attempted exchange. He agreed on behalf of the Government to negotiations by myself with the British Foreign Office with a view to the exchange of Maurin.

He finally assured us of his genuine desire to speed up the machinery, and gave us an official letter to the Director of Prisons to inspect all prisons and interview prisoners. Both the Minister and his brother repudiated the suggestions of the Communists of association between the P. O. U. M. and Franco.

#### "A SCENE I WILL NEVER FORGET"

Our first prison visit was to the Carcel Modelo Prison, where there are 500 anti-Fascists, 500 Fascists, and 500 criminals. The director and doctor gave us complete freedom. We spent two hours interviewing anti-Fascists. We were locked in the prison wing, and freely interviewed members of the P. O. U. M. (Gironella, Adroher, Enrique). Everyone wanted to tell us of the operation of the Russian, Cheka, of threats of death, detention, and third degree. The anti-Fascists were from Spain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Holland, Greece, and America. Many were wounded and had fought at Madrid.

We saw one remarkable drawing by an Italian prisoner. The scene was an underground cellar with an armed guard at the door. The prisoner was pinned against the wall by two armed guards with rifles and bayonets, and a Cheka officer was pointing a revolver at his heart. There was a large sewer

<sup>1</sup> C. N. T.=Syndicalist Trade Union. U. G. T.=Socialist Trade Union. P. O. U. M.=Workers Party of Marxist Unity (Spanish I. L. P.) F. A. I.=Anarchist organization. Cheka=Communist Secret Police.

at the side into which, he was informed, his body would be thrown after he had been shot.

We met Senor Fernandez, who had been in prison for over 3 months. He was the chief of police when John McNair and I arrived at Barcelona in November 1936.

Before we left, the entire army of prisoners sang two C. N. T. songs and the "International," and then gave deafening cheers for C. N. T., F. A. I., P. O. U. M., and I. L. P. delegations. They also hissed the Spanish Cheka. This was a scene that I will never forget.

The director asked us to go quietly. He had never seen the prisoners so moved, and feared a revolt. Here was indeed a tragedy: Hundreds of genuine anti-Fascists crowding at the iron bars with clenched fists that were half salutation and half defiance.

#### THE HOME SECRETARY DOESN'T KNOW

The Home Secretary, Senor Zugazagoitia (of the Prieto wing of the U. G. T.), saw us for a further 2 hours. He deplored the disappearance and death of Andres Nin and Kurt Landau and assured us that he was still having energetic inquiries made. The accusations of association with Franco were, he believed, outrageous. He explained the difficulties raised by refusal of the French Ambassador to permit the return of French subjects who were prisoners or to allow foreign prisoners to go through France. He accused the Ambassador of Franco sympathies.

I asked, "How is it that Fernandez, chief of police in the previous government, is in prison for the killing of an official by his men while Burillo, Communist chief during Nin's disappearance and murder, is free?" He could not explain why. He answered, in reply to an allegation of Cheka domination, "Well, we received aid from Russia, and had to permit certain actions which we did not like." He also promised to speed up amnesty of all genuine anti-Fascists.

#### THE WIFE OF KURT LANDAU

We paid a visit to Katia Landau, wife of Kurt Landau. She had been a prisoner for over 5 months, and went on hunger strike for 11 days. Senor Irujo went to visit her, assured her that her husband was dead, and pleaded with her to cease her hunger strike. She is from Germany; 4 feet 10 inches in height and weighing 5 stone 8 pounds, she is full of fight and idealism.

She was in hospital as a result, with two armed guards at the door. Two days after we visited her she was released. We secured papers for her in place of those stolen by the Cheka. Else Homberger was also released with her. A German, she has been 5½ years in Spain, was in prison from June 17, and under the Cheka for 2 weeks.

#### CHEKA VERSUS GOVERNMENT

Our most sensational, illuminating, and tragic experience was our attempt to enter Calle Vallmajor Prison, which is held by the Communists. We had credentials from the Director of Prisons and the Minister of Justice, but these were treated with contempt. We were met with a complete refusal to allow us to see either prison or prisoners. Following this we went to the Cheka Office, but again from a Russian and a German were refused permission. I said, "We have credentials from the Director and Minister of Justice. Are you more powerful than the Government?" They were taken aback by my question, but still refused to grant admission.

This was indeed a challenge to the Government. We were now on tiptoe of expectation as to the result. The secretary of the Minister of Justice assured us that he would secure our admission. He said, "You must not leave Barcelona with the impression that the Government do not govern this prison." We waited. We paid three further visits, by arrangement, to the secretary. He could not secure a permit.

Every excuse was made to save the face of the Government and the Minister of Justice, but the plain truth is that the Russian Cheka have their thumb on the Government. There are two international brigades in Spain, one a fighting force and the other an international cheka which is responsible for arrests, tortures, imprisonments, abductions, and murders of persons who are opposed to its brutality.



## FREE THE ANTI-FASCIST PRISONERS!

If Spain is to win her workers' struggle, a halt must be called to the work of this second Inquisition. The prisoners must be freed.

We believe we have marked a further milestone in the battle for an amnesty for anti-Fascists.

Russia is paralyzing militant action, weakening the struggle, and storing up for herself a storm of indignation and anger against her arrogant, brutal, and terrible actions in Spain. I can now understand the Trotsky purge in Russia.

No honest person who is a member of the Communist Party can defend this murderous campaign in Spain. I accuse the comintern of brutality on a par with Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco.

Free the anti-Fascists, intensify the struggle against Franco, and put comintern in her place must be the demand of British workers.

Mr. BARON. I have here an article from the Socialist Call by this witness, headed "Largo Caballero: Spain's Hope."

(The matter above referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, July 2, 1938]

## LARGO CABALLERO: SPAIN'S HOPE

By Sam Baron

Recent events in and out of Spain are moving at a fast and furious pace. Powerful forces are at work, leaving no stone unturned to get the war over and done with before another winter sets in.

France has virtually sealed her border; England has fired a barrage from her propaganda guns (Augur in the New York Times for one), setting the stage for "negotiations"; militant Russia stands by \* \* \* and that is about all she will do.

Juan Negrin, premier, hurriedly returned from Madrid to Barcelona to denounce traitors within and without, but failed to identify whom he meant. From France comes a report that Indalecio Prieto, former Minister of War, is ready to return to Spain on a "honorable peace" platform and that the Cabinet is expected to fall almost daily.

The persecution of left wingers still goes on (Mrs. Juan Andrade, wife of the imprisoned Poin leader and others were recently thrown in jail). Fernsworth, Barcelona correspondent of the New York Times, reports the death of the "Communist Cheka" and the birth of a new terror, "the Military Secret Police." This new cheka has been arresting and executing workers without consulting the Government. They even went so far, Fernsworth reports, as to defy the Government, even threatening to proceed against Government members—that is if they so desired! The report claims that a stop was put to their practices. Fernsworth has done the working class a real service in exposing the Communist Cheka.

With news of military defeats, international conspiracies, and political terrorism comes word from correspondent Hennighen in the New York Post assuring all and sundry that the Barcelona government is not "red" and cited the liquidation of agrarian and industrial cooperatives as proof!

And with these heartbreaking items we can only hope that the working class will finally return to the program and policies of the old days, by returning Largo Caballero to office as the head of a working-class government. The second anniversary (July 19) of the war against international fascism would be a heartening one for Spain and the international working class if the old fire and spirit returned. Francisco Largo Caballero is the only man in Spain who can rally the working class to turn the tide against the advancing Fascist hordes. He did it once, he can do it again!

Mr. BARON. There is an article in the Time magazine of November 20 concerning my arrest and my statement, which I wish to put in the record.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that November 1938?

Mr. BARON. 1937.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

[From Time, November 29, 1937]

## WAR IN SPAIN—SORE SOCIALISTS

Not so much as a square mile changed hands in Spain's civil war last week but vigorously boiled a question now vexing Socialists in many lands: Whether those Communist forces which have made the Soviet Union what it is today—the Stalinist forces—now largely dominate Leftist Spain or not. Last month worried Manhattan Socialists sent Associate Editor Sam Baron of the Socialist Call to investigate conditions in Barcelona and Valencia where were occurring the trials of several prominent Spanish labor leaders for fomenting "Trotskyist riots." Mr. Baron, one time New York president of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union, has been active in leading United States organizations working for Leftist Spain. Instead of being permitted to "observe conditions" in Valencia, Socialist Baron found himself abruptly clapped into jail, managed to smuggle out news of his plight by means of a prearranged code. Last week international Socialist pressure secured observer Baron's release and he arrived in Paris after traveling the length of Leftist Spain, keeping his eyes and ears open. Earlier in the year Socialist Baron had spent 4 months traveling freely all over Leftist Spain, thus last week had ample background to contrast conditions in the spring and today.

"The civil population [Leftist Spain] now is desperate," declared Socialist Baron. "Food supplies have been reduced to severe siege rations. Under the present regime, democratic forces have lost their spirit and this, coupled with severe privation, has weakened their resistance."

"What is wrong is that an overwhelming majority of farmers and workers distrust the present Prieto-Communist coalition," continued Mr. Baron, referring to the Spanish Leftist Government in which Defense Minister Indalecio Prieto overshadows both Premier Dr. Juan Negrín and President Manuel Azaña. This Government's removal of itself from Valencia to Barcelona (Time, November 3), Socialist Baron reported, "has been very unpopular, both as an admission of failure and because of the political complications that are likely to follow. The failure of the Government to win any victory has depressed the population. Even the Brunete offensive, which was intended to relieve pressure on Madrid, did not succeed."

The people of Leftist Spain, according to Mr. Baron, resent their Government's "arbitrary use of censorship for the political advantage of those in control," and "dislike the reign of terror by secret police, informers and spies of the Communist Cheka."

Meanwhile, last week Socialists in many lands were distributing copies of a speech delivered on October 17 in Madrid by Leftist Spain's one-time Premier Francisco Largo Caballero, who has since been prevented from criticizing the regime which replaced him. Its contents, largely suppressed by the Leftist Government's cable censors last month, packed all the more punch because Socialist Baron had come out to report last week that in Leftist Spain there is much "dissatisfaction with forcing Francisco Largo Caballero out of the Government last May. He is by far the most popular political leader among the Spanish masses, and they resent the Communist campaign against him!"

Orator Largo Caballero, addressing Spaniards who packjammed the largest auditorium in Madrid, the Teatro Pardiñas, and simultaneously talking through loudspeakers to audiences which packjammed three other theaters, declared:

"You all know that there was a working-class movement abroad favorable to us; that as a matter of fact this movement later on diminished through no fault of ours but because of political errors which were committed in Spain. Shortly after the crisis, there came a time when beyond the borders rumors began to circulate to the effect that there was being carried on here a policy of persecution against elements in disagreement. This has spread, comrades, so far that representatives of the Internationals have come to Spain to find out exactly how much truth there was in it, and they have told us personally: 'Since this has occurred, we cannot arouse the same enthusiasm abroad, among our own comrades, because they suspect that those who dominate here and those who have influence are—they say so openly—the Communist elements, and everyone wonders if Spain is to be aided so that afterward the Communists may guide the destinies of Spain.' They have come to ask us this! And let it not surprise you, because one of the things which I objected to was the series of excesses which, in my judgment, are being committed; for example, that there should be military leaders of great importance who were always present in Communist



congresses and parades in honor of Communists. Photographs were taken of all that and were published in the newspapers, and these newspapers went to London, to Paris, to other capitals, and when they saw there that the leaders of the army, in large numbers and with great influence, were present at these meetings, they said: "Then it is true that it is communism which is most dominant and has greatest influence!" This was harmful to our cause, very harmful."

Socialist Largo Caballero, reaffirming his own enthusiasm for subjecting all Spain to a complete social revolution, accused the Communists of Leftist Spain of wavering toward compromise with the middle classes and betrayal of the revolution—these being the offenses of which Trotsky incessantly accuses Stalin. "As for the unification of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party I have not changed my views," cried Revolutionist Largo Caballero, whose admirers have nicknamed him the 'Spanish Lenin.' "All that I ask is that those who once wanted to create this fusion still hold to the same purpose which we used to put forth, which was to bring about the fusion of the two parties with a revolutionary program! I well remember that when we used to speak about that, the Communist Party set as a condition that we break relationship with all bourgeois parties. Do they hold to that today? [Cries of "No! No!"] Do they insist today that we break with all bourgeois parties as they used to do? No, on the contrary. The slogan today is that we return once more to the period before July 18.<sup>1</sup> And if the unification must be on the condition that all the blood which has been shed must serve to revive once more in our country that class which has been principally responsible for the war which we are now enduring, Largo Caballero is not for that system!"

Such an outburst by the Spanish Lenin loomed this week as of capital importance to anarchists, Socialists, Trotskyists, and Stalinists as well as to neutral observers of Leftist and Rightist Spain. Defense Minister and Boss Indalecio Prieto of the Leftist government is in origin a Spanish middle-class politician of the old school. That he should be bossing a regime which in Socialist eyes is featured today by a "reign of terror," secret police activity as in Russia and a betrayal of the "revolution"<sup>2</sup> as originally conceived by such Spanish Leftists as Largo Caballero, provided Europe last week with its No. 1 political paradox.

Another paradox is that the Communist allies of Boss Prieto have been tentatively drawing nearer to the Catholic element in Leftist Spain by permitting young Catholics to join the Leftist youth organization—hitherto 100 percent Marxist. This tendency the Spanish Lenin has especially denounced. Last week, appeared a third paradox, a manifesto issued by Rightist Generalissimo Francisco Franco as the civil war entered its seventeenth month: "Our victory will bring a healthy redistribution of wealth! We are carrying out a profound revolution of the social order, inspired by the principles of the Catholic Church. The number of rich persons will diminish and there will be less poverty!"

Thus the professed aims of the revolution (Rightist) have begun to approach those of the revolution (Leftist)—while fighting each other in a war which up to now has cost Spain some 230,000 lives.

Mr. BARON. I have sections here of a speech made by the former premier of Spain, Largo Caballero, in which he describes the role of the Communists in Spain.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

#### WHY CABALLERO REMAINED SILENT

I am not going at this time to discuss what that Government accomplished. I reserve that for other meetings in which I shall answer the campaign of slander and of calumny which one who is still today Minister of Education (Jesus Hernandez, Communist) had the effrontery to initiate in a public meeting (May 28, 1937). Many have probably been saying: Why has Largo Caballero not answered these slanders? Now I can tell you with complete freedom and frankness: not because they don't have to be answered, but because above all this pettiness there was the war to be won [loud applause]. And also my reluctance to appear in a public forum, by which I might have unwillingly contributed something which might well have hampered the carrying on of the war. Many times when we happened to be in some critical situation or other inter-

<sup>1</sup> I. e., before the start of Spain's civil war.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with the other revolution—that of the Spanish rightists.



nationality. I always said, in spite of the requests that came to me from all sides: I shall not speak. It was necessary for Spain to finish with the dispute in the League of Nations so that it could never be said that any of us had contributed by our words to Spain's failure to achieve in Geneva what she had a right to achieve. On other occasions, if certain operations were being carried out on this front or that, we were also silent so that the echo of what was taking place might not come to those fronts to demoralize the fighters and hinder the progress of the war. I can assure you that one of the greatest sacrifices which I have ever made in my life has been to keep silent during these 5 months. But I do not regret it because, although the slanderers and the defamers have driven their nails and their teeth into my person, I have the consolation of knowing that my silence has contributed to the well-being of Spain and of the war [prolonged applause].

#### CAMPAIGN AGAINST CABALLERO

It will be said: What has happened that should cause this campaign of slander against one who was formerly considered by all a representative of the working class? Has Largo Caballero changed ideologically? Has Largo Caballero been guilty of treason? [Cries of no! no!] I also say "no." I affirm here that until the initiation of the campaign I was offered everything which could be offered to a man who might have ambition or personal vanity. I could have been the head of the Unified Socialist Party. I could have been the political leader of Spain: I could have had the support of all the elements who were addressing me. But it would have been on the condition that I carry out the policies which they might want. And I said: Never! [Clamorous ovation.] I said that they did not know me. They should have known from the very first that Largo Caballero is not the kind of person who would ever betray anyone. I refused categorically, even to the extent that on one occasion in my office, that of the presidency of the Counsel of Ministers \* \* \* [several lines censored here].

Mr. BARON. And for a description of the most comprehensive work of the terror in Spain, I am putting into the record a statement from the magazine, *Modern Monthly*, which is headed, "The Stalinist Cheka in Republican Spain," which gives the dates, times, and places of the activity of the Communists in their terrorist activities.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From *Modern Monthly*, September 1937]

#### A. THE STALINIST CHEKA IN REPUBLICAN SPAIN

[The following documents are but a few of the many which tell important stories until now suppressed by both the conservatives and liberal press. One of them is a statement by the National Committee of the C. N. T.; this and the others from C. N. T. papers may be regarded as having the authority of a workers' organization with 2,000,000 members. Two are from the P. O. U. M. organ, *La Batalla*; of these one is an authenticated statement by Federica Montseny, former C. N. T. Minister of Health in the Republican government, and the other, an official P. O. U. M. statement, gives the viewpoint of that organization—which before May numbered some 40,000 members—on the May events, as well as a confirmation of the facts as reported by C. N. T. and other observers.—The Editors.]

#### DOCUMENT I.—THE CHEKA IN MADRID

[From *Solidaridad Obrera*, Barcelona C. N. T. organ, April 20, 1937.]

We have no adequate word for the attempted tyranny of the Madrid Communists who seek to run the capital. There have been arbitrary arrests, unpunished murders, secret jails, persecution of the press \* \* \* shameless protection of Phalanxists and reactionaries. \* \* \*

This detestable conduct begun by Sanitiago Carrillo has been continued and surpassed by the present Commissioner of Public Order, one Cazorla. A man without record in the labor movement, and savage enough to recall the infamous Arlegui and Martinez Anido. This Cazorla \* \* \* had set up in Madrid of private agency for arrests and disappearances. Agents, bearing police badges and credentials, carried out the orders of this despicable being, and no small number innocently suffered his irreparable "justice." On the other hand others really guilty of crimes against the revolution have been protected by Cazorla. \* \* \*

One sensational affair which has begun to discredit him is the case of Comrade Verardini. This comrade, who was in the special service of the general staff of the army of the center, was arrested for no cause, and therefore had to be released within a few hours. After he was free and contrary to the express order of Miaja, Carrillo had the fact of his arrest published in a certain daily subservient to him, with the idea of dishonoring Verardini. Outrageous! So much so that the Defense Junta of Madrid called Cazorla's news release improper, and authorized our contemporary, C. N. T., to explain what had really happened, since everybody understood that the arrest of Verardini signified dishonor to the common cause. C. N. T. published the information and the natural protest. But Carrillo, who has the power of a small tyrant in Madrid, prevented the distribution of the paper and then suspended it. \* \* \*

Here is a letter from our comrade, Rodrigues:

"\* \* \* I am prepared to appear before responsible bodies to demonstrate the disastrous policies followed first by Santiago Carrillo and Serrano Poncela in the office of the Madrid Department of Public Order and more recently by Jose Cazorla. I will provide data and documents exchanged between Cazorla, as Commissioner of Public Order and myself, as Special Commissioner of Prisons, in relation to orders given by said Cazorla for the removal from the state prison of those acquitted by the popular tribunals, after detention by him, and in relation to the use of deceptions and secret verbal orders to his agents, taking said acquitted parties to secret jails or sending them into Communist militia battalions in advanced positions to be used as 'fortifications.' \* \* \*

"Attached are documents citing witnesses of violations committed by Communists and their followers carrying police badges and credentials under Cazorla's orders. \* \* \* One typical case of how these Communist Chekists kidnap men and women and hold them for week and months on the basis of real or false accusations, committing all sorts of violence upon them, is the case of the nephew of Under Secretary of Justice Mariano Sanchez Roca. To clear up this case, having brought it to the attention of Cazorla many times, I pretended to be a Communist, using an assumed name in order to discover by telephone whether this young man was held prisoner at Communist headquarters at 7 Fernando De La Hoz St. \* \* \* I wrote Cazorla the following letter:

'Friend and Comrade Cazorla: Some time ago I spoke to you and gave you a letter and photograph and exact data referring to a young Communist, age 21, member of the Party since July first of last year, who belongs to the Fifth Regiment and is a nephew of the Under Secretary of Justice. This boy, as I told you and now repeat, is detained at 7 Fernando de la Hoz Street, where he has been for 68 days. Sanchez Roca reminds me of him constantly and asks: that he, Ricardo Pintado Fe, be turned over to the judicial authorities. I have brought this to your attention but so far I have had no reply. I have just been advised by telephone from 7 Fernando de la Hoz that the young man is there but held for Marques de Riscal [Another Chekist—Eds.] Will you do me the favor of bringing this matter to justice so I can do Comrade Sanchez Roca the favor he asks? This will be much appreciated. Melchor Rodriguez.'

"Cazorla answered: 'Comrade Melchor R: Ricardo Pintado Fe, in whom you have been interested, was ransomed [rescatar] and returned to his home yesterday. Cazorla.'

"What does this mean, 'ransomed' from the office of the Commissioner of Public Order? \* \* \*

"Now let us see how much less cruel Cazorla is with the people of the Right, the Fascists.

"Fernando Royo Fernandez, Son of Royo Villanova. [Right leader in Parliament before July 19] \* \* \* Fascist: employee of the Bank of Spain. \* \* \* One of the worst enemies of the Republic. \* \* \* Set free on the 16th or 17 of February, without having been tried or heard by any tribunal."

Alvaro Queipo de Llano. \* \* \* Nephew of Fascist General. \* \* \* Freed.

Milagros Banos. Member of Phalanx, freed on February 11 due to a doctor's report.

Janier Chavarri Rodriguez. Fascist, freed on February 16. His brothers are ultra-reactionaries. Is partner of Herrera Oria, brother of the director of El Debate [chief reactionary daily before July 19]. His family fled Spain, having known about the Fascist revolt beforehand. The lover of the Marquise of Viana. \* \* \*

Juan Manas and his sister Cecilia Manas. The first a liaison motorist at the front. His sister arrested as a Fascist, did not deny it when brought to police



headquarters. Said what she minded was her brother's arrest, since he had an important job. Both freed on March 2.

Bernaldo de Quiros. Nephew of the Marquise of Arguelles. Son of a cashier of the telephone company; a protege of Gil Robles. Freed. . . .

Jose Senten de la Fuente. Member of Phalanx. Nephew of Ruiz Senen [Prominent banker, associated with Jesuit industrial enterprises]. Freed on February 1."

But who is Cazorla? He is a young Communist. Nobody knows how he got the post he occupies. . . . He claims a revolutionary record which, insofar as the C. N. T. is concerned, is absolutely false. He claims to have been a member of the C. N. T. through the Transport Union but the comrades of this union have issued a statement certifying that this is false. . . .

#### DOCUMENT II—THE CHEKA IN MURCIA

[From Solidaridad Obrera, Barcelona C. N. T. organ, April 25, 1937]

It is becoming clear that the Chekist organizations recently discovered in Madrid, for which Commissioner of Public Order Cazorla was chiefly responsible, are directly linked with similar centers operating under a unified leadership and on a preconceived plan of national scope. . . . The situation has grown worse and worse. Our Madrid daily, C. N. T., was suppressed and suspended for commenting on the monstrous role played by Cazorla. . . . Not only the Madrid C. N. T., but all our press outside Catalonia has been suppressed and suspended. . . .

Recently we denounced the existence of private jails operated by a police organization of the Cheka type. . . . Certain cases of abuse of authority and police sadism in Madrid prepared us for similar occurrences in other places. One of the worst was the Murcia outrage, which was made an issue by the National Committee of the C. N. T. and by the organizations in the Murcia Popular Front. So patent was the seriousness of this affair that it is now in the hands of the courts. The chief of the Cheka was arrested, together with his gang—all militants of the Communist Party—and is now in jail awaiting sentence for his crimes.

The National Committee of the C. N. T. issued a manifesto in connection with this case. The principal points of this manifesto follow:

"Day after day, in the capital, citizens disappeared—some nonparty, some supporters of the Government, but chiefly workers, members of the C. N. T.

"Our organizations, the unions belonging to the Confederation, were being attacked daily by members of a certain political sect, which calls itself anti-Fascist, but which employs fascist methods to destroy the revolutionary vigor of the unions. . . .

"No one in Murcia felt secure from the terror spread by this gang of bandits and kidnappers. They had accomplices 'higher up.' Finally, when life had become impossible, a resolute group took upon itself to investigate. . . .

"The investigation bore fruit. On April 8th and 10th, the principal figures in the murder gang were arrested. According to a document signed by the Popular Front, the Libertarian Youth, the Provincial Committee and the local federation of the C. N. T., they come from a certain political sector which has ruined our eardrums with its cries for responsibility and 'single command,' which others must obey and which it alone may violate. . . .

"We had expected from the party to which these Chekists belong a repudiation of their crimes. None has been forthcoming, and we break our silence to warn those who are trying to import dictatorial systems and terrorist methods from abroad that they are in error. The people of Spain are not slaves, and will not permit it."

Cartagena Nueva, in one of its issues suppressed by the police, published the following interesting information:

"The Cheka began to function when Luis Giorla was civil governor of the province. . . . Our investigations resulted in the discovery of a secret torture chamber on Trinquete Street. The chief of the Cheka was a police commissioner, later replaced by Torrecillas, an ex-druggist and known sadist. Shortly thereafter the Cheka moved to Frenaria Street, and as it did not completely trust the chief of police, it sent to Cartagena for Commissioner Argimino.

"What followed is a matter of court record. We limit ourselves to transcribing the declaration of Jose Maria Garcia Sarrano:



"On March 12 at 11 a. m. I was at my work in the Finance Section of the Treasury Department when two police arrived and told me I was under arrest. They took me to the office of the Civil Governor, where I was received by Torrecillas, who smiled and asked my name. When I told him he threw an arm around my neck and said, "Hello, come in, come in," and led me to an adjoining room. . . . Suddenly, he gave me a blow on the chest which threw me into a chair, and shouted, "Sit down!" Then he turned to a young man sitting at a desk between two telephones and said, "Take good care of this boy. If he gets impertinent and troublesome give him a kick in the face." Then Torrecillas left me with the young man to whom he had given such pleasant instructions. A number of men whom I did not know then fled before me. . . .!

[An account follows of persistent questioning, punctuated with threats and blows.]

"Once the Civil Governor came in: I remember that clearly. He asked me scattered questions. He wanted to know the political affiliation of Eusebio Chico de Guzman, Joaquin Hernandez Ros, Jose Perez Garcia, Estaban Abad y Sicilia and Basilio Galindo Marin. . . . While the Governor was talking, a group of individuals pulled out their guns and began to examine them, pointing them at me. Meanwhile I heard screams from a nearby room which horrified me. . . .

"At 7:30 the Governor came to me again and asked if I had belonged to Accion Popular. I answered at once that I had not, and he then said angrily, "You're a bunch of—! None of you want to confess. We'll see later on. . . ."

"They took me and put me in an official car, from which they transferred me to a private car and took me to a cemetery and put me up against a wall. . . . I denied everything since I knew nothing. They were trying to make me accuse the leaders of the Murcia C. N. T. of being Fascists. This I resisted. . . . Then they put me face to the wall. I could hear them cocking their guns. Torrecillas said to me, "You have five minutes left to live, you can still save yourself if you talk." I answered nothing. I was insane from the torture. . . . Torrecillas began to count. . . . Suddenly I heard "Fire!" and a volley at my back. Terrified I felt myself all over. . . . Then they put me on my knees in front of the car with the lights lit and questioned me again. I was still silent. Suddenly they began to fire. I saw the bullets falling around me. . . .

"We came to the civil government building. They put me back in the chair. This was the most horrible moment of all. Suddenly the door opened and young man who had to walk on crutches came in. I heard him moaning and crying. I looked up and saw that the sockets of his eyes were empty. "See," said Torrecillas. "That's what will happen to you if you don't talk." They let me go at 12 o'clock that night. A policeman went home with me. He made me go every day to the house of a police detective named Fernandez Ruiz. There they tortured me again. Once they twisted my arms until they made my bones crack. From so much pain and torture, I signed a paper which they showed me. I do not know what it said. I suspect it must be some senseless declaration. I swear that if I have accused anyone, he whom I have accused is innocent. I signed the paper as I might have signed my own death sentence."

We have presented our information about the sinister Murcia Cheka of irresponsible elements, invested with authority and supported by those who have a shocking concept of authority, dishonoring the Republic. The Court of La Cathedral has continued its investigations. . . . We know that yesterday, with due process of law, the following police detectives and rearguard police involved in this scandalous affair were arrested and held for trial: Ramon Torrecilla Guijarro, one of the chiefs of the Cheka and police detective of the Third Class since last November, before which time he kept a tavern in Madrid and was a drug clerk; Domingo Ranchal Garrio, another Cheka terrorist, organizer of the torture; Angel Sanchez Larresco; Emiliano Alonso Moreno; Mariano Caravaca Botia. These latter three were involved in an affair affecting 50 men, whom the Cheka held without authority and at the mercy of the criminal passions of the Chekists. The five are now in jail, having been heard by Judge Amador del Pozo.

We publish this with no partisan aim. We feel that people must learn the full seriousness of what happened in Murcia in the line of the Madrid happenings . . . under the illegal directions of Commissioner Cazorla. We are sure we are not mistaken. Our proof is the Valencia Government's order dissolving the defense junta of Madrid. And, if the arrests in Murcia do not suffice, another proof is the removal of the civil governor of Murcia, Antonio Pretel.

## DOCUMENT III—THE CHEKA IN TOLEDO

[From Solidaridad Obrera, Barcelona C. N. T. organ, March 24, 1937. At Villanueva de Alcardete, Province of Toledo, the Stalinists, according to the C. N. T., were endeavoring to destroy its organization of 1,200 members. The details cited by the C. N. T. come from a letter in the possession of the newspaper]

On March 15 at 3:30 p. m., Jesus Lozano Camara, C. N. T. member, was in the Plaza. He was hailed by a militiaman, Vicente Villanueva, alias Facote. They talked for a few minutes, then Jesus left. As he turned to go back to the Plaza, Facote pulled out a hand grenade, and threw it at Jesus, who was torn to pieces. Manuel Blanco was a witness.

As if this had been a signal, volleys were fired from the offices of the defense committee and the plaza at C. N. T. headquarters. A leader of this assault was a member of the tribunal supposed to judge the events.

When the attack began there were 4 or 5 comrades and some 10 children in C. N. T. headquarters, also 2 comrades from the U. G. T. and one left republican. Meanwhile, and some time before, our comrades were arrested as they came in from work in the fields. Their union cards were taken away and torn up, and the comrades were thrown into a cellar, where only a few hours before the mayor had given a banquet to the militia and political leaders at which they had conversed with great excitement about the C. N. T.

Some of our comrades were met with hand grenades when they came into town. One was able to get away. Another was riddled by seven bullets as he stood in the doorway of his house. Altogether, 16 corpses were taken away at 9 o'clock the next morning, having been left in the streets over night.

All attempts made by the C. N. T. to reach the governor of the province and report the facts were interfered with by the mayor, who refused to allow our comrades to use the telephone. According to the latest reports, the men guilty of this massacre are still strutting the streets of the town, armed to the teeth and boasting of omnipotent influence.

[According to some reports, several of those killed were members of the U. G. T., one a very old man who had been a founder of the Socialist Casa Del Pueblo.]

## DOCUMENT IV—THE TOLEDO CHEKA, CONTINUED

[From Solidaridad Obrera, Barcelona C. N. T. organ, June 12, 1937]

Two months ago we exposed crimes committed by Communists against C. N. T. workers in Villanueva de Alcardete, Toledo Province. The Madrid C. N. T. papers at that time issued a warning, asking to have the necessary steps taken by the authorities to put an end to the crimes that the Communist cheka was committing against defenseless anarchists and other anti-Fascists. Mundo Obrero, the Madrid Communist organ, denied the crimes and said that the accused were revolutionary anti-Fascists deserving of general esteem. Sixteen of our comrades had been murdered in cold blood in that massacre, under the direction of the mayor of the town and his gang, all members of the C. P. \* \* \*

We recognize that in moments like these, there are always people who filter into accredited parties and organizations for their own ends, and no doubt some such have infiltrated into the C. N. T.-F. A. I. and the P. O. U. M., the Socialist Party, etc., but nowhere have they been so numerous as among the Communists, because precisely among these is where least revolutionary morality is demanded, where inequality is most cultivated, where there are the greatest rewards and where unscrupulous individuals have the greatest chance of climbing to the top; because nowadays "communism" is nothing but a party controlled by schemers who want only to climb into power and rule, even though they have to get there over the bodies of thousands of comrades, even though they have to betray their class brothers and make an alliance with those whom Marx and Lenin, whose pupils they proclaim themselves, called the natural enemies of the working class—the bourgeoisie.

The crimes we are writing of today are of a political, social, and personal character, because they include murders of defenseless workers killed for their ideas, murders of mothers who fought the rape of their daughters, and murders of the raped victims once the sadistic appetites of their torturers are satisfied. \* \* \*

The principal ones guilty of these crimes, the Communist mayors Marcelino Recuero and Eloy Diaz, as well as Amalio Fernandez, president of the committee of defense of Villamayor, and also Eulogio Martinez and Juan Soledad have been condemned to death. Eight more chekists of these two towns have



been sentenced to prison for from 4 to 40 years. The affidavits of the witnesses follow, which established to the satisfaction of the court that the accused had been members of a gang that operated as a "defense committee," while persecuting political enemies, looting, levying tribute, and making free with women prisoners, as well as forcing town girls to be used. \* \* \* The members of this committee were: Eloy Diaz Garcia, mayor of Villamayor de Santiago; Marcelino Recuero Viana, mayor of Villanueva de Alcardete; Amalio Fernandez Rodrigo, chief of the local Civil Guard. The latter was the president of the committee and had under his orders Francisco Rodrigo Villaplana, Adolfo Salamanca Moreno, Antonio Ramirez Quintanar, Ezequiel Martinez Muñoz, Manuel Pradillo Huete, Enlogio Martinez Jimenez, Juan Salamanca, Felix Serrano Lopez, Valentin Recuero Garrido, Dionisio Zamora Martinez, and Jose Maria Mendoza Gimeno. The declarations established that:

Eloy, Amalio, and Francisco Rodrigo were the executive committee of the Cheka. They ordered and carried out the arrests, acted as judges, and carried out the sentences. The rest were, one a chauffeur, the others militia who took advantage of the wide-open situation. This gang became the supreme power of the district, and made free with the lives and belongings of the citizens. \* \* \* They turned a convent into a jail and there established their headquarters. There also they had daily banquets and parties, which usually ended by their taking some of the prettiest prisoners out to a place where they raped them. Each one of these people paid himself 100 pesetas a week. \* \* \* Dionisio Zamora declared that the celebrations went on daily, and that all the members of the committee and their friends came to them. \* \* \* One girl, raped under threat of death, was 22 years old. The case was taken up by the town in council, and while this was going on, some of the guards appeared and dissolved the gathering with guns. \* \* \*

The case: Aureliana Moya Sierra and her crippled son, Amalio Suarez Moya, U. G. T. member, were taken to jail; their house was then searched and looted; the daughter, rape attempted, resisted. \* \* \* She went for help. Next morning the son was murdered in jail, and the mother warned and freed. \* \* \* The two women went to a nearby town, where they stayed in the house of a friend, a druggist. \* \* \* The chekists followed them, took them away, eventually murdered the mother and raped and murdered the girl, and left them lying in the fields. \* \* \*

## B. BACKGROUND OF THE MAY DAYS

### DOCUMENT V—THE REAL CONSPIRACY

[From C. N. T., Madrid C. N. T. organ, June 14, 1937. This, the official statement of the National Committee of the C. N. T., adopted at a plenary session in Valencia, was centered when published in Barcelona: the names of prominent Catalan conspirator-traitors being eliminated. In the Madrid organ of the C. N. T. it appeared in full]

One fine day, May 4, there appeared at the Barcelona Telephone Building large numbers of guards and police, commanded by Rodriguez Salas, commissioner of public order. Why? Simply because the P. S. U. C. (Stalinist Party) and the Estat Catala (reactionary separatist militia) which, as parties, had no part in its control, needed the phone system for their conspiratorial ends. And the C. N. T. would not permit their work, knowing what was planned. From the start (July 19, 1936), the phone system had been under control of a joint C. N. T.-U. G. T. committee; in addition there was a delegate of the Generalidad government.

The attitude of Salas and Ayguade, who commanded the guards, was illegal, as demonstrated by the fact that the Generalidad Council recognized that the Councillor of the Interior and the commissioner had exceeded their authority. At the same time this was going on at the phone building, barricades and guns appeared at P. S. U. C. and Estat Catala headquarters, and then in the streets. In view of these military demonstrations, our comrades prepared for defense, supposing rightly that the P. S. U. C. and Estat Catala were trying to take over the phone building as part I of their plot.

But this explains nothing. The roots of the events must be dug up. There has been a long-growing struggle against our movement in Catalonia. The Communists, Estat Catala and infiltrated elements (undercover Fascists) had worked for some time to destroy our prestige at home and abroad. What everybody does not know is the strange coincidences connected with the May events.

Not everybody knows, for example, that as early as January Casanovas (Catalan parliament president), Lluhi Vallesca, Nicota Sancho, Polo, and Ventura Cassols (Esquerra leaders) were in France working for "Catalan independ-



ence." This was a process of preparation like that which went on during the dictatorship (of Primo De Rivera). But with a difference; then Italian Fascism intervened as an agent provocateur through Garibaldi; this time Mussolini operated through Dencas (ex-chief of Estate Catala), the October Separatists agent provocateur in Catalonia.

As early as December there was a plot, which resulted in the execution of Reberter, commission of public order. The flight of Casanovas, president of parliament, followed because of his proven complicity in this frustrated coup d'état.

The separatists bourgeoisie, after all, could not swallow the fact that the proletariat had defeated the Fascist insurrection and would deprive them of their property. Seeking restoration, they began negotiating with Italy to provoke struggles which would give openings to foreign intervention and facilitate recognition of Catalan independence by certain powers, at the same time that the anti-Fascist front would be weakened. To this scheme everybody who wanted the status quo of July 18 could subscribe.

In France conspiracy was afoot to bring about a truce. Certain important people were involved. A Spanish anti-Fascist intelligence agent had discovered some combinations. He was ordered to continue investigations until he had irrefutable proofs. This agent, when about to complete his documentation, was murdered in Barcelona. By whom? He worked for the republican government. He was murdered by those who were conspiring, and who somehow knew about his work. Let us remember that Ayguade was councillor of internal security, that he is a member of East Catala, that he was already under well-founded suspicion of having been involved in the December plot.

On April 20 Comorera (Stalinist), Catalonia P. S. U. C. leader, was in Paris. Among others, he saw Ventura Cassols' secretary and a certain Castaner. Who is Castaner? A police agent of the Generalidad who was in contact with one Viniro, secretary to Octavio Salto, journalist serving the Fascists. Castaner had also been seen with three prominent Fascists living in Biarritz and St. Jean-de-Luz. He also maintained close relations with Estat Catala members, especially Dencas and Casanovas. The former visits Castaner at his house, the latter is visited by Castaner. Polo, another Generalidad police agent, a confidential man of Badia (ex-leader of Estat Catala) works in France under the orders of the Fascist counter-espionage headed by Beltran y Musitu.

What do these combinations of separatists and Fascist elements mean? Can we not find the source of various provocations there? We are sure of it. And anybody who looks at facts objectively will be sure, too. Let us add to these antecedents the fact that at the end of April the Fascists were preparing a large-scale landing operation all the way from Almeria to Rosas. It did not come off, because essential materials could not be obtained. It was postponed to mid-May. And if it has not been carried out it is because of a certain incident which revealed the plans to the police of a neutral country.

Moreover, at the end of April Estat Catala concentrated on the frontiers all its armed men in France. And another thing: On April 13, the official republican Gazette published a list of officers, noncoms, and privates of the national republican guard who were to be dismissed, and whose further punishment for treason would be determined after investigation. Nevertheless, a captain, 4 ensigns, 4 lieutenants, 18 sergeants, 19 brigadiers, 23 corporals, and 58 guards on the list were not dismissed, all as a result of the influence of Artemio Ayguade, then Councillor of Security. In the May events these men appeared at the head of the Ayguade forces.

At about the same time, great numbers of these guards went to the frontiers. The chief of one important unit, instead of reporting to the Figueras municipal council, went straight to P. S. U. C. headquarters, thus revealing that this was an armed force at the orders of the Communist Party.

All these details show clearly enough that the Barcelona events were but the spark prepared to generate an explosion. And that spark and explosion were not generated by the C. N. T. \* \* \* From the first moment of the struggle the C. N. T. intervened to try to cut it short. We found a solution which was accepted by everybody except the Communists, who played the game of constantly postponing agreement and action so that the Valencia government would have to send forces to take over the department of public order, which occurred.

When, on Thursday morning, the C. N. T. and U. G. T. had ordered the return to work and the city seemed calm again, the battle began once more, because the separatists and Communists were stopping our comrades, searching them,

tearing up their union books, attacking C. N. T. headquarters, making defense necessary all over again. And when the first street-car of the Garcia line was going down toward the Plaza Cataluña, it was shot at by the guards and by Estat Catala from behind barricades on Paris and Diagonal Streets. Cars that went out to repair broken tracks were shot at, too. Transportation services had to remain suspended.

Finally, when on Friday morning the firing stopped at the hour agreed upon, shooting was continued from the Communist and separatist centers in order to provoke another battle. On Friday night, Estat Catala and the guards in the commissariat on Paris Street shot at the official Government car in which the secretary of the C. N. T. national committee was going to Valencia. Our national committee sent delegates to all regional and local headquarters at once to prevent a repetition of the Barcelona events, and a delegation to the Aragon front which prevented the soldiers from marching back from the trenches.

Weeks after, barricades remained in front of the Communist and separatist headquarters, whereas ours were dismantled on Friday. A wave of terror, of blood, has swept over the towns of Catalonia. Unpunished murder is the order of the day. Our libertarian movement has been silent, not through cowardice, but through discipline and a sense of responsibility, while losing the lives of its best militants. It has suffered with incomparable stoicism the assault on collectives, on the constructive labor of the proletariat. \* \* \* Yet those guilty of so many crimes shamelessly blame them on the C. N. T., and even after all that barbarism and treason, threaten to "punish" the C. N. T. \* \* \*

We have said enough to allow every man to judge for himself. Let it be noted precisely that there is in Catalonia an amalgam of interests which conspire against us: Estat Catala, the Communists, and Esquerra. Their objectives are not identical, but their common interest is to exterminate the C. N. T. This coincides also with Mussolini's interests, who therefore gives them indirect support through Dencas. And let it be stated clearly that we do not concur in the stupid error of confusing Communists with Fascists. We say categorically that we do not believe the C. P. has any direct contact with the Fascists.

But that is not the case with Estat Catala—and when they act together on the streets, who is doing the managing?

We realize with full responsibility the weight of what we are saying, but no one dare deny it because the burden of proof at our disposal is so great. Ayguade, Dencas, Mussolini, Casanovas, Ventura Gassols, Sancho, Xicota, Polo, Castañer—they are the guilty ones in the bloody Barcelona events! \* \* \*

#### DOCUMENT VI—"DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS"

[From Solidaridad Obrera Barcelona C. N. T. organ, May 13, 1937. An interview with DeSanillan, ex-Councillor of the Generalidad]

Beyond a doubt what has happened is due to a preconceived plan of provocation, unequalled in labor history. This is proved by the fact that 15 days before, it was already being talked about in European diplomatic circles, and by ambassadors very close to Catalonia. It was being prophesied that, once the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. were displaced from leadership of the masses in Valencia and Madrid, the definitive struggle against the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Catalonia would be launched. These prophesies were being made in the diplomatic circles and cafes of Paris by people close to the Catalan government. \* \* \* The arrival of foreign warships a few hours after the struggle began, proves its premeditated character. These boats were on their way to Barcelona long before the first shot was fired. \* \* \* Discipline was the backbone of the movement since all comrades obeyed the directives given by their organizations. Thanks to this it was possible to prevent more bloodshed, for our militants, even in the face of fire, resisted without shooting back. \* \* \* I, myself, heard over the telephone some comrades weep with rage as they were told by the committees not to shoot even though they were being machine-gunned. \* \* \* One can say that, thanks to the attitude of the C. N. T., a great catastrophe has been avoided. Furthermore, the plans nourished by our dubious friends have been smashed by the C. N. T. Now that peace is restored, however, the provocateurs continue active. We could see quite clearly, the more disciplined the movement became, returning to normality, the more provocation grew in order to cause a prolongation of the struggle.



## C. THE MAY DAYS

DOCUMENT VII—EVENTS IN BARCELONA AS SEEN BY THE C. N. T.

[From Solidaridad Obrera, Barcelona C. N. T. organ, May 4, 1937]

Yesterday at 3 p. m., taking advantage of the movement when the telephone building is empty, there appeared before it three truckloads of assault and republican guards, commanded by general commissioner of public order, Rodriguez Salas (a Stalinist). At his orders the guards entered the building with hostile attitude, rifles cocked. Several comrades at the entrance were ordered to put up their hands. The guards then advanced and began disarming all comrades in the bureau of war censorship and those on guard under standing orders from the National Telephone Union.

At the first movement these comrades were surprised by the attitude of the guards, and turned over their arms as ordered. The guards continued into the building, but when they arrived at the eighth floor could continue no further because of special circumstances they encountered there.

The episode caused a great gathering of people in the Plaza Cataluna. \* \* \*

The police, not satisfied with its activities in the telephone building, began to occupy the roofs of nearby buildings and to station itself in adjacent streets with great show of arms and military paraphernalia.

Naturally, rumors began to fly. One rumor deliberately given the crowd was that the F. A. I. was at that moment attacking the telephone building. Shortly afterward the news of what was happening, conveniently distorted, was public property and picturesque and grotesque stories were being diligently spread about us.

Fortunately, public reason was more powerful than invention, and a few hours later all Barcelona knew the truth of what had happened, and were amazed by the violent behavior of the chief of police.

Scarcely a half hour after the guards had entered the telephone building three of our comrades appeared: Diaz, of the council of the defense; Asens of the general secretariat of the workers' patrol; and Eroles, councilor of public order. These comrades intervened to persuade our comrades who were resisting the guards in the telephone building to change their very justifiable attitude. Our comrades did as asked.

When the news of these inconceivable events reached the regional committee of the C. N. T., it moved immediately to investigate, interviewing the first councilor, Terradales, and the councilor of internal security (Ayguade). Both stated that they knew nothing whatever of what happened, but it turned out later that Ayguade did, since the police who had taken part in the occupation of the telephone building had orders signed by him. \* \* \*

The regional committee broadcast radio recommendations to be calm, advising the workers not to allow themselves to be the victims of a maneuver directed against C. N. T. The orders spread rapidly and had the desired effect. The workers of Barcelona, in contrast to the agents of the authorities, set a wonderful example of levelheadedness. \* \* \*

The occupation of the telephone building by the police has given rise to all kinds of questions and rumors. Was this, perhaps, the prelude to a plan previously decided on? How far would they have gone if they had not been opposed in certain of their activities?

We do not know. We are particularly bewildered since, as everyone knows, the telephones have been administered since the revolution by a regularly appointed delegation of the Generalidad, under control of the U. G. T. and C. N. T. \* \* \* It all looks like provocation, in this case an extremely dangerous one, because, with the Generalidad and the two trade-unions both represented in the building, an attack on it by armed forces under the personal orders of the chief of police was highly irregular.

In continuation of this episode, toward the end of the afternoon, the police, again under orders, began to disarm the revolutionary workers. The latter, following instructions of the C. N. T. and F. A. I., refused to surrender the arms which they have conquered by their own efforts, and to which they have every right, since these arms are destined for use against the Fascists and against everything that spells counter-revolution. In some cases the refusal of the workers produced attacks by the police; as a result, by dawn, there were two dead and several wounded.



## DOCUMENT VIII—THE EVENTS IN TARRAGONA

[From Solidaridad Obrera, Barcelona C. N. T. organ, May 15, 1937]

On Wednesday, May 5, at 8 a. m., many police, heavily armed and carrying grenades, suddenly appeared at the (Tarragona) telephone building and occupied it. The workers offered no resistance. Having taken possession, they controlled urban and interurban connections, and cut off all phones of syndicalist and anarchist organizations.

Four hours later there was an interview at military headquarters between a telephone workers' delegation headed by Comrade Casanovas and the lieutenant colonel in command, who was told about the unexpected episode. It was agreed to remove the armed forces from the first floor where the apparatus is, leaving them on guard in the vestibule. Fifteen minutes later the police chief phoned the C. N. T. that the representative of the Internal Security Department in Tarragona refused to sanction this agreement, having received very stringent orders from Barcelona.

Meanwhile our comrades observed much activity at left republican headquarters, where many people were entering unarmed and leaving with arms. The same was going on less openly at headquarters of the P. S. U. C. and at the Casa del Pueblo. Next morning our organization (C. N. T.) was openly and violently attacked. Certain forces began to assault headquarters of the Libertarian Youth with rifle fire and grenades. They were repelled, and a C. N. T. delegation was sent to the representative of the Generalidad to ask for a meeting of all anti-Fascist forces. The meeting was called, but the comrades of the U. G. T. (controlled by the United Socialist and Communist Party) and of the P. S. U. C. refused to come, so it was impossible to prevent further trouble by this means.

Early in the afternoon delegates came from Barcelona. They could hear heavy firing and witnessed another attack on Youth headquarters by the police and civilians of the other organizations. This attack was so violent as to succeed. Our comrades then went to police headquarters with the delegates of the internal security department. There they conferred with a captain of aviation from Rus, Comrade Barbeta, telling him they wished to avoid bloodshed and asking for a meeting of all anti-Fascist organizations. A meeting was held. There were present all the workers' representatives, as well as military officials and the Generalidad authorities. The Generalidad delegate, Captain Barbeta, said he had strict orders to use all arms, including planes, to make the C. N. T. surrender its arms. Our comrades, referring to the Solidaridad campaign in favor of sending all arms to the front, said they would give up their arms if there would be a general disarming.

Captain Barbeta replied that he could not disarm other organizations, since they were unconditionally on the Government's side. Our comrades replied that the C. N. T. is not against the Government, of which it is a part. Finally our comrades decided to yield their unquestionable rights in order to avoid further struggle, and they therefore surrendered their arms. The authorities guaranteed that the arms would be held on the aviation field while general disarmament or a return of the arms was discussed, under the following conditions:

1. All those arrested would be freed.
2. All the police would be removed from Tarragona, including those of political and trade-union bodies, and aviation troops would replace them.
3. The lives and liberties of all comrades and the headquarters of all workers' organizations would be respected.

Captain Barbeta accepted these terms. \* \* \*

The rest of the day was taken up with meetings. At dawn the next day, about 3 a. m., the assault guards and police occupied the internal security headquarters, they said on orders from above. As though this had been a signal, a general attack was opened on the militants of C. N. T. and F. A. I.

The outside sections of the city are strewn with corpses of leading militants of our organizations. Here are some of the slain: Mario Berruti, Baltasar Vallejo (Maritime Transport Union), Julian Martinez, Ramon Alvarez (national republican guard), Jose Casellyi (Miscellaneous Workers Union), Francisco Molina, and four unidentified persons. During the repression the young Uruguayan anarchist and well-known militant, Rua, was also killed. He had come to Spain shortly after July 19 to fight with the Spanish workers.

## DOCUMENT IX—THE EVENTS IN BARCELONA AS SEEN BY THE P. O. U. M.

[From the Spanish Revolution, Barcelona, English language bulletin of the P. O. U. M., May 19, 1937]

Barcelona, the workers' city, has just lived through glorious days. Just as the working class of Barcelona rose in arms against the Fascist uprising of July 19, from the 3d to the 7th of May the workers showed that they would not allow Stalinism and reformism to snatch away their revolutionary conquests, won at the price of their blood.

Everywhere abroad an attempt is being made to throw the responsibility for the bloody events of the May days upon the imaginary "provocateurs" in the pay of Trotskyism and, therefore, of international fascism. The revolutionary workers of "red" Barcelona resist this slander. The Spanish Revolution, dedicated to their cause, must explain the fighting in Barcelona to the workers of the world.

Who provoked this action? The responsibility, as is well known, falls directly upon the agents of Stalinism, the protectors of reformism and counter-revolution. For weeks already the P. S. U. G., controlling public order with the aid of the generality of Catalonia, had been making attacks against the workers (at Puigcerda, Figueras, and Molins de Llobregat). During the weeks preceding the events the public order forces the national republican guards and the assault guards, made several "expeditions" against the revolutionary workers of Catalonia, forcibly dissolving the revolutionary defense committees spontaneously set up by the workers after July 19. At the same time there were signs that certain elements among these forces were ready for counter-revolutionary and Fascist action. Here we see the result of the underhand action of the Stalinists who go to the point of helping fascism in their hatred of the revolutionary working class.

On the eve of the week of struggle, the provocative display of armed forces at the funeral of Roldan Cortada, of the U. G. T., the uprising of the customs officers at Aipoll and other provocations were the successive links in a chain which ended with the attack of May 3.

Among the agents of these counter-revolutionary acts were found the United Socialist Party of Catalonia (P. S. U. C.), which is the Stalinist Party, the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, the party of the backward section of the middle class, and the armed corps—the assault guards and civil guards—in the pay of the generality. All these forces enjoy the tacit, if not official, support of the generality of Catalonia.

Monday, May 3, at 3 p. m., assault guards, under the command of Rodriguez Sala, commissar of public order and P. S. U. C. member, tried to take the telephone building in the Plaza Catalunya by force. The occupation was supported by a heavy detachment of armed men, both police guards and cavalry. For 10 months the telephone building had been under the control of a trade-union committee of members of the U. G. T. and C. N. T., and its protection against any Fascist aggression was assured by the militia of these organizations. In regard to consorship and technical questions, the committee in charge was always at the disposal of the generality.

That was not enough for the counter-revolutionary elements, however. They wanted to get rid of workers' control of an establishment of such great strategic value. It has been proved, in spite of the denials of the Catalan government, that the order upon which Rodriguez Sala (of the P. S. U. C.) acted was signed by Artemi Aguadé (of the Esquerra), councillor of public order.

That a counterrevolutionary coup had been planned in advance by the armed forces is proved by the fact that machine-gun stations had been set up on neighboring roofs by civil guards, in order to attack the telephone building from various directions.

The attack upon the telephone building was the cause of surprise and indignation among the telephone workers, who resisted the occupation of their building. This was the beginning of the violent fighting of the following days. The workers of Barcelona mobilized and began to organize the defense of their districts, to control movements in the city and to prevent reinforcements from coming in.

Within 2 hours, Barcelona was in a state of war. The workers went into the street with their arms to defend their headquarters and to take up strategic positions throughout the city. The revolutionary workers of the C. N. T.,



F. A. I., and the P. O. U. M. understood from the first how great was the danger of the armed forces. Without either trade union federation calling a strike, the factory workers poured out to take up their fighting posts. At about 6:30 the transport services, streetcars, busses and subways, all controlled by the C. N. T. unions, came to a halt.

At nightfall, the workers began to build barricades of paving blocks and sandbags. That evening many workers were killed by the armed forces of the generality, which tried to disarm them. During the night, firing sounded throughout the city.

The coup had been prepared and carried out by the P. S. U. C. and the Esquerra. The members of these organizations, however, were not the shock troops of the generality. It had at its command the assault guards, the civil guards, and the Mozos d'Escuadra—personal guards to the president. All these generality forces did not show the same fight. The assault guards were reluctant to fire upon the working class, as were even part of the civil guard. Many cases of insubordination arose, and some guards turned their arms over to the workers. The most reactionary of the anti-Fascist forces turned out to be the most violent. Groups from the Estat Catala and the P. S. U. C., which held a few positions, were very aggressive.

On the workers' side were united the workers of the P. O. U. M. and those of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. They stood united throughout the fight, and the street fighting was organized together. The password was "C. N. T., F. A. I., P. O. U. M.—Revolution!"

In general the workers of the U. G. T. did not take part in the fight, though many of them joined the revolutionaries in the barricades. The P. S. U. C. did not succeed in facing the U. G. T. workers against those of the C. N. T. Thus it is false to present the fight as a fratricidal struggle between the C. N. T. and the U. G. T., as has been stated in the press. It was nothing other than the struggle of the revolutionary workers against the counterrevolutionary forces of repression of the generality—composed only of the guards corrupted by Stalinism and reformism.

On May 4, *La Batalla*, the P. O. U. M.'s newspaper, issued the slogan of permanent mobilization of the working class. The P. O. U. M. demanded the resignation of Rodriguez Sala and the annulling of the public order decree. It proposed the immediate formation of the Revolutionary Workers' Front and the organization in all districts of committees for the defense of the revolution. These slogans echoed among the masses and accentuated the cooperation between the workers behind their barricades or in their organization headquarters and the police force, which likewise threw up barricades or shot from the P. S. U. C. buildings (Hotel Colon, Karl Marx House) or those of the Esquerra and Estat Catala.

Tuesday evening, the generality tried to stop the fighting with the promise of finding a solution. The radio gave an order to stop firing, "since all the anti-Fascist organizations have met at the generality palace to try to solve the conflict."

This truce was fairly effective Tuesday night. Speaking from the generality radio were heard Calvet, president of the Peasants' Union, Sbert of the Esquerra, Vidiella in the name of the U. G. T.-P. S. U. C., Garcia Oliver, C. N. T. minister of justice in the Valencia government, representative of the national committee of the U. G. T. and the C. N. T., and president companies.

The truce was short-lived, however. The fighting started up again in the morning. The efforts made by the generality during Tuesday and Wednesday were absolutely ineffective because they refused to satisfy the just aspirations of the revolutionary working class. Furthermore, when the workers saw that the reactionary elements of the anti-Fascist front were taking advantage of the pause to extend their provocations, they took up the fight again to crush the counterrevolution.

The generality of Catalonia and its "provisional government" were powerless. All day Wednesday and Thursday, the port was in the hands of the Barcelona workers. The working class had completely reestablished order in the suburbs by driving out or disarming the bourgeois police forces. At the center of the city, a few streets were still in the hands of the P. S. U. C., the Esquerra, the Estat Catala, and the civil and assault guards. The generality buildings were surrounded on all sides by the armed workers. Only the Mozos d'Escuadra were left defending them.



The generality's appeals to stop fighting didn't reach the first barricade. The whole province of Catalonia, cities and villages, was taking preventive measures to prevent any steps by the counterrevolutionaries. The divisions on the Aragon front also showed that they would tolerate no provocations. It can be said then that the revolutionary working class of Barcelona, upheld by the workers of all Catalonia, was master of the situation Wednesday and Thursday morning.

For months the P. O. U. M. had been denouncing the continual provocations of the counterrevolution, and it immediately denounced the assault guards' attack on the telephone building as the decisive provocation of the reactionary sectors of the anti-Fascist front. It upheld the armed protest of the workers.

It was the P. O. U. M.'s duty to stand actively with the workers who were spontaneously and heroically defending the threatened conquests of the revolution with the general strike and barricades. The P. O. U. M. fulfilled its duty and met its responsibilities. Throughout this struggle it played its part as a revolutionary Marxist party, organizing the workers and attempting to bring them the leadership which they lacked.

The P. O. U. M. insisted upon the forming of the Revolutionary Workers' Front, which now has taken hold of the imagination of the working class. The P. O. U. M. demanded the immediate organization of revolutionary defense committees. These committees were set up in some districts and the Anarcho-Syndicalist workers of the F. A. I. and the C. N. T. were seen rubbing elbows with the Marxists of the P. O. U. M.

During the week of fighting, the P. O. U. M. showed itself to be the only party of the revolution, and its members quickly rose to the task before them.

The lively desire of the working class to put an end to the power of reformism was not crowned with success, however. For 4 days, the workers stood ready vigilant, awaiting the C. N. T.'s order to attack. The order never came. In fact, the struggle was little more than a passive siege of the bourgeois forces. The National Confederation of Labor, held by the workers as the mass organization of the revolution, recoiled before the question of workers' power. Caught up in the reins of the government, it tried to straddle the fence with a union of the opposing forces. That is why the revolutionary workers' fight of May 3 to 7 was essentially defensive instead of offensive.

The attitude of the C. N. T. did not fail to bring forth resistance and protests. The "Friends of Durruti" group brought the unanimous desire of the C. N. T. masses to the surface, but it was not able to take the lead.

The workers were fighting in the street without any definite goal or responsible leadership, the P. O. U. M. could only order and organize a strategic retreat. It helped the working class to avoid a desperate action which could have had sad consequences.

The generality of Catalonia, realizing that it was not able to throw off the force of the working class of all Catalonia, had to give up its police power to the Valencia government. Five thousand assault guards from Madrid descended upon the city of Barcelona. At the same time the central government of the Republic obtained the complete transfer of the Aragon Army to its command. It is now no more than the Army of the East.

A provisional ministry was set up with one representative each from the U. G. T., C. N. T., Esquerra and Peasants' Union.

The working class, although not getting their objectives, by this struggle obtained the discharge of those who were directly guilty, that is, Rodríguez Salas (P. S. U. C.) and Artemo Ayguadé (Esquerra). By its action in the street, by its energetic struggle, it likewise forced the Stalinists and counter-revolutionaries to recoil. The working class withdrew in order and showed that it was ready for the new struggle, which would be necessary to achieve its goal—the freedom of the working class.

Friday the workers abandoned the struggle, remaining alert, however, and keeping their arms. The rôle of the P. O. U. M. grew with the experience in revolutionary struggle. The workers, who were deeply wounded by the capitulation of their trade union federation, are now looking for a new lead in other directions. The P. O. U. M. should provide it for them.

The May days showed that the only way out of the present situation is for the working class to take power. To arrive at this, it is necessary to coordinate the revolutionary action of the masses by building the revolutionary workers' front, gathering in all the organizations determined to completely crush

fascism—a work which can only be realized with a military victory at the front and the triumph of the revolution behind the lines.

Thus the P. O. U. M., the revolutionary party, although attacked, slandered, and threatened by the bourgeoisie, forges ahead to the end.

MR. BARON. From the Socialist Call, there is an article by Sam Baron and Liston M. Oak, headed, "What Are the Cold Facts About Stalinist Splitting of the Anti-Fascist Front," which I will put into the record.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, July 10, 1937]

#### WHAT ARE THE COLD FACTS ABOUT STALINIST SPLITTING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT?

(By Sam Baron and Liston M. Oak)

We have been accused by the Daily Worker of defending Spanish organizations and individuals guilty of disrupting the anti-Fascist united front and of aiding Franco. The American Stalinists, aping their colleagues in Russia and Spain, charge the Spanish revolutionists who oppose repressive and reactionary measures instigated by the Communist Party with treason, calling them "Trotskyist agents of the Gestapo." We are tired of this indiscriminate hurling of adjectives and propose to confine ourselves to facts. We challenge the Stalinists to answer as factually.

The first fact is that today the opposition to Stalinist policies and tactics in Spain comes from the P. O. U. M., the anarchist C. N. T.-F. A. I., and the left Caballero Socialists. Among the 55,000 members of the P. O. U. M. before its suppression on May 27 there were not more than 500 Trotskyists, and they were attempting to split the P. O. U. M. and organize a "Bolshevik-Leninist" party. Many had been expelled.

The anarchists and left Socialists can hardly be termed Trotskyists even by the Stalinists. Therefore it is apparent that not only Spanish Trotskyists but all other revolutionists implacably oppose the crushing of the left wing of the anti-Fascist front.

#### FASCIST SPIES—WHERE?

The charge is made that we are aiding Franco's spies, that in fact, we are "snipers for Franco." While it is doubtless true, although unproved, that some few Fascist spies wormed their way into the P. O. U. M., the F. A. I., and the left wing of the U. G. T. and S. P., there is far more reason to believe that agents of Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini entered the conservative coalition between the Spanish Communist Party, and the left Republican Party. Why? Because the Stalinists threw their membership books wide open to new members after July 19, 1936, while the other organizations were much more suspicious of new applicants who belonged to no anti-Fascist party before the Fascist rebellion.

The S. P. dramatically closed its books. Spies moreover would have much better opportunities of obtaining information from the dominating parties. As a matter of fact, the record shows that of the spies already caught and exposed, the largest number have been members of the C. P. Only two were P. O. U. M. members.

When the history of the Spanish Civil War is written, the record will prove that San Sebastian, Irun, Toledo, Talavera, Malaga, and Bilbao fell into Fascist hands with less resistance than might have been mobilized and that in every case there were Fascist sympathizers within the ranks of the defenders. Two examples will suffice for this article.

General Ascencio and Colonel Vilalba were arrested after the fall of Malaga for sabotage and treason. Both had been exposed by the anarchists and the P. O. U. M.; the Government had intervened to prevent the anarchists from shooting Vilalba for treachery on the Aragon front before he was sent to organize the defense of Malaga. Even the capitalist press has carried a report of treachery at Bilbao; military secrets have been sold to the Fascists by left Republican officers and one engineer had left a gap in the "iron ring" of defenses through which the Fascists marched.



## ARREST REVOLUTIONISTS

The latest reports from Spain indicate that there are now in jail more than 1,000 members of the P. O. U. M. the C. N. T.-F. A. I., and the Anarchist Libertarian Youth, and the left U. G. T. They are held under varying charges as spies, traitors, etc., for disobeying the decree that the revolutionary workers must surrender their arms, or merely "for questioning." The arrests began before the fighting in Catalonian cities from May 3 to May 7, but most of them took place since.

The exposure of the Madrid branch of the Cheka or G. P. U. resulted in the dissolution, at the end of April, of the Madrid Defense Junta, and revealed the role of Cazorla, member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, who hounded revolutionary workers while tolerating and releasing from jail known Fascist sympathizers. Cazorla as commissioner of public order, built up a secret unofficial agency to carry out his orders to arrest and persecute anti-Fascists held incommunicado.

But even more shocking is proof published in Solidaridad on April 25 of the work of the Cheka in Murcia, which also operated under Cazorla. "The Cheka uses," Soli declares, "the same methods used against us by capitalists under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. Our press is suspended or censored; our best members are persecuted, jailed, even murdered \* \* \*. We have waited patiently, hoping for correction of these abuses, hoping to avoid friction and to maintain revolutionary unity against the Fascist. \* \* \* But in vain. The situation has grown worse. Our newspaper, C. N. T., has been suspended for criticizing the role of Cazorla, which the defense junta itself called 'improper.' \* \* \*

"In Cartagena, Valencia, and elsewhere, our papers have recently been suspended for publishing information about the Cheka."

"The Murcia Cheka was the worst of all—so serious that its leaders, all C. P. members, are now in jail. \* \* \* Day after day we had noticed the disappearance of comrades, mostly workers who were members of the C. N. T. Our organization was being constantly attacked by the Communists. \* \* \*

"On April 8 and 10, the principal figures in this murder gang were arrested. According to a document signed by the Popular Front, the Libertarian Youth, the Provincial Committee and Regional Federation of the C. N. T., they came from a political sector which has been shouting loudly for unity, for responsibility, and a central command. \* \* \* This party has not repudiated and condemned the Murcia Cheka. We therefore break our silence to warn those who are trying to import such dictatorial and terrorist methods into our country."

## USE TORTURE

Space forbids our quoting all the details given of the work of the Cheka in Murcia, Madrid, and elsewhere, including sworn testimony from some of its victims. We quote only a few lines from a typical declaration of Jose Maria Garcia Serrano arrested on March 12.

"Torrecillas threw an arm around my neck and said 'Hello, come in.' \* \* \* Suddenly he gave me a blow on the chest and shouted 'Sit down.' \* \* \* A number of men I did not know filed in and stared at me. The Governor's secretary, Capena, after insulting my mother said 'Tonight you are going to talk if you want to live.'"

There follows an account of how they tried to get him to implicate C. N. T. leaders in a Fascist plot. "Meantime I heard agonized screams from adjoining rooms. \* \* \* They took me to a cemetery and stood me against the wall. I heard the cocking of their guns. They questioned and threatened me again. \* \* \* I was insane from the torture they had subjected me to. I did not know how I could stand so much pain. But I wouldn't confess to crimes I had not committed. \* \* \* They let me go at midnight under guard. But every day I was forced to go to the house of a police detective named Fernandez Ruiz. There they tortured me again until I could stand it no longer and signed a paper they showed me without reading it. \* \* \*

"I swear that if I have accused anyone, he is innocent."

Since this exposure of the Murcia Cheka, some of the leaders named in these statements of the victims have been punished. But the Spanish Cheka continues its work and on a larger scale since the fighting in Barcelona in May, which was provoked by Stalinist determination to crush revolutionary opposition. The Civil Governor of Murcia was removed from office, and so were the



police officers involved. In Madrid, Cazorla was ousted, but his friend Carrillo was given his job as chief of police, to continue the work of repression.

After the P. O. U. M. was outlawed and its paper and radio suppressed, Julian Gorkin, one of the P. O. U. M. leaders, was told sadly by Minister of the Interior Zugazagoitia that:

When Caballero—until recently hailed by the Stalinists as the "Spanish Lenin"—was kicked out of the Valencia Government, he said:

"I can do nothing. Russia demands complete crushing of the P. O. U. M. as the price of military aid which we must have."

"If the Caballero government were to apply the measures of suppression to which the Spanish section of the Communist International is trying to incite it, then it would come close to a government of Gil Robles or Lerroix; it would destroy the unity of the working class and expose us to the danger of losing the war and shipwrecking the revolution. \* \* \* A government composed in its majority of people drawn from the labor movement cannot make use of the methods that are reserved for reactionary and Fascist-like governments." (Adelante, May 11.)

Does the Communist Party really demand of us that we remain silent now when the prediction of Caballero begins to be molded into reality in the hands of the Communist Party of Spain?

Mr. BARON. Also, from the New Leader, I want to insert into the record an article concerning one Andrés Nin, who was kidnaped from a Madrid jail and murdered by the Communists. He was a leader of a political party in Spain.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From the New Leader, Friday, December 17, 1937]

#### THEY CALLED THIS MAN A FASCIST SPY—ANDRÉS NIN AS I KNEW HIM

By John McNair

We have been informed by a prominent Socialist from Madrid that he has positive knowledge that Andrés Nin, the general secretary of the P. O. U. M. and late minister of justice in the Catalan government, was murdered by the orders of the head of the Communist police, and that his body was left in an unrecognizable condition. When John McGovern, M. P., interviewed members of the Spanish Government 10 days ago they accepted the fact that Andrés Nin has been assassinated.

I first met Andrés Nin in Barcelona on the night of August 22, 1936. He was then general secretary of the P. O. U. M. He had a long record as a sincere revolutionary.

In 1921 he was working side by side with Lenin and Trotsky in Moscow. He was with Lenin during his closing days and through this inspiration he dedicated his life to the service of the workers. In 1927, still in Moscow, Andrés Nin took his place in the ranks of the opposition, demanding the rights of speech and of thought in the Bolshevik Party and working for the establishment of proletarian democracy. Then he returned to Spain, and during all the stormy period between 1930 and 1936 he was continually the spearhead of every workers' movement in Catalonia. When I reached Spain Nin and his comrades of the P. O. U. M., Gorkin, Andrade, Bonet, and Rovira, were concentrating themselves on the final task.

When the P. O. U. M. was invited to join the government of the generalité, Andrés Nin was appointed minister of justice. For the first time in Spain the old feudal edifice of bourgeois justice was swept away and workers' justice instituted. Equal citizenship was granted to both sexes at the age of 18 and justice was no longer based on the rights of property, as it had been since the days of the Spanish Inquisition, but upon recognition that the rights of the worker should be placed above the rights of property. His work as minister of justice was recognized by all as being of outstanding importance in the development of the workers' revolution.

Toward the end of November the Communist International commenced their campaign of calumny. The man who was giving his life in the cause of the workers was accused by them of being a member of the Fifth Column in collusion with Franco and being paid by Hitler and Mussolini!

During those days I knew the life of Nin intimately, as I had the honor of being associated with him and of having daily contact with him. He was absolutely disinterested and sincere. The charge that he received money from the Fascists is as ridiculous as it is monstrous. The actual fact was that Andrés Nin was living in circumstances of extreme difficulty. The only small sums of money he ever had were those he managed to earn by his work, assisted by his wife, in translating from Russian into Catalan. Very often he had no money even to pay for his meals and, had it not been for his comrades, he would have gone hungry.

In the midst of all the campaign of calumny and abuse Nin remained calm. When the matter was brought to his attention, he replied that the workers of Spain and his comrades knew the utter baselessness of the attacks. He made the mistake of underrating the propaganda machine of the Communist Party in Spain and elsewhere.

In the June days, before the final suppression of the P. O. U. M. by the Communist police, he still was unable to realize that he was in danger, and he continued his work oblivious of the fact that he was marked down for destruction. He was arrested on June 17, and taken by night to the Communist private prison in Madrid. Although continuous efforts were made by his friends both in Spain and abroad to communicate with him, he was never again seen.

A terrible responsibility, before the workers of the world, must be borne by the Communist International which hounded Andrés Nin to his death.

This is not all. We demand to know what they have done with Kurt Landau, with Irvin Wolfe, with George Tioli, and with many other anti-Fascist revolutionary workers in Spain.

The workers' movement of the world is bigger than the Spanish Communist Party or the Communist International, which will finally destroy itself in attempting to destroy others. We are going to follow Andrés Nin and fight to the end in order that socialism be free. Unless the workers' movement is free the workers' movement is damned.

Mr. BARON. There is also another article in the Time magazine, and I want to say this, that I think the political correspondent of Time magazine speaks with unusual clarity, and I am putting into the record his report of a trial held recently in Barcelona, Spain, of people who were accused as being agents of fascism. Five of these people, executive members of a political organization hostile to the Communist movement, were sentenced to terms of from 11 to 15 years in prison.

Mr. MOSIER. What issue of Time magazine is that?

Mr. BARON. The issue of October 24, 1938.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

#### TROTSKYIST TRIAL

In Barcelona last week opened a political trial so engrossing that even a major air raid, even the shattering concussion of bombs which exploded a few hundred yards from the courtroom did not distract the judges, prisoners, or spectators. In an atmosphere electric with hate and Spanish passion, Andrés Nin was at last put on trial in absentia. Andrés Nin's small, blonde Russian wife or widow had a ringside spectator's seat.

According to Leon Trotsky, whose faithful secretary Andrés Nin was in Russia during the Revolution, there is little if any doubt that Mr. Nin was taken from a jail in Madrid last year by Communists of the Stalin persuasion and murdered. With this view many Socialists, including Norman Thomas, agree—while deprecating the further Trotskyist charge that the Government connived at the assassination. In court last week the Government prosecutor took the position that Señora Nin is the wife of a traitor who escaped from jail, fled abroad and has been in hiding for the past 26 months.

Dead or alive, Andrés Nin was the focus of the Barcelona trial last week, just as Leon Trotsky was the focus of the Moscow trial after which 16 Trotskyists were executed (Time, August 31, 1936). In the prisoners' box at Barcelona sat seven Ninists. The seven and Nin were charged, as members of his P. O. U. M., or Workers Party for Marxist Unification, with high treason,



espionage and "ominous activities." As an example of these the long indictment charged: "They provoked a real revolution in Catalonia (in May 1937), fought against the police and even managed to make an army division in which they had been carrying on their criminal work abandon the front." What had happened was that the extremely independent P. O. U. M. militia had refused to become absorbed in the new, unified, and reformed People's Army on the Aragon front.

The fact that this treason trial, held with full constitutional procedure, was open to the public—many traitors in the civil war's early days having been dispatched to their graves by star-chamber proceedings—was stressed by Barcelona correspondents as significant. The leftist government hoped that this trial would convince influential British opinion that it is not "red." Therefore, the most important charge, all correspondents agreed, was not any of the capital charges of treason for which the seven may be shot if found guilty. It was the charge that the defendants "did all they could to give the Government an extremist [i. e., red] nature, which it never had and which is not the will of the Spanish people."

Spaniards, the seven prisoners reeled off no Russian tissue of confessions, but denied at the top of their lungs everything except that they had all had more or less to do with La Batalla, the Nin newspaper which the leftist government suppressed for noncooperation.

The prisoner known as Gorkin or Gómez, a revolutionist of several aliases, made most news in court. "Did you know any agents of the Nazi Gestapo?" asked the prosecutor, who was trying to prove that the P. O. U. M. was not really Marxist but Fascist. "No; I did not know any of the Gestapo," said Revolutionist Gómez, adding with the authentic Spanish touch, "but if I had known one I would have killed him."

This was more or less up the prosecution's alley, since the leftist government also wished to prove that the P. O. U. M. had attempted to kill its long-time war minister, Indalecio Prieto, a Socialist. When asked about this, swarthy Prisoner Gómez shouted with the extravagant gestures and scowl of an Iberian who feels his honor has been touched: "I cannot contain myself on hearing such base charges."

Mr. BARON. Here is an article in the New York Times headed, "Fate of Prisoners Splits Loyalists," which I will insert in the record. (The statement referred to is as follows:)

[The New York Times, Wednesday, August 11, 1937]

**FATE OF PRISONERS SPLITS LOYALISTS—REPORTED MURDER OF P. O. U. M. CHIEF STIRS ANARCHISTS TO THREATEN A REVOLT—ESCUDER IS STILL IN JAIL—FORMER NEWSPAPER MAN SAID TO BE AWAITING TRIAL FOR TREASON—CABINET IS HARASSED**

LONDON, August 10.—Further details of the perilous situation in which the Loyalist Government of Spain finds itself were received here today in uncensored reports.

The arrest of P. O. U. M. (Party of Marxist Unity) leaders, among them José Escuder, newspaper man well known in New York, the disappearance and reported assassination by Communists of Andrés Kin, P. O. U. M. leader, and the suppression of the party and its anarchist allies have precipitated a quarrel that has been long in the brewing.

The P. O. U. M. press, it is said, continues to function underground and has flooded Catalonia with illegal handbills and bulletins. It arranged for a large mass meeting last week in Barcelona at which the arrests and suppression were protested. No disorders resulted.

The Government finds itself between two forces—the Communists and their rightist allies, and former Premier Francisco Largo Caballero, the dominant figure of the varied group that believes the Communists are sabotaging the social revolution that is taking place side by side with the war against Gen. Francisco Franco's rebels.

An indication of the present drift of the struggle can be found in the incidents surrounding the arrest of Commander Rovira, who was in charge of the Twentieth Division on the Aragon front. Commander Rovira, a member of the P. O. U. M., was ordered abruptly to report to headquarters at Barcelona. He was arrested there by Communists and taken to prison, although the Aragon offensive was then in the making.



His release was obtained by Minister of Defense Indalecia Prieto, who also insisted that the Communist chief of police, Señor Ortega, who had ordered Commander Rovira's arrest without consulting any member of the Government, be relieved of his duties. Señor Ortega was succeeded by another Communist, Gabriel Moron.

The safety of prisoners, who are subject of bitter contention, remains in doubt in view of the fate of Señor Nin. However, Fenner Brockway, general secretary of the British Independent Labor Party, a brother party of the P. O. U. M., said he had learned definitely that Señor Escuder, arrested with Señor Nin, was still alive and well. Julien Gorkin, Juan Andrada, and David Rey were about to be tried before a special tribunal in Valencia for high treason.

"A woman delegate from Spain to the Independent Labor Party convention has received a letter telling of visits of a Spanish woman to Señor Escuder in prison in Madrid," he said.

"The conditions there were bad. He had no sleeping accommodations and had to lie down on damp floor boards. Although he is in poor health, he is given only two scanty meals of soup and bread daily, one at 3 o'clock and one at 11."

Mr. BARON. Let me add here, or point out to the chairman of the committee again, that the purpose of bringing these documents in is to show what happens when the Communists get in a majority, and point out what the results are. I pointed out Germany, Russia, and Austria as examples, and now I am doing it concerning Spain. I am doing it in detail because now the Communist contention is that since 1935 they are good boys, that they are willing to work with all the decent elements and democratic forces, and I want to show that Spain is a living example that they have no such intention.

I have another item I want to put in the record, and this item is in connection with an investigation made by the secretary of the Independent Labor Party of England, in Spain, and the matters he discovered concerning the terror in Spain. I will put his entire report into the record.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

SPANISH DIARY, JUNE 23 TO JULY 12, 1937—PERSONAL REPORT OF A VISIT TO SPAIN

(By Fenner Brockway)

#### FOREWORD

This diary was written for the information of a limited number of Socialist comrades in this and other countries who were interested in my visit to Spain. There is nothing secret in it, but I did not flatter myself that it was of sufficient importance to issue publicly.

The Daily Worker has obtained a copy (by means of which I am aware) and has quoted "revelations" from it as though it were a private document which I wanted to hide from the light of day. That is my last desire. I went to Spain openly and I did nothing there which I want to keep from the knowledge of my fellow Socialists. I am therefore making the diary available to anyone who cares to read it.

There are a few matters which the Communist Party have raised which may be answered at once.

The Communist Party insinuates that my visit to Spain was regarded with favor by the British National Government and that I was given special facilities in regard to (a) my passport and visa and (b) the assistance given to me in Valencia by the British Charge d'Affaires. There is, of course, no truth whatsoever in this insinuation.

I went to Spain under exactly the same conditions as Communist Party representatives who visit Spain. I went as Editor of the New Leader, just as W. Gallagher, M. P., went as a representative of the Daily Worker and as, I presume, Harry Pollitt went. I was asked to sign the same declaration that the Communist Party representatives signed, namely, that I would not take part in the civil war on either side. The British Government gave me no more facilities than it gave to the leaders of the Communist Party.

I received from the British Charge d'Affaires no more assistance than he gives to any British citizen who goes to Spain in a representative capacity. I went to him for the routine purpose of obtaining introductions to Ministers; that is a normal thing to do and does not involve any obligations on either side. Communist leaders have done it dozens of times in different countries. Indeed, they are so well in with the Chancelleries and Embassies in Europe these days that one is amused that they should voice this criticism.

So far from the British Charge d'Affaires seeking to assist me in the purpose of my visit, my diary shows that he endeavoured to dissuade me from raising with the Spanish Ministers the question of the P. O. U. M. prisoners. I did it, not with his help, but despite his presence. An incidental point. With its usual disregard for truth the Daily Worker states that I spent the "greater part" of my time in Valencia with the British Charge d'Affaires. As this diary shows, I was in Valencia 5 days and I spent less than 1 hour with the Charge d'Affaires. I spent the rest of the time with the workers and their organizations—with the C. N. T. and the U. G. T., the two Trade Unions, and at the C. N. T. hotel.

The Daily Worker has made a show of being amused because I found the Hotel Continental at Barcelona "disturbingly bourgeois." The joke is against the Communist Party. Up to the end of last year the Hotel Continental was a resort of working-class militiamen. The bourgeois did not dare to show themselves in Barcelona then. The hotel only became "bourgeois" following the rise of the Communist Party to a position of dominating influence and the consequent retreat of the social revolution. But there was one period even since then when the hotel reverted to its proletarian character. During the three days of the May Resistance, whilst the workers were on top, the waiters discarded their boiled shirts and went about their duties like ordinary workers. It was only when the Communist Party recovered control that the boiled shirts were donned once more.

The old school tie has been a symbol of Toryism. I present the boiled shirt to the Communist Party as a symbol of its defence of "bourgeois democracy" in Spain.

There is one qualifying word which I wish to add to this diary. It is a record of my experiences and not an analytical political document. If it were an attempt to analyze the political situation in Spain it would be necessary to point out that the repression of the social revolution reflects not only the mistake of the Communist Party in substituting "bourgeois" democracy for Socialism as the alternative to Fascism, but equally the mistake of the Right Wing Socialists who as Social Democrats accept the same line. It is one of the ironies of the present situation that the Social Democrats and the Communists have become bedfellows.

AUGUST 24, 1937.

#### PERSONAL REPORT OF VISIT TO SPAIN

By Fenner Brockway

*Wednesday, June 23.*—Telegram received from Simone Kahn, of the French Committee for the defence of the Spanish Revolution, saying that a deputation of Deputies was waiting to leave for Spain and that it was important that British M. P.'s should join it. Simultaneously Press Association reported that Spanish Government had begun proceedings against John McNair. Consulted Maxton who took view with Stephen that I should proceed at once to Spain. Visa secured. \* \* \* Later telegram received from McNair showing that he was on French side of frontier.

*Thursday, June 24.*—Flew to Paris. Met by representatives of French Committee, German S. A. P. and Italian Socialist Party. Stated that uncertain whether delegation would leave that night. Obtained French visa. McNair telephoned from Perpignan. Arranged to meet him there. Met French Committee, but arrangements for delegation uncertain.

*Friday, June 25.*—Went to Second International Executive. Saw Jean Longuet who promised to raise question of P. O. U. M. suppression. Called on Robert Longuet (Jean's son) who agreed to join deputation as lawyer. Telephoned press statement to London about McNair. Met Italian Socialist Party representatives, including Martini, just back from Barcelona. He will be new secretary of International Youth Bureau, to be transferred from Barcelona to Paris. Met Mrs. Esquador, American wife of La Batalla Editor. Husband in prison. Met French Committee. Still uncertain about deputation. Longuet compelled to



withdraw. Paul Rives, Socialist deputy, had promised to come, but he was not in Paris, etc. Decided to proceed to Perpignan without deputation and await instructions there. Left by night train for Perpignan.

*Saturday, June 26.*—Met at Perpignan by McNair and Stafford Cottman, of I. L. P. contingent. Saw later Eric and Eileen Blair, staying in small seaside village nearby. Saw German who was in prison with Smillie. Confirmed statement of Bob's illness. Sent article with their information to N. L. Saw off McNair and Cottman for London. Arranged that McNair should concentrate on international protests against P. O. U. M. suppression and International Commission to Spain—either from Paris or London. Should go to London to report and to speak at Smillie Memorial Meeting.

*Sunday, June 27.*—Telegram from Simone saying deputation would fly to Marseilles on Tuesday. Instructions to follow. Had midday meal in home of Fargas, P. O. U. M. enthusiast. Waited about.

*Monday, June 28.*—No wire from Paris. Met Eric and Eileen Blair. Learned that most of contingent wanted to return. See E. and E. off to London.

*Tuesday, June 29.*—No word from Paris. Decided to go Barcelona myself. Wired to this effect to Paris. Left by night train.

*Wednesday, June 30.*—Travelling to Barcelona. P. O. U. M. posters in Port-Bou. Excitement in train because C. N. T. had withdrawn from Catalan Government. Much support of P. O. U. M. Went to Hotel Continental at Barcelona. Disturbingly bourgeois.

*Thursday, July 1.*—Breakfasted with David Crook. Belonged to Fabian Nursery, joined International Brigade, wounded, remained in Barcelona for journalism. Put me in touch with useful people. Went to C. N. T. Met Souchy, Secretary of International Department. Met Regional Committee and editors of Soli, C. N. T. paper. Put purpose of visit to them. Very sympathetic and agreed that Souchy, who speaks excellent English, should accompany me to Valencia in C. N. T. car.

Met in hiding Landau (German, P. O. U. M. supporter), Eva Sittig (German C. P. O.)—her husband in prison—and Mulins, one of two P. O. U. M. Executive not in prison. The other is Max Petal (who came to I. L. P. conference as Juan Matteo), but there is anxiety about him because absent for 2 hours. Mulins states that spirit of P. O. U. M. membership is "magnifique." Although E. C. and 250 leading Barcelona officials, in addition to 30 foreign supporters, have been arrested, Party continues to function. Representative conference held of all Catalan and Castellon branches which appointed new Executive. New local officials appointed. Eighty thousand leaflets distributed in factories, etc. Hopes of illegal printing of La Batalla.

Suppression of P. O. U. M. is C. P. inspired and conducted. Carried out by Police who are almost entirely C. P. controlled and largely C. P. manned. Government is ignorant of much that they do. When foreign supporters of P. O. U. M. are examined by police C. P. members of same nationality are present and take opportunity of imprisoning opponents in their countries of C. P. line.

Rumours that Nin has been shot. He, Gorkin, and Andrade taken to Madrid.

Important authoritative information that all non-C. P. members of Catalan Government protested to Valencia against P. O. U. M. suppression and particularly against imprisonment of Nin, who is great Catalan author. These included Companys, President, Liberals, Peasant Union representative, C. N. T. representatives and even Vidiella, of U. G. T. Miravielles, Liberal Head of Catalan Propaganda Department, took this protest to Valencia. M. told Valencia that in the view of Catalan Government the document alleged to have been found in the Chilean Embassy was false and in any case Nin was not designated by "N." The Valencia government acknowledged that "N" did not necessarily mean Nin.

Suppression of P. O. U. M. superficially thorough. Government forces have taken possession of all P. O. U. M. buildings, including red aid headquarters and Maurin Library and Institute. In all localities possession taken of buildings. Falcon Hotel, P. O. U. M. headquarters, has been turned into Government prison where, ironically, P. O. U. M. members are confined. Action has been taken against the Barcelona administrative Committee of the Lenin Division at the Front, and Rovira, its chief, as well as Capt. Georg Kopp, have been arrested. Learn there is a great unrest as consequence.

Saw press representatives. Saw Norwegian and Swiss representatives of Socialist papers (girls, accompanied by a German and an American speaking boy), suspect they are Trotskyists. Heard later that the Swiss girl and German boy had been arrested. The other two had got across the frontier. Went to



"Soli" printing works. Old monastery taken over by C. N. T. Modern machines in clean, open rooms. Print 200,000—largest circulation in Spain. Gave interview to be printed after I leave—all editorial board present.

Should have mentioned above that C. N. T. regional committee building is magnificent seven-story building, monumental, three lifts, etc. Taken over from largest Spanish capitalist concern on July 19. This is appropriate, because C. N. T. is now largest industrial concern in Spain.

At 2 a. m. started with Soucy for Valencia. Mad drive on precipitous roads. Stopped 20 or 30 times by military controls, who examined passports, etc.

Just before leaving Barcelona the French delegation arrived. It came to Perpignan the day after I left and consists of two journalists and a lawyer, with authority from the Seine Federation of the Socialist Party, the Committee for the Defence of the Spanish Revolution, the League for Human Rights, etc. Arranged that it should meet me in Valencia.

Before leaving Barcelona sent express letter to Minister of Interior, saying that delegation was coming and asking for immediate action to safeguard P. O. U. M. prisoners.

*Friday, July 2.*—Went to C. N. T. national committee. Magnificent premises expropriated from a Marquis. Vazquez, general secretary, only 29, building-trade worker. Exceptional man. Promised his full cooperation. Sent finely worded protest to Government. It was not allowed to be published in papers, although C. P. papers contain wildest attacks on P. O. U. M. as Fascist organisation and demanding death penalties. C. N. T. decided that its lawyer, S. Pabon, member of Cortes for Saragossa, should act as defence lawyer. Vazquez confirmed invitation to a British workers' deputation and said C. N. T. would give hospitality and protection in Spain.

V. recommended that I should go to British Charge d'Affaires for introduction to Ministers. He concurred that persecution was C. P. conspiracy to crush opposing political sections, and said that the C. P. had deliberately secured control of the police for this purpose. C. N. T.-F. A. I. members were also being imprisoned.

Saw British Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Leche. He promised to fix interviews with Ministers and to accompany me as interpreter. The latter a little embarrassing, as should have difficulty in asking Charge d'Affaires to be even a gramophone spokesman of P. O. U. M. defence.

Learned that Minister of Interior (S. Zugazagoita) had gone to Madrid to enquire into situation of Nin and other P. O. U. M. prisoners and into the charges brought by Madrid police. Negrin, Prime Minister, also in Madrid. Therefore asked to see Foreign Secretary (Giral).

The French delegation arrived.

*Saturday, July 3.*—Air raid during the night. French delegation accompanied me to Caballero. He was personally entirely sympathetic. Said that C. P. is using every means to destroy its political opponents, not refraining from manipulating "justice" and power over police. His supporters were also being arrested on the slightest excuses and were being disposed from administrative and military positions.

He was not able to respond as easily as the C. N. T. to the suggestions for action. He has a difficult C. P. position to meet in the G. N. T.—he has a majority on the E. C. and in the membership (900,000 against 600,000), but on the National Council the C. P. and right Socialists have a slight majority. He stated, however, that he had had a huge pile of protests against the persecution of P. O. U. M. both from sections of the U. G. T. and from working-class organizations abroad. As we sat with him a telegram came from Norman Thomas in the name of the American Socialist Party. He insisted on importance of international pressure on a broad scale, including trade unions.

Discussed with C. question of unity on a basis of a class fight, aiming at social revolution. He said that C. N. T. and U. G. T. are trying to find a basis of immediate common action. I should have mentioned earlier Vazquez's view. He is in favour of C. N. T. and U. G. T. unity and is negotiating common action on an immediate program. The inclusion of the left Socialists and P. O. U. M. was more difficult. Easiest method to secure class unity was on a trade-union basis. It was most possible to cooperate with the left Socialists through the U. G. T. and, as for the P. O. U. M., the first step must be to recover legality for it. V. reported that in opposition to the C. N. T. demand for trade-union unity, the C. P. was advocating the political unity of the Socialist Party and the C. P. throughout Spain on a basis similar to that of the P. S. U. C. in Catalonia. The

C. P. would be likely to dominate such political unity, but would be in a minority in trade-union unity.

I found later that the P. O. U. M. was advocating common action by the C. N. T. and U. G. T. and the formation of a C. N. T.-U. G. T. Government as the next step.

In the evening I saw the Reuter's and Times' correspondents.

*Sunday, July 4.*—Nothing doing in the way of interviews, so went out with Souchy to see a Collective at Segorbe. That is a different but very interesting story. Two points have some relevance. At Segorbe the C. N. T. has 2,000 members; the U. G. T. has less than 200. Yet the Valencia Government has imposed equal representation for the U. G. T. on the Municipal Council.

Second point: There was no C. P. in the town (7,000 inhabitants), but a meeting was organised from outside and a deliberate appeal was made to the more well-to-do peasants and the shopkeepers to join the C. P. on the ground that it is opposing collectivisation and is defending their right to property. This confirms what H. N. Brailsford has written on the same point.

*Monday, July 5.*—Saw the Foreign Secretary, Giral, with the British Charge d'Affaires. I had to approach the subject from a British angle—that is, from the I. L. P. standpoint rather than from that of the International Bureau. The Charge d'Affaires tried to make me steer clear of the P. O. U. M. I opened with a summary of I. L. P. help against the Fascists, and then said how disturbed we had been by the arrest and death of Bob Smillie, the charges against McNair, and the suggestion in Spanish C. P. papers that the I. L. P. is in league with the Fascists. I stated frankly that the I. L. P. had given help through the P. O. U. M. because it is our brother party and that we did not believe that P. O. U. M. was any more Fascist than the I. L. P.

Giral (a Liberal typical bourgeois statesman) regretted the unfortunate circumstances of the death of Smillie, regretted that McNair had become involved in internal issues, and paid a tribute to the help of the I. L. P., which no one ought to suggest was Fascist.

On the question of the P. O. U. M. he made the important statement that there was no intention to charge it as a pro-Fascist organisation (though the Censor allows the C. P. press to do this daily). The charges against the P. O. U. M. are limited to two things—the Fascists have placed spies within it, and its leaders incited the Barcelona "rising" and encouraged the workers to retain their arms. He did not explain why, if there is no charge against the P. O. U. M. as an organisation, an attempt is being made to suppress it as an organisation.

I also raised the question of members of the I. L. P. Contingent who might want to return home. I asked that no obstacles should be put in their way of obtaining discharges from the Army and permission to cross the frontier. The Foreign Secretary resisted in principle, but agreed that individual cases should be considered. (Later I heard that eight men who desired to go home had obtained their discharges and visas.)

Whilst I was seeing the Foreign Minister, the French delegation was making contact with the Ministries of the Interior and Justice through the defending lawyer. They arranged an interview with S. Pabon, at which I was present. He had been given an assurance by the Minister of the Interior that Nin and the other P. O. U. M. leaders were alive. Five were in Madrid—Nin, Gorkin, Andrade, Bonnet (treasurer), and Esquador (editor of *La Batalla*).

An important point brought out in this discussion was that the defending lawyer had never heard of the alleged letter about "N" said to have been found in the Chilean Embassy at Madrid. In his conversation about the charges against the prisoners it had never been mentioned by the Minister of Justice. Later in the evening, during a talk with the Times correspondent, Mr. Lawrence Fennsworth, I learned something of significance about this mysterious document. When it was handed to the Press by the Government Press department (under Communist direction), it was explained that it was not being handed to them officially on behalf of the Government but that its use by the Press would be welcomed. Under such circumstances the Foreign Press correspondents, other than the Communists, unanimously decided not to use it. They sacrificed a good story as a matter of principle; they were not going to distribute a grave charge of this character if the Government itself declined to take responsibility for it.

But to return to the interview with the lawyer. We decided to ask the Minister of the Interior for certain written assurances. We were told that he would be returning to Valencia the following morning and that we could then interview him and the Minister of Justice together.



*Tuesday, July 6.*—The Minister of the Interior did not return from Madrid, but spoke on the telephone to the defending lawyer regarding the assurances which we had requested. He gave the following assurances:

- (1) The five P. O. U. M. leaders in Madrid are alive.
- (2) They will be brought to Valencia within 3 days.
- (3) The charges against them will be communicated to the defending lawyer by the end of the week.
- (4) The trial will be held in public.
- (5) The trial will be by the normal method of the Popular Tribunals and not by any special or military Court.

These assurances covered all the points which we had put, except a request for permission for a foreign lawyer to attend as observer.

The Minister agreed that these assurances should be given personally to our delegation the following day and that they should be put in writing in a letter to the defending lawyer.

Since I was to return to Barcelona during the night, I wrote a letter to the Minister of Justice associating myself with the French delegation and repeating the demands we had agreed upon.

There were three other interviews this day to which reference should be made—the first with Mrs. Nin and Mrs. Bonnet (Mrs. Gorkin and Mrs. Andrade are in prison); the second with the Valencia P. O. U. M. Executive (in great spirit and activity); and the third with the President of the Government of Aragon. Mrs. Nin and Mrs. Bonnet were movingly grateful to the International Bureau, the I. L. P., and the French Committee for sending the delegation; the Valencia P. O. U. M. Executive reported, as the Barcelona comrades had done previously, that the Party continued to function: whilst the Aragon President gave further evidence of how the Valencia Government is seeking to depose revolutionaries for bourgeois democrats. As the elected President of Aragon, he had functioned as the delegate of the Valencia Government. But he was C. N. T. and had, therefore, been threatened with replacement by a moderate U. G. T. nominee of the Government. He reported that in Aragon collectivisation was operating well, with the support of the majority of the peasants, but the C. P. are opposing it and are seeking to rally the peasants with larger properties against it.

The delegation dealt with one further matter—that of the foreign prisoners. We found that the Embassies and the Minister of the Interior were prepared to consider representations regarding British and French nationals, as our delegation came from those two countries, but were not willing to consider representation about other nationals. It was in vain that I insisted I am Secretary of the International Bureau or that the French comrades put the point that they were internationalists. After consideration we decided to take up the cases of the prisoners on the limited national basis, because (a) even limited amelioration would be welcome, (b) any liberation we could secure would be a precedent, and (c) we hoped that our delegation would be followed by a broader one from other countries which could take up the cases of other nationalities.

I had information about only two British subjects under arrest for political offences—William Krehm, a Toronto neo-Trotskyist, and of Ethel MacDonald, of Glasgow, an Anarchist. I got the British Charge d'Affaires to give me an introduction to the Minister of Interior, and in his absence in Madrid obtained from his first secretary a letter on the matter to the Valencia Delegate of Public Order at Barcelona. Both the British prisoners are in Barcelona gaols.

We met a delegation from the Twenty-ninth Division sent to protest to the Valencia Government against the arrest of its Commanding Officer, Col. Rovira. The soldiers had sent delegates to a Council representing the Division which had decided to telegraph Prieto, the War Minister. They showed us the reply telegram from Prieto, which was to the effect that the arrest had taken place without his authority or knowledge and that no one in the War Ministry was aware of it or the reasons for it. He promised to make an enquiry. It is surely unprecedented that a Commanding Officer at the Front should be arrested by the police without consultation with the Minister of War. Dissatisfied, the Council of soldiers of the Twenty-ninth Division had decided to send a deputation to the Government.

*Wednesday, July 7.*—At 4 a. m. Souchy and I were to leave by car for Barcelona. At 3 a. m. I found Vasquez, the C. N. T. secretary, still working, and I went to say good-bye. He was very angry about a leaflet which had been distributed calling for a general strike in non-war industries and for the solidarity of the C. N. T. and the P. O. U. M. He agreed that the leaflet might have been issued as a provocation by the Communists, but warned me that it had been



necessary for the C. N. T. to repudiate it and to make clear that, whilst it stood for justice for the P. O. U. M., it must not be identified with the P. O. U. M.

I asked to see a copy of the leaflet. At the bottom was printed: "Issued by the Bolshevik Leninists (Fourth International)."

I was nearly as angry as Vasquez. The leaflet threatened to destroy the work which had been done to bring about the cooperation of the C. N. T. I did not dispute the right of the B-Ls to publish what they want; I was angry with their stupidity which would disgrace the inmates of a home for mentally deficient children.

I explained to Vasquez the difference between the B-Ls and the P. O. U. M., and he became less angry. The statement issued subsequently by the C. N. T. was reasonable, though I anticipate that the Communists will use it as "C. N. T. repudiation of P. O. U. M." I left a letter for the P. O. U. M. E. C. urging an immediate explanation to Vasquez of the origins of the leaflet. I learned subsequently that the P. O. U. M. had issued a leaflet repudiating the B-L leaflet.

Back in Barcelona about tea time, and then a new complication. Eight members of the I. L. P. contingent were in Barcelona to return home. Their reasons were twofold: (a) Bob Smillie's imprisonment and death, and (b) the "liquidation" of the Revolution, reflected, among other things, in the repression of P. O. U. M. I was glad to find that the eight men had all got their official discharges from the Army and also temporary identification papers and visas. It was fortunate that I was in Barcelona. Although John McNair had made very complete arrangements with the British Consul to cover their financial needs, there were inevitably some unexpected demands. There are now only two members of the contingent at the Front—Mark Wilton and Jock Ritchie.

Visited the hiding place of the P. O. U. M. members and foreign supporters. Relieved to find Max Petal there.

Went to the Valencia Delegate and presented my letter from the Minister of the Interior. He promised to let me know by 8 p. m. whether Krehm and Ethel MacDonald would be released. If not, I could visit them. Returned at 8 p. m.; waited to 9:30 p. m. Told they would probably be released tomorrow.

Discussed P. O. U. M. policy with Max Petal and Barcelona P. O. U. M. leaders. Was encouraged to find that they are refraining from impossible proposals and are taking the sensible line of advocating a C. N. T.-U. G. T. Government. This would be a Workers' Front Government and would be an advance. It would allow the P. O. U. M. to become legal again. The demand has the advantage of being realistic. Such a Government may easily become a fact, and it's good that the P. O. U. M. should through its illegal leaflets be pushing the idea. It also has the advantage of making an appeal to the C. N. T. and non-Communist U. G. T. membership.

*Thursday, July 8.*—French delegation arrived from Valencia. They tell one of the funniest stories surely in revolutionary history, but unfortunately it must not be broadcast yet awhile. They met the Minister of Justice who repeated the assurances telephoned by the Ministry of the Interior and also put them in a letter to the defending lawyer. The one point on which we have not got satisfaction is that the Government does not regard a foreign lawyer as an observer as necessary or permissible in view of the normal procedure to be adopted at the trial. The letter is also unsatisfactory on the point of the trial procedure. The telephoned assurances had stated that the trial would be by Popular Tribunal. The letter states that it will be by the normal legal procedure, and it may be that in espionage or conspiracy cases the Popular Tribunal is not the "normal" Court. The French delegation has arranged that the lawyer shall take up this matter and that they shall telephone the lawyer before leaving Spain, both relating to this and to make sure that the promises regarding the return of the prisoners to Valencia and the definition of the charges to the lawyers had been fulfilled.

The Minister of Justice, the delegation reports, had scarcely hidden his view that the wholesale arrests and exaggerated charges are a conspiracy by the police—that is by the Communists. He clearly resents the way in which they have taken so much authority into their hands. One phrase he used was: "My good friend, the police are the enemy—for you and for me." The Minister is a Basque Liberal.

I do not want to overemphasize the value of the concessions made. They may prove an illusion. The promise of a public trial, for instance, will have less value because of the censorship which will operate on the Press reports both in Spain and foreign countries. The indefiniteness of the letter on the

nature of the Tribunal is also disturbing. The Communists have a strong hold on the judicial administration and will use it to the utmost.

On the other hand, the assurances clearly reflect the doubts in the minds of the Ministers and the effect of the pressure from both within and without Spain. The least we can say is that that pressure, if continued and increased should yield a better result than we feared at one time. It is imperative that our delegation should be regarded as provisional. Another and more representative delegation should come to Spain as soon as possible.

Went to Falcon Hotel, once P. O. U. M. premises, now a prison. Joaquin Maurin's photograph still on the walls. Saw Ethel MacDonald. Must describe this scene elsewhere. Also saw Stevens, a Dutch Anarchist boy. He says conditions in previous prison almost unbelievably bad. 150 men in one large room with one W. C. and washing basin for all of them. Excrement, lice, and dirt. Stuffiness and heat. The diet is starvation for those who have not friends to bring food. Two plates of soup and two pieces of bread a day. The position of thirty members of the International Brigade specially hard. They have no friends, personal or political. They are rotting and half starved. Include many nationalities.

Later in evening heard that Ethel MacDonald has been released. The French delegation has got permission to visit all French prisoners but nothing can be done for other nationalities until we get representatives from their countries here. German and Italian prisoners are in specially bad position.

Went to see two C. N. T. films with a view to possibility of I. L. P. use. Not good. They promised better ones at 9 a. m. tomorrow.

*Friday, July 9.*—Went to see films in delightful C. N. T. developing and copying institute. Films better, and one—The Bombing of Apuís—really good. Will go into the question of using it in Britain and of cutting and coordinating the other films.

Heard that Krehm is free. Good. That's both the British prisoners for whom I've acted released. But also hear that 21 political prisoners at the Corsiga—headquarters of the police—are on hunger strike. Not British and cannot intervene directly. Sent a telegram to Minister of Interior. Some are French, and such the French delegation will see.

Go by car to Frontier with Souchy, who is off on a trip to Sweden. Arrange that he shall send me particulars re films. Talk much of continued co-operation of I. L. P. and C. N. T.

I am turned back at Frontier because my passport has not been stamped at Barcelona. Souchy must go on. Reach Barcelona again 10 p. m. and sleep at Souchy's office.

*Saturday, July 10.*—I'm glad I was turned back. Go to see Valencia Delegate of Public Order, who phones Frontier to let me pass without obstruction. Take Max Petal with me. He crosses the Frontier easily. It was planned that he should go to Paris to help organise international action on behalf of P. O. U. M.

This report has been written so far in the train all the night through. I did not make a note in Spain and thought it best to write whilst my memory is fresh.

*Sunday, July 11.*—By a misunderstanding McNair misses me. Imperative to see him and must wait until tomorrow. Address French committee in afternoon.

*Monday, July 12.*—Spend useful day making plans with McNair and Petal. Propose the following:

(1) Formation of national Committees on a broad basis, coordinated by an international Committee, to demand justice for P. O. U. M.

(2) Preparation of strong representative commission, including Social Democrats and Trade Unionists, to follow up work of our delegation.

(3) Sending of a permanent international commission to Spain composed of as many different nationals as possible to watch interests of foreign Socialists in Spain. German and Italian representatives wanted urgently.

(4) Exploration of idea through British M. P.'s and French Deputies of a League Power acting in Spain for German and Italian refugees. Obviously impossible to act through German and Italian Government machinery. A League Commission is responsible for refugees and it is logical that this should extend to their protection in Spain.

(5) Immediate preparation of rank and file delegations to accept invitation from C. N. T. to examine the situation.

(6) Stimulation of protest from all countries and all possible organisations to be sent to Valencia Government.



Discussed with McNair and Petal the technical methods of doing this. Suggested that McNair should stay in Paris to establish effective means for the agitation and that he should then return to London, leaving Petal to carry on.

Had interview with two members of the Communist Right Opposition, including Thalheimer. Their policy now approximates to that of the I. L. P. and the International Bureau. Discussed basis for international conference later in the year. Thalheimer promised to come to Summer School during second week in August when plans for such a conference will be discussed.

Saw American comrade who may be right man for permanent international commission in Spain.

Caught night train for London.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS REPORT

(1) The suppression of P. O. U. M. was stimulated by the Communist Party and carried out by the Communist-directed police.

(2) Non-Communist members of both the Valencia and Catalan Governments are disturbed by the extent to which the Communist conspiracy has gone.

(3) The C. N. T. is unitedly opposing persecution of the P. O. U. M. Largo Caballero and the left Socialists in the U. G. T. are opposed to suppression of P. O. U. M., but Communist strength in U. G. T. makes their position difficult.

(4) Forces are gathering for revolt against Communist Party policy. This may mean C. N. T.-U. G. T. Government in time.

(5) Whilst concessions regarding the trial have been obtained by our delegation, tremendously important to maintain international pressure on behalf of P. O. U. M.

(6) Action can be taken for foreign Socialists only by their nationals. Therefore urgent that permanent international commission should go to Spain. German and Italian representatives immediately necessary. A League Power should represent German and Italian refugees in Spain.

(7) International agitation should be carried on as agreed by McNair, Petal, and myself. International Commission should proceed to Spain to follow up the work of our delegation.

(8) The P. O. U. M. is carrying on magnificently under illegal conditions. It is keeping its head and advocating a realistic policy.

(9) Communist policy is dividing the anti-Fascist forces in Spain and seriously prejudicing the anti-Fascist struggle.

P. S.—There are two points not brought out in my diary, but which were strongly impressed on me by general conversations. The first is that the men at the Front are in a revolutionary mood, are bitter about the profiteering and easy-going atmosphere behind the lines, and resent the divisions in the anti-Fascist forces. At the end of the struggle they are likely to be the main force in carrying through a Social Revolution.

Secondly, it is evident that the retreat from a revolutionary position by the Governments is encouraging disillusionment and even indifference to the war. Spanish experience shows that an effective war against Fascism must also be a war for the Social Revolution. This is the dynamic of enthusiasm, and as the counter-revolution in Spain has proceeded the passion for the fight against Franco has decreased.

Mr. BARON. Here is an article entitled "I Am Exposed As a Spy," which I will also put in the record.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, December 18, 1937]

#### I AM EXPOSED AS A SPY

By Liston Oak

We talked also to Charlie and Adelaide Walker, close personal friends with whom we were associated on the executive board of the Theater Union. Of course, we knew that, although they were not members of the Trotskyist organization, they were Trotskyist sympathizers. But we did not feel as the good Stalinists do, that discussing political questions with revolutionists with differing opinions is a crime—like a good Christian having intercourse with Satan. We then defended the idea that the Comintern was not hopeless; that, in fact, the only hope was a



change in line of the C. P., for we did not believe that the Trotskyists were capable of building a mass revolutionary party, nor did we have faith in the Socialist Party or the Lovestoneites or any other group. We saw the Comintern at that time as the only organization capable of leading a successful revolution—if it would rectify its colossal mistakes.

## A BIG IF

Yes; I had doubts. But I wanted to be certain. For nearly 9 years I had given almost all my time and energy to the C. P. as a paid functionary, a professional revolutionist. I had been director of publicity for the national office of the C. P. for election campaigns and strikes and the Gastonia trial; I had been manager of the Workers' Library Publishers; editor of Soviet Russia Today for 3 years; editor of Fight for a year; the party representative on the board of the Theater Union; I had worked on the editorial staff of the Daily Worker; and I had made several national tours lecturing for various Communist-led "innocent's clubs."

I had almost no interests, no personal life, outside the party; I glorified it and gave it my loyalty, justifying its mistakes.

## WENT TO RUSSIA

I did not break with the C. P. lightly, but with the greatest reluctance and a hell of a lot of agony of heart and mind. I had to be sure. I went to Russia. I did not expect Utopia. I knew it was no paradise; that socialism is not easily built, nor in a day, especially in a backward agricultural country surrounded by hostile capitalist powers. I recognized the enormous difficulties and I knew what tremendous progress had been made against obstacles of all sorts. My observations in Russia confirmed what I had read about the economic achievements.

But unfortunately it also confirmed my worst fears about the Stalinist dictatorship, the suppression of all honest opposition, and democracy and civil liberty within and outside the C. P. S. U. and the Soviets. Worst of all, I saw the great gulf between the bureaucracy and the masses. The reigning apparatus which included party members and the "red" army, was reaping the lion's share of the benefits of "Socialist" construction. I saw that party members were living in terror, that all independent thinking, all intellectual integrity had been destroyed.

Despite this, I still hesitated. I wanted to investigate thoroughly, and accepted an offer of a job on the Moscow Daily News from Borodin and went to Paris to await the necessary O. K. from the American party. I don't know whether or not it ever arrived. For after spending a couple of painful weeks in Paris in soul-searching uncertainty, I had decided to go to Spain instead, where I was sure I could serve the revolution better than in Moscow. I was still unwilling to make the break.

The only Communist credentials I had was my record as a Communist, known to Spanish comrades, and the only letter was one from that staunch Stalinist, Louis Fischer, to Alvarez del Vayo. He approved my proposals and I organized and directed a bureau for propaganda in the United States and England for the Valencia Government. I was asked to extend the work and to organize similar bureaus in Madrid and Barcelona. I have letters from Spanish governmental officials thanking me for the fine work I was doing for the anti-Fascist cause. I cite these facts merely to show that my activity was hardly that of a Fascist spy.

After 3 months I was sick, mentally and physically, of working for the People's Front, of being a cog in the Stalinist machinery of falsification, repression, and reaction. I went to Barcelona to learn the truth about the P. O. U. M. and the C. N. T.-F. A. I., which were being reviled by the Stalinists.

I talked at length with Andres Nin, Julian Gorkin, Jose Andrade, Jose Escuder, N. Molines, all leaders of the P. O. U. M., and with Souchy and other anarchists. I found out that what I had suspected was true—that the C. P. in the Spanish People's Front was playing a counterrevolutionary role, that it was kidnapping, torturing, and murdering revolutionists, suppressing their meetings and newspapers, carrying out reactionary measures to destroy the revolutionary conquests of the workers and peasants made in July and August 1936; blackmailing the other organizations in the Government by making Russian aid conditional upon Stalinist control.

I met George Mink, American Communist, who boasted about his part in organizing the Spanish G. P. U. and offered me a job—to put the finger on

"untrustworthy" comrades entering Spain to fight against fascism, such as the members of the British Independent Labor Party and the American Socialist Party. The P. O. U. M. also offered me a job, but I refused both and left Spain.

I went to London. On May 3 fighting broke out in Barcelona. I knew what it meant—that it was provoked by the Stalinists who figured they were strong enough to crush the P. O. U. M., the friends of Durruti and the left Socialists, to defeat the revolution and assume monopoly of power together with their allies, the right Prieto Socialists and the left Republicans. But I walked the streets of London debating with myself, before I made up my mind to tell the truth about what was happening, to attack the Stalinists who had been my comrades.

#### BREAKS WITH STALINISM

I took the step toward which I had been impelled for several years by the force of events, by the accumulation of overwhelming evidence, by indisputable facts, I could not remain in the C. P. and I could not remain silent, without surrendering all intellectual and revolutionary integrity. I had found that "the work" to which Gomez refers in his letter—the attempt to reform the Comintern—is futile. No discussion, no opposition, is tolerated any longer in the C. P. Democratic centralism is only a memory.

And so today I am writing and speaking for the Socialist Party, for the anarchists, the Trotskyists, for any working-class organization and publication that will permit me to tell the truth about Spain as I see it.

While it was painful to break with the Comintern, it is a relief to be free to think and write and speak without consideration for the rigid and mechanical discipline of a party that is no longer revolutionary. I wear no longer the Stalinist uniform. I am no longer in the ranks of regimented intellectuals like Mike Gold. I am an independent revolutionist, who is more firmly convinced than ever that Marxism and a revolutionary Socialist program is the only answer to the world's problems.

Mr. BARON. Here is an article about another investigation in Spain. It is entitled "Terror in Spain" and the person who made this investigation is John McGovern, a member of the English Parliament who went into Spain with a famous Loyalist by the name of Challaye and who came out and wrote of the things he found. He discovered a secret jail controlled only by the Communists, and when he tried to enter the jail he was refused.

In all these documents there is a story about Americans being involved and what they suffered, and I am going to put the document in as a whole, but I would like to refer to it specifically.

John McGovern refers to going into the legal jail and finding Americans in the jail. Also, in this pamphlet there is a statement which quotes the Minister of the Interior as saying that they deplored these things happening in Spain, but that they cannot help themselves. They are receiving aid from Soviet Russia.

And when I make that statement I want everybody to understand that I separate the Communist terror from the Loyalist government, that nobody can blame the Loyalist government any more than you can blame a shopkeeper when a racketeer comes in and points a gun at his head and says, "Put up or else." You do not blame the storekeeper. If you are a witness to it, you expose it, and I was a witness to racketeering in Spain by the Communist movement. The Loyalist government cannot help itself because it needs these vital things for its existence, planes, guns, bullets, and bombs, and it has only the Soviet Government to turn to for that aid.

I want to point out again that you cannot blame the Loyalist government for what the Communist Party is doing in Spain, and if anybody thinks because I refer to the terror in Spain they could not support the Loyalist cause, I say they are mistaken and foolish, that

that worthy cause should be supported despite the Communists having the leadership, because the cause is worth while.

The CHAIRMAN. That applies not only to Spain but also in the United States.

Mr. BARON. That is right; and the mistake made by many individuals in the United States is that when you have a worth-while cause like the Chinese resistance against the Japanese, and the Loyalist resistance against Fascist barbarians, the Communists come along and organize their innocent friends and other people, liberals, statesmen, Congressmen, and those who have a powerful voice, refuse to have anything to do with the worthwhile cause because Communists have stated their position on the question, and therefore the Communists capture the imagination of the people and are able to make the people believe that they have a movement that is defending the masses against reaction, and that is bad, because they are not defending the people against reaction, and in the long run they use that to get power, or in order to get into power, and when they do get power, everybody knows what will develop.

(The matter above referred to is as follows:)

#### TERROR IN SPAIN

By John McGovern, M. P.

Fenner Brockway went in July and was promised an early and public trial of the P. O. U. M. leaders. James Maxton went in August, secured the release of many prisoners, and was again promised an early trial of the leaders. But we had had no word of the trial by the end of November and we were greatly disturbed, not only by continued imprisonments, but by the disappearances of individuals and by open threats of death to Señor Pabon, the famous Spanish lawyer, who was engaged to defend the P. O. U. M. leaders. The evidence of Cheka brutality grew.

It was decided therefore to send a further delegation to Barcelona, and Professor Felicien Chailaye, of Paris University, and I were asked to undertake the task. Our duty was to interview members of the Government, to press for a speedy trial or release of the P. O. U. M. leaders, to urge an amnesty for all anti-Fascist prisoners, to investigate their conditions in gaol, and to check up on the allegations of Comintern Cheka brutality and murders.

Apart from the humane object of our mission, we believed that an amnesty and the ending of Cheka operations would strengthen the Workers' Front against Franco and his Italian and German allies.

We can recognize to the full the value of Russian arms and the International Brigade, but even such help was dear at the price of the disastrous results of the disunity and military sectarianism for which the Communists have been responsible.

In going to Spain, therefore, we were concerned not only with releasing the working-class anti-Fascist prisoners. Bound up with that objective was the reunion of the working-class forces against Franco and the reestablishment of the conditions which would permit a united military effort to defeat the Fascists.

#### VISIT TO MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Our first visit when we reached Barcelona was an interview with the Minister of Justice, Señor Irujo, and his brother, who is his personal secretary.<sup>1</sup> We had a heart-to-heart talk on the question of an amnesty for the anti-Fascist prisoners. The Minister, who is a Basque Catholic and a strong opponent of Fascism, heard our plea in a very sympathetic manner. He explained to us that a short time previously an amnesty had been considered by the Government and

<sup>1</sup> Since my return from Spain news has come that Señor Irujo has been deposed as Minister of Justice on the demand of the Communists. The incidents described in this pamphlet may be one of the reasons for this.



that every member of the Government, except the two Communists, had been in favor of the release of every genuine anti-Fascist prisoner. The Communists were violently opposed to the release of any of the prisoners, and, since the Communist Party were partners in the Popular Front coalition, it was not easy to act without their consent.

Señor Irujo stated, however, that "in spite of Communist opposition" the Government had been prepared to release the prisoners quietly one by one, but on November 21 a large demonstration of C. N. T. members and Socialist militants gathered outside Valencia prison and threatened to pull down the walls if the prisoners were not released. He added the usual Government formula: "We were prepared to act, but not in response to threats of violence."

I raised the question of the possible exchange of a Fascist prisoner for Joaquín Maurín, who in addition to being leader of the P. O. U. M. is a member of the Spanish Parliament, the Cortes. He has been a prisoner in Franco's hands since August, 1936, and is now in a military prison at Saragossa. A list of prominent Fascists in Government prisons was in my hands, and I suggested that one of them, Señor Lucía, who is also a member of the Cortes, might be exchanged for Maurín.

Señor Irujo replied that quite recently the Government had discussed the exchange of Maurín and that the Communists were alone opposed to any exchange. Nevertheless, he gave me permission to approach the British Foreign Office with the authority of the Spanish Government and to ask it to take steps to facilitate an exchange. He said he would accept any nominee of the Insurgents in exchange for Maurín. He said I could depend on his word being honored. Since I returned to Britain news has come that the International Red Cross has been provided by the Spanish Government with a list of Fascist prisoners who would be exchanged for Maurín. This confirms Señor Irujo's promise that the Government would be prepared to go ahead despite Communist opposition.

We enquired if it were true that a sister of Señor Díaz, secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, had been exchanged for a Fascist. We were informed that the Communist members of the Government had pressed for an exchange not only of his sister, but of his mother also. These two women had in fact been safely exchanged for two prominent Franco Fascists in Government prisons.

Señor Irujo assured us that he was "all for freedom" and would speed up the machinery to assist a general amnesty. Both he and his brother hotly refuted the Communist lie that Andrés Nin or any other P. O. U. M. leader had been in league with Franco.

We next raised the question of visiting Barcelona prisons. We were given an official letter to the director of prisons authorizing us to enter any prison and a permit to see Katia Landau at Barcelona General Hospital, where she had been transferred after 11 days' hunger strike in the women's prison. Katia Landau's husband, a German anti-Fascist with a brave record in the fight against Hitler, had been murdered by the Communists.

#### VISIT TO THE MODEL PRISON

On Sunday, November 28, we went to Carcel Modelo (prison in Barcelona) and presented our credentials to the director of the men's prison.<sup>2</sup> He was very courteous and introduced us to the Medical Officer. We were informed that there were 1,500 prisoners in the Modelo—500 anti-Fascists, 500 Fascists, and 500 criminals.

It was Sunday and visiting hour, and we found about 500 or 600 visitors clamoring for admission in order to see their friends. The anti-Fascist wing of the prison was appropriately on the left! We passed into the hall through a large iron gate about 20 by 12 feet. The prisoners had got word that we were coming and we had a fine reception.

Our difficulty was that everyone wanted to tell us of their brutal treatment by the Cheka previous to being admitted to this prison. One Italian prisoner showed us a remarkable drawing which he had made depicting the method of torture inflicted on him in an underground cellar. He was pinned to the wall with his hands above his head, two guards were at his side with fixed bayonets, whilst a young Cheka officer had papers in his left hand and a revolver pointed at the prisoner's heart in his right. The Cheka officer was putting him through

<sup>2</sup> Since my return, the director of the Carcel Modelo has been deposed through Communist pressure.

the third degree, claiming that he had false papers, demanding to know where certain other comrades could be found, and threatening to shoot him and to throw his body in a sewer that passed through the cellar. The Italian had been through this torture for 5 or 6 hours at a time on a number of occasions before he was finally handed over to the Modelo Prison.

Professor Challaye and I also interviewed a French subject who had been in the French Army and who had thrown up his position in order to fight against fascism in Spain. He had been made an officer in the Spanish Government Army and had fought outside Madrid for over 5 months. His only reason for being in the Modelo Prison was that he had been rather outspoken against Comintern and its Cheka methods. He impressed me as a splendid type. He felt it to be a tremendous outrage that he should be kept in prison for over 4 months. His demand was: "Put me on trial if I have been guilty of any offense, if not, I demand my liberty."

Quite a number of the prisoners had been wounded in the war against Franco—and yet here they were held in prison as alleged Franco supporters! Our delegation was specially welcomed by the P. O. U. M. prisoners, and we spent an hour in the cell of Enrique Adroher Gironella. A number of prisoners were confined in the one cell.

It was a real prisoners' International in the Modelo. They came from France, Greece, Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and America, as well as Spain. We were asked by scores of these prisoners to expose the operations of the brutal Cheka, with its torture, third degree, and death for militant Socialist fighters in Spain.

When we made to leave the anti-Fascist wing of the prison there was a spontaneous surge toward the gate. The prisoners sang two C. N. T. songs and then the "International," finishing with lusty cheers for the C. N. T., F. A. I., and P. O. U. M. The I. L. P. delegation was specially singled out for international recognition. Following this, there were cries of: "Down with the brutal Comintern Cheka in Spain" and loud hisses.

It was indeed an inspiring and moving sight to see these 500 anti-Fascist prisoners, mostly young, crowding the balconies, stairs, and hall, with their clenched fists raised, their eyes shining, their heads up and thrown back defiantly. Our final view was of hundreds of cheering men surging inside the huge iron gate.

We saw this iron gate as symbolical of the Comintern Cheka. By such means it suppresses the revolutionary movement in Spain, which is determined to change its false slogan of "bourgeois democracy" into the slogan of "workers' power." The Communist International and its organized thugs are creating a tremendous force of antagonism. One day the storm will break and destroy their brutal gangsterdom. That will be a disastrous day for all who have supported it.

We were asked to go quietly toward the office, as the doctor and director stated that they had never seen the prisoners so moved before and feared a revolt. On our way out we met Señor Fernandez, late chief of police in Barcelona, and found that he had been a prisoner for 3½ months in the Modelo. One year previously John McNair and I had received great kindness from him in Barcelona. Now he had been placed in prison by Burillo, his Communist successor. He was imprisoned for the alleged disappearance and death of an official during his period of office.

#### VISIT TO WOMEN PRISONERS

Our next visit was to the general hospital, where Katia Landau was a prisoner and patient after her hunger strike. She had been in prison for over 5 months; it was during her imprisonment that her husband was seized by the Cheka, tortured and murdered. In spite of her ordeal we found her full of fight. She was fierce in her antagonism to the Comintern and its Cheka in Spain. She is a little woman, only 4 feet 10 inches in height and 5 stone 8 pounds in weight, but full of idealism and energy. Katia had two armed guards at the hospital and no one could visit her without a permit.

With her husband, Katia had fled from the Hitler terror to Paris. Both had a record of heroism in the struggle against fascism. When the Spanish Civil War broke out they went to Spain to assist in any way possible to defeat Franco. When arrested by the Cheka, she got a warning through to her husband and he managed to escape, but night and day numerous victims were put through third-degree torture and threat of death in order to track Kurt Landau



to his place of hiding. A German Communist, whose name I have, is the Comintern Cheka officer. His threat was (as I subsequently heard from a prisoner to whom it was made): "We must get Kurt Landau and kill him—he is an opponent of the Comintern and the Popular Front and a P. O. U. M. Trotskyist." Kurt was finally traced, seized, and murdered by order of the Moscow gang of thugs.

We had raised the question of Katia's plight with the Minister of Justice. He told us that he had visited her in prison, dissuading her from the hunger strike and telling her frankly that her husband was dead. The minister released her the day following our visit. She was then in this difficulty: The Communists had stolen her papers, including her passport and marriage and birth certificates, as they always do. At our request she was given official papers, along with another German woman comrade, Else Homberger, who, despite the fact that she had a fine record of 5½ years in the workers' struggle in Spain, had been kept in prison for over 5 months, including 1 month in the Cheka secret prison I will describe later. Else Homberger's husband had been at the front. When he came to see his wife he was put over the frontier into France.<sup>2</sup>

At the women's prison, which we visited next, we found a varied group of anti-Fascist prisoners. They were housed and mixed with the ordinary criminals. There was a family of three—mother, daughter, and daughter-in-law. The latter's husband was fighting at the front—and she warned him to remain at the front as his life would be in danger if he returned. There was a young German woman, Erika Gilpen, who was 6 months' pregnant. She had been over 4 months in prison just because she, like the others, was a member of P. O. U. M.

I had a long talk with Dr. Carlotta Margulin, a German woman who could speak perfect English. She had been in Spain for 4 years and in prison for over 5 months. She was in charge of the first hospital train to the Aragon front and later of the Maurin Hospital; she had joined the P. O. U. M. and so was arrested.

For the first few weeks she had been kept in the Cheka secret prison and had been put through the third degree for 5½ hours; it was to her that the Comintern Cheka officer said that Kurt Landau must be killed. Dr. Margulin was threatened on many occasions before being handed over to the women's prison. Since my return to London I am glad to say that I have heard that she has been released.

#### VISIT TO TWO MORE MINISTERS

We visited the home secretary, Señor Zugazagoitia, a right-wing Socialist. We had 2 hours with him. He deplored the disappearance and deaths of Andrés Nin and Kurt Landau, and assured us that he was still having energetic inquiries made. He stated openly that in his view the accusations that the P. O. U. M. leaders had been associated with Franco were outrageous.

I asked: "How is it that Fernandez, C. N. T., chief of police in the previous government, is in prison for the disappearance of one official, while Burillo, Communist chief during the disappearance of Andrés Nin, Kurt Landau, Erwin Wolf, Marc Rhein, Georges Tioli, and others, is free?" He could not explain why. In answer to an allegation of Cheka domination, he replied: "Well, we have received aid from Russia and have had to permit certain actions which we did not like." He promised to speed up an amnesty for all genuine anti-Fascist prisoners.

We paid a visit to Señor Miravittles, Minister of Propaganda. We saw new films of an attack on Madrid and offenses on Belchite and Aragon and had a long talk with him. He deplored the death of his friend, Andrés Nin, and informed us that when the arrest took place he phoned many of the ministers, repudiating the suggestion that Nin could have had any association or sympathy with Franco. He thought support of the May Days' resistance was wrong, but that was a difference of opinion among anti-Fascists. He had no doubt that Nin and others had been murdered.

#### VISIT TO CHEKA SECRET PRISON

Our final visit was to the Cheka secret prison at Junta Plaza, Adraíne Bonanova. We had been warned about this prison by many good comrades.

<sup>2</sup> Since I returned, following the deposition of Senor Irujo from the Ministry of Justice, Katia Landau and Else Homberger have again been arrested.



Prisoners who had been in it told us of how they had had to sleep on the floor, men and women in the same room, with guards in attendance, and no light at night. I could not shake off the memory of the picture drawn by the Italian comrade of his torture in the cellar with the sewer. As we approached it, the question in my mind was: "How many human beings have been tortured and murdered in this modern Inquisition?"

When we walked up the steps of Calle Vallmajor Prison our path was barred by two guards with rifles and bayonets fixed in position. We presented our authority to visit the prison from the Director of Prisons and the Minister of Justice,<sup>4</sup> and word was conveyed to an inner room. In due course a further official appeared and he looked at our credentials with evident contempt. He informed us that he did not take any orders from the Director of Prisons or the Minister of Justice as they were not his bosses. We inquired who was his boss, and he gave us an address to the Cheka headquarters. His refusal to allow us to inspect the prison or see the prisoners was definite and complete.

I must add that this official of the secret prison, as well as the two armed guards, were of a much lower type than any of the officials we had previously seen. They had the look of gangsters. This was the immediate impression not only of myself but also of Professor Challaye.

We proceeded to the Cheka headquarters at Puerta del Angel 24. We entered by a courtyard and passed through a passage to an inner room which had all the appearance of a detention department. We observed that there were a number of U. S. S. R. propaganda books and Communist papers on the table, but no other type of book or paper.

After a short delay a young lady entered and inquired as to our business. She did not conceal the fact that she knew who we were and that word had been sent on from the prison that we were on the way. She took the documents giving us authority to visit the prisons. In due course there appeared two young men, neither of whom was Spanish. Our interpreter, who has a wide knowledge of languages and countries, was convinced from their manner of speech that one was Russian and the other German.

The Russian informed us that we could neither see inside the prison nor interview the prisoners. I replied that we had credentials from the Director of Prisons and the Minister of Justice and asked whether he was more powerful than the Government, adding that if we were refused admission we would be compelled to draw our own conclusions as to the reason.

The two officials were evidently taken aback by this direct and challenging question and retried again for consultation or orders. When they reappeared we were once more informed that we could see neither prison or prisoners. There was no alternative for us but to retire, but before doing so we asked if we could 'phone the Minister of Justice. The answer was: "No, we will 'phone him." After a delay of 10 minutes, we were informed that Señor Irujo was not at his office, but that his secretary had implored us not to press for admission.

Here was a direct challenge to the Government. We had intended to leave Barcelona immediately, but decided that we would wait and see who would win this battle—the Government or the Cheka.

On the following morning we 'phoned the Minister of Justice and informed his secretary of our failure to see the prisoners. He replied: "You must not leave Barcelona with the impression that the Government do not govern this prison. If you will leave it to us, we will guarantee your admission."

For a few hours we thought the Minister did rule the prison after all, but when, according to request, we called at his office at 12:30 p. m., the secretary reported failure. It was clear that the Minister of Justice had not been able to get permission from the Cheka. Another effort was promised, and we called again the next day as arranged. We were then told by the secretary that alterations were being made in the prison and that it was unsuitable for visits. I asked to see the prisoners at the door; but it was no use. We wanted to see Georges Kopp, Eva Sittig, and others.

The mask was off. We had torn aside the veil and shown where the real power lay. The Ministers were willing, but powerless. The Cheka was unwilling, and it had the power. We realized that if we pressed further we ourselves would be in danger.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 2 for reproduction of the Minister's letter.

## TWO INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

Russia has bought her way into Spain. In return for Russian assistance in arms, Comintern has been given this tyrannical power and she uses it to imprison, torture, and murder Socialists who do not accept the Communist line. There are two International Brigades in Spain, one a fighting force, drawn from the Socialist movement of the world, and the other an International Cheka drawn from Comintern's paid gangsters, especially from Germany and Italy. Lenin once said: "The leaders generally have passports in their pockets, but as there are not enough passports to go round, the rank and file must remain behind to face the dangerous enemy."

These German and Italian Communist officials who escaped from Hitler and Mussolini have now themselves adopted the Fascist methods of brutality.

The Cheka first attempts to destroy the character of every decent working-class leader by slander. Then it proceeds with arrests, abductions, tortures, and assassinations. The victims of this murder trust lie dead in Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid. Where is Andrés Nin, Erwin Wolf, Mark Rhein, Georges Tioli, and others? Where are the many good comrades who have disappeared from the cities of Spain?

## A REMARKABLE LETTER

"It is very hard for anyone like myself, who has taken an active part in Spanish events ever since the 19th of July, to break definitely all the ties that bind me to these activities without making a supreme effort. I had undertaken the work with such devotion that, strange as it may sound, I imagined that I had made no enemies. I had repeated to the point of monotony in all my conversations with the different anti-Fascist organizations, in all the meetings and speeches, that I was firmly convinced that only mutual loyalty, and unity of action and objectives, could bring us victory. \* \* \*

"Nevertheless, and this is the sad truth, the desire of certain parties, and especially the Communist Party, to monopolize everything has led to a situation full of disagreements, sordid internal struggles, and hatred—it has led to this when there should have been only harmony and understanding \* \* \*.

"The concrete fact is that, resulting largely from the real and effective aid given by Russia to the war, the Communist Party today rules as it pleases the destinies of republican Spain. If it does not go further in the destruction of the other political groups, it is only because at the moment this would be neither advisable nor advantageous to it. It still must keep up certain appearances at home and abroad.

"This monopoly of the C. P. means the introduction of the political methods characteristic of Russia. The disappearance and assassination of Nin was an alarming and tragic symptom. The Communist organization, with the complicity of certain sections of the National Department of Police and gambling on the good faith of the Minister of the Interior, had him kidnapped and killed him.

"Not satisfied with this, they invented a clumsy story, fitting only for children or idiots, according to which the one-time Secretary of the International Red Trade Unions was an ally of the Fascists who had snatched him from the hands of the police.

"Once launched on this path, one kidnaping succeeded another. Eager to do away with all those who do not submit to their designs, the Communists not only use violence, but what is even more disgusting, all the machinations Machiavelli would have dreamed of employing against his enemies. Life, liberty, honor, prestige of men in the highest positions—these are no barriers to them. Left and right they sling calumnies against men of the purest revolutionary record, calling them traitors and spies, forging documents and inventing lies to prove their case \* \* \*.

"I have made my decision, but before definitely leaving Spain I felt it was my duty to make this explanation. Not the least of the reasons for which I hesitated was my desire to defend your comrades, the militants of the P. O. U. M., subjected to the most unjust and absurd lawsuit. If I were convinced that my staying in Spain would offer any guarantee to your comrades, I would not hesitate in the least to remain even against my own interests. Unfortunately, I have to confess that, knowing the situation as I do, all the efforts I would have been permitted to make would be useless and dangerous.



"Recently in anti-Fascist Spain a theory has been adopted more ridiculous than we ever imagined possible in the most despotic period of the monarchy. This is the theory that a lawyer defending a case can for this reason be accused of complicity in the alleged acts of his clients. This was the explanation given of the arrest and imprisonment of certain well-known lawyers. The Communist press clearly stated its opinion that because I was the lawyer for the P. O. U. M., I was as much a traitor, spy, and friend of Franco as my clients were alleged to be. Can you tell me what guarantees I would have in such an atmosphere, where calumnies are invented and documents of accusation forged overnight, that my role would not be changed from that of defending lawyer to that of one of the accused, without any possibility of defending myself against all the slander that they wish to heap upon my name? \* \* \*

"From here, whatever I may be outside Spain, I am ready to help you in giving out the true facts of the matter. I give up everything. I go away completely disillusioned. To you I unburden my spirit, heavy with the sadness of having to leave a country where I have worked so loyally to try to remedy, as much as was within my power, the injustices from which our people suffer."

(The above are extracts from Señor Pabon's letter to the P. O. U. M. executive.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your suggestion would likewise apply to people in the various front organizations, or in organizations like the League for Peace and Democracy; they could rid themselves of the Communist element, could they not?

Mr. BARON. I would say this, that inasmuch as the League for Peace and Democracy has gone so far as to become an instrument for war, I would say it is not worth while to try to use that instrument for peace and democracy.

The job now is to expose all those instruments as being forces trying to do something its title does not imply, and therefore I say that organization should be ignored, and other organizations should be built, like the Congress Against War, and other organizations that sincerely mean to keep the United States at peace.

Another article from the Socialist Call, "Voices From Spain."

(The article referred to is as follows:)

[From Socialist Call, Saturday, December 25, 1937]

#### VOICES FROM SPAIN

Some weeks ago, before all left Socialists were prevented from speaking in Loyalist Spain, two leading representatives of the Spanish working class had the opportunity of addressing that working class publicly. In view of the fact that it is highly improbable that these men will be able to speak for some time to come, we reprint here a few of the significant ideas from their addresses.

Pascual Tomas, vice secretary of the U. G. T., gave the concluding speech at the convention of the National Federation of Hotel Workers of Spain. Speaking of the slander campaigns being carried out against the working-class organizations and leaders, Tomas challenged:

"Give to your words the sense of definite accusations, accompany them with positive proof of whatever you charge, and if you succeed in proving a single one of your accusations, we shall accept without protest the verdict of condemnation. But if you do not prove them—as you will never be able to prove them—then we demand, in the name of working-class honor, that the pen which was capable of such defamation never more be granted the privilege of writing."

After touching upon the past struggles of the U. G. T., Tomas concluded:

"The years have passed, the political regime of our Spain has changed. And today, when we return, as sowers of ideas, to those same towns which we visited in other times, we are surprised to find that our greatest enemies of those days now come forward sheltered and protected by an ideal which they neither feel nor understand nor will ever be capable of assimilating. Has the military rebellion had enough power of transformation to change so profoundly the mentalities and feelings of our traditional enemies?



"No. What has happened is that certain people, anxious to obliterate their past actions, have sought shelter in political parties which can serve them for their perverse intentions. The working class, that class which for so many years endured political and trade-union violence from its secular enemies, today doubts the sincerity of the words which they proclaim from their recently acquired ideological positions."

## GALARZA SPEAKS

It will be remembered that the reason given by the Communist Party for instigating the governmental crisis of last May was the administration of the Ministry of the Interior by Angel Galarza. It was Galarza who had refused to bring the full military pressure of the Central Government to Catalonia to be used against the anarcho-syndicalist and P. O. U. M. workers.

Not long ago, at the installation ceremonies of a new Socialist local near Valencia, Galarza gave the chief address. The first part of his speech was taken up with the history of the struggles of the Spanish workers, the October events of 1934, the formation of the Popular Front, etc. The essence of his analysis is given in the following paragraph:

"Democracy, that democracy for which it is now fashionable to say in our slogans that we are fighting, what kind of democracy is it? The democracy of all the states which we knew, except Russia, has one characteristic, it is capitalist democracy. And I ask, Can the Spanish Socialist Party continue to struggle for capitalist democracy? Are we going to give the best of our youth, the blood of our men, the lives of our leaders and the ideas of our thinkers to the struggle for capitalist democracy?

"If that is the case, believe me, comrades, some day the dead will arise from their tombs to insult us and to tell us that we have been traitors to our own ideas. For, what is more, there is no one who can save capitalist democracy. Capitalist democracy is either destroyed or is converted into a Fascist regime."

## MAY DAYS

The last part of Galarza's speech contains detailed, factual analysis of the May Days in Barcelona and of the relationship of the Ministry of the Interior to those events. Galarza pays particular tribute to the two anarcho-syndicalist ministers, Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny, for their disciplined cooperation.

"This anarchist cooperation," he concludes, "is due to the work of Largo Caballero, who knew how to bring to the responsibility of power a most important section of the Spanish people, the anarchist section, the C. N. T., by saying to them: 'We are struggling for the ideas of the entire proletariat, and you have no right to refuse to accept responsibility. Come and govern together with us, responsible like ourselves for defeat as well as for victory. Ah, but govern as it is necessary to govern, with force, with discipline, with order.' And today the C. N. T. speaks to us of discipline and of order and of law. And they have not given up their ideals. What they have done has been this—they have realized that, in order to conquer, one must submit to everything and, since they want to conquer, they have submitted.

"If, in a political party, there are offenders, I shall arrest them, and there are courts to judge them. But I shall not dissolve by force political parties which are anti-Fascist, this I shall never do."

Another quotation from Francisco Largo Caballero, former premier of Spain, on how they undermine the Government by their slanderous statements in Spain.

(The quotation referred to is as follows:)

## MADRID SPEECH—CABALLERO SLANDER—HOW COMMUNISTS GET UNITED FRONTS WHO WANT FRONT

I remember an incident which happened to me—and I speak of it now incidentally, because I shall explain it on another occasion—in connection with military campaigns which were carried out: Sometimes they asked for reserves; on other occasions they said that we had too many men; they assured me: "We have men, we have arms, we have munitions, we have airplanes, we have tanks; what is necessary is to make good use of them; we must give them to the fighters, because if we do not give them to the fighters, the fighters will

suffer the consequences." I had to call in several of these people and show them the facts I had (because I kept daily statistics of all the munitions, of all the guns, of all the machine guns, with a running account of what came in and what went out). When these men, in the newspapers, gave out the information that we had this or that, but that it was not being put to good use because the Minister of War would not give it out, I had then left at my disposal 27 guns in all Spain. I say this because it is already passed. I called one of their representatives in the Government, and I said to him: "Look! What shall I do? Shall I come out publicly and say that this is a lie and that I have no more than these few guns? If I do that, I shall merely inform the enemy of our situation. Or shall I remain silent? If I remain silent, public opinion will say: 'If the fighters do not conquer, it is because the Minister of War is not giving them the material which he has.'" [Shouts of approval and long applause.]

Mr. BARON. An article here in the New York Times, the title of which is, "Journalist Faces Trial in Valencia—J. M. Escuder Arrested 6 Weeks Ago Because of Connection with P. O. U. M. Paper."

This is the story of a newspaper man married to an American citizen who had been in jail for some 15 months without trial, finally brought to trial recently, the Communists accusing him of being a paid agent of fascism. The courts freed him a few weeks ago, but the damage done to this individual by the Communist movement, being kept in jail for 15 months—well that is forgotten. The Communists have done their dirty work and this man probably has to go through the rest of his life explaining why and when and where.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

[From the New York Times, Sunday, August 1, 1937]

**JOURNALIST FACES TRIAL IN VALENCIA—J. M. ESCUDER ARRESTED 6 WEEKS AGO BECAUSE OF CONNECTION WITH P. O. U. M. PAPER—WELL KNOWN IN NEW YORK—COMMUNISTS ACCUSE HIM OF ACTING AS AGENT FOR FRANCO AND HIS REBEL FORCES**

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LONDON, July 31.—A different light on the outbreak of last May in Barcelona and the suppression of the P. O. U. M. which was reported to have resulted in the death of 600 and the wounding of 1,400 was thrown by Fenner Brockway, general secretary of the British independent labor party, in a statement he issued here today in connection with the arrest of J. M. Escuder, newspaperman well known in New York.

Mr. Brockway has just returned from Spain where he went with a group of British and French laborites to investigate the suppression of the P. O. U. M. The P. O. U. M., anti-Stalinist Communists, was in opposition to the loyalist cabinet in Spain. Its suppression was an incident of the disorders. One of those arrested was Robert Smiley, grandson of the famous British labor leader. According to reports here, Mr. Smiley died in prison after having been refused treatment for an appendicitis attack.

Mr. Brockway said former Premier Francisco Largo Caballero had told him one of the reasons why he was forced out of office by the Communists was because he refused to suppress the P. O. U. M. and that the Communists arrested the P. O. U. M. leaders without the knowledge of the Government. His statement follows in full:

"J. M. Escuder was arrested 6 weeks ago because of his connection with the Batalla, a daily newspaper published by the P. O. U. M. All the 40 members of the P. O. U. M. executive, together with many of its local officials, were arrested.

#### COMMUNISTS MADE CHARGES

"The Communist Party made charges against them of acting as agents of General Franco and the Fascists and demanded they be tried by military tribunals and that the death penalty should be imposed.

"The P. O. U. M. is the brother party in Spain of the British Independent Labor Party and I went to Spain to inquire into its position.



I found that the arrests of P. O. U. M. leaders and members had been carried out by the Communist-controlled secret police and that, in many cases, members of the Government were unaware of what had been done.

"In the case of Escuder, for instance, he and four of the P. O. U. M. leaders were transferred from Barcelona to Madrid without the knowledge of the minister of the interior. When I approached the minister of the interior in the matter, he left for Madrid to find out what the situation was. He assured me Escuder and the other prisoners were living—there had been rumors of their deaths—and promised they would be brought to Valencia immediately.

"I have since heard that Escuder is now confined in a Valencia prison, where he will be a great deal safer than in Madrid.

"I found that, in all circles outside the Communist Party, there was strong opposition to the arrests and disbelief in the Communist Party charges. All non-Communist members of the Catalanian government, including President Luis Companys, had protested to the Valencia government. Non-Communist members of the Valencia government dissociated themselves from the Communist charges and stated that the trial would be limited to two charges: (1) That Fascists had succeeded in introducing certain agents provocateurs into the P. O. U. M. and (2) that the P. O. U. M. had incited the resistance in Barcelona during the May days and had encouraged workers to refuse to surrender their arms. It will undoubtedly be on the latter charge that Escuder will be tried. No one would suggest he is a Fascist spy.

#### WIFE AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

"Escuder will be defended by Señor Benito Pabon, member of the Cortes for Saragossa. He is one of the best-known lawyers in Spain.

"I found there was disbelief in the Communist charges among other sections of the working class, and particularly in the C. N. T. (Syndicalist Trade Union), which is the largest working class organization in Spain and in the non-Communist section of the U. G. T. (Socialist Trade Union).

"Largo Caballero, secretary of the U. G. T., told me one of the reasons why Communists had driven him out of the premiership was his refusal to arrest P. O. U. M. leaders, including Escuder.

"Mrs. Escuder, who is an American citizen, has left Spain for Paris, where she is hoping to organize international agitation and demand justice for her husband and other P. O. U. M. members.

"Very influential pressure is being exerted from all countries and is significant. Señor Negrin, Prime Minister, in replying to these protests, emphasizes the Government is not responsible for what's been done and that the action has been taken by the police. He promises a fair trial. I could not ascertain the date of the trial, but was assured it would not be delayed unduly."

#### AUTHORS PROTEST ARREST

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NEW YORK, July 28.—The arrest of Joseph M. Escuder has been protested to the Spanish Government by such well-known figures as Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President of the United States, and Diego Rivera, the Mexican painter.

Joining in the protest were Authors John Dos Passos, James T. Farrell, James Rorty, Bertram Wolfe, and Anita Brenner, and the radical leader, Jay Lovestone.

Miss Brenner said that "the protests were occasioned by a belief, which still continues, that the arrest of Escuder indicated Russia was exporting to Spain, not only food and arms, but its system of elaborately cooked-up trials and bloody finales for political rivalries." She added that the statement by Mr. Brockway that the arrests were carried out without the knowledge of the Government confirmed her belief.

Señor Escuder came to New York from Barcelona in 1928 to do newspaper work. He began on *La Prensa*, Spanish language newspaper, was American correspondent for Spanish newspapers and then became Latin-American editor of the North American Newspaper Alliance. He went back to Spain in 1934 and in 1936, shortly before the outbreak of the civil war, arrived here to join the advertising department of the Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation.



He was called back to Spain in the fall of that year to take a post with the Government, but while he was en route the cabinet was changed and his party retired.

In New York, he married America Gonzales, of Tampa, Fla., who taught at Barnard College.

Mr. BARON. I have here marked a story by J. B. Mathews—no; I mean Herbert L. Mathews, a correspondent for the New York Times in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. You know J. B. Mathews, do you not?

Mr. BARON. Oh, very well.

The CHAIRMAN. You used to work with him?

Mr. BARON. Yes; I worked with him when he was a plant in the Socialist Party, and I was the only one in the Socialist Party who said he was a plant for the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. He was with the Communist Party, was he not?

Mr. BARON. Then he left the Socialist Party and went with the Communist Party.

I have here marked from the Mathews' report the fate of Andres Nin, who was murdered by the Communists in Spain.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

#### NIN'S FATE A BIG FACTOR

That is the background for the present situation, which has been brought to a crisis within the past week by the disappearance of Andres Nin, the P. O. U. M. leader, and the announcement by Señor Largo Caballero that he is going to stump the country in defense of his record and in opposition to the Negrin government.

Señor Nin was arrested in Barcelona last June, when the authorities took the opportunity of the discovery of a Fascist plot in which some P. O. U. M. members were involved to raid the P. O. U. M. headquarters. It was given out that he was taken first to Valencia and then to Madrid for imprisonment pending trial, but somehow no one ever saw him in Madrid or got the record of his arrival. P. O. U. M. members and anarchists grew more and more insistent in their demands that Señor Nin be produced and tried, until the authorities, unable to dodge the issue any longer, gave out a communique last week stating that he had escaped along with his guards.

Outwardly that had to be swallowed. The censors forced even C. N. T. newspapers to print that version. Actually it is firmly believed in P. O. U. M. and anarchist circle that Señor Nin was murdered en route to Madrid.

[Other accounts assert that he was kidnaped from a Madrid jail and assassinated.]

Mr. BARON. I have here marked in a story from Moscow how they deliberately attempted to tie up the Nazi trials in New York with the Barcelona trials in Spain in order to show the connection between the forces of fascism. Here in Spain are working class leaders being tried because they are charged by the Communists with being agents of fascism, and in New York here are Fascist spies, Nazi spies, and Moscow links the two together.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

#### TRIAL STIRS THE SOVIET—IT PROVES GERMAN SPIES ARE BUSY IN MANY LANDS, MOSCOW SAYS

[Wireless to the New York Times]

Moscow, October 21.—The spy trial in New York is being followed with great interest here because it is held to prove what Soviet authorities long have contended, namely, that Germany has sown the Soviet Union and other countries with spies. Soviet commentators link German espionage with Trotskyists—which was one of the major theses of the Moscow treason trials.

Significance is seen in the fact that the New York trial is occurring simultaneously with the trial of an alleged Trotskyist group in Barcelona on charges of being agents of German-Italian Fascists.

Both Pravda and Izvestia devoted half their front pages yesterday to long factual accounts of the trial cabled by the New York bureau of Tass, official Soviet news agency. Summaries of the testimony are being broadcast over the Soviet radio.

Today the Soviet press contained further substantial news accounts. Pravda also published editorial comment asserting that the New York trial is giving new evidence of the debauch in which capitalist, and in particular Fascist, espionage now is indulging. It says the New York trial is proving to the hilt Stalin's contention that the bourgeois states are sending spies, wreckers, diversionists, and sometimes even murderers into each other so as to undermine their strength.

"There is an organic connection between the New York and Barcelona trials," says this commentary. "Both trials illustrate the work and methods of Fascist intelligence services and their foul Trotskyist agents. Evidence of these trials will rouse genuine friends of peace to intensify in all lands their vigilance against the cunning efforts of the German intelligence service and its Trotskyist-Bukharinist agents."

The Soviet press today also gave considerable prominence to anti-Fascist speeches of Secretaries Wallace and Ickes. Moscow obviously is gratified at the concern President Roosevelt and other American leaders now are showing over espionage and Fascist maneuvers in the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. BARON. I am submitting copy for the record of various matters concerning terror in Spain with reference to the individuals named in these writings of mine.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

Impossible of computation, too, is the number of those who have been killed. In some instances official reports claim that the victims were slain by Fascists or by "unknown parties," but in many cases responsibility has been definitely assessed as in the death of Nin. I list some of the incidents which were common knowledge in Spain.

Camille Berneri, an Italian anarchist who had been forced into exile because of his activities in his native land, had come to Spain to aid his comrades in the fight against Franco. For many years he had been associated with the Rossellis, whose murder at the hands of Mussolini's agents in France stirred world-wide attention. For several months he served as political commissar for the Ascaso column, named after Francisco Ascaso, who was killed by the Fascists in Barcelona as he led the workers' attack on the Atarazanas Barracks on the very day the civil war started. Ascaso's brother, Domingo, about a year later died on the barricades in Barcelona during the May riots. In addition to serving with the Ascaso column, Berneri edited an Italian anti-Fascist paper in Spain. On May 5 his home was raided by police and persons wearing the red arm bands of the P. S. U. C., the so-called United Socialist-Communist Party, which is affiliated with the Communist International. Berneri and a friend, Barbieri, were arrested. Solidaridad Obrera reports the sequel: "At dawn on May 6 the police came and told Barbieri's wife the prisoners would be freed at noon. But on the same day the family learned from the lists of the clinical hospital that the men's bodies had been picked up by the Red Cross near the Generalidad Building that very night. The autopsy on Berneri's body revealed a bullet wound; the bullet entered at the back, traveling toward the front and from the top down. Judging from the edges of the wound, it was produced from a very short distance. One wound was caused by an attacker standing behind or beside his victim; another by an attacker standing above. Thus died Comrades Berneri and Barbieri.

One of the most tragic—and illuminating—of such incidents is the case of Bob Smillie, a young Englishman who had come as a volunteer to Spain only to die at the hands of Communists in a Valencia prison as a result of being denied medical attention when stricken with appendicitis. Smillie had been secretary of the Youth section of the Independent Labor Party and had joined the militia of the P. O. U. M. His death was a shock to many in England and served in part to make the Independent Labor Party take the leadership in agitation for the defense of anti-Fascist victims of the Communists. The activities of the Independent Labor Party in this regard are doubly significant when it is recalled that



only a few years ago that organization, following its withdrawal from the British Labor Party, applied for admission to the Communist International. Now John McNair, one of the Independent Labor Party leaders, writes: "The workers' movement of the world is bigger than the Spanish Communist Party or the Communist International, which will finally destroy itself in attempting to destroy others. \* \* \* Unless the workers' movement is free, the workers' movement is damned."

Another foreign radical whose life was taken by the Communists because of political heresy is Kurt Landau, a former member of the executive committee of the Austrian Communist Party, who had been converted to the views of the P. O. U. M. His wife, Katia Landau, was imprisoned for half a year, during which she subjected herself to a hunger strike for 11 days in order to compel the authorities to give her information concerning her husband. The minister of justice, Irujo, a Basque Catholic, was touched by her suffering. Visiting her in jail he told her the truth, that Landau was dead, and pleaded with her to end the hunger strike. The Communists were angered by his action and added this act of mercy to the long score which they finally settled with Irujo by forcing his removal.

How many other foreigners have disappeared, like Irvine Wolfe, once a secretary of Leon Trotsky, it is impossible to say. They are simply swallowed up in the maw of the Cheka and never heard from again.

While the P. O. U. M. and the anarchists have suffered most, it must not be thought that other political groups are untouched. The disappearance of Mark Rein, the Socialist, should not be forgotten. That many Socialists are in jail was dramatically revealed by a letter sent to Largo Caballero from a Valencia prison after he had been forced to resign from the Government and his trade-union organization, the U. G. T., had been split. It read:

"ESTEEMED COMRADE: At a meeting held yesterday by the U. G. T. workers here imprisoned, it was unanimously agreed to send solidarity to the U. G. T. executive committee of which you are general secretary, and to condemn strongly the divisionist tactics used by the so-called new executive committee. In this prison there are more than 60 U. G. T. leaders from regions of Catalonia and Levante. We have followed attentively and carefully the struggle which you have waged so successfully and with such dignity in the face of the maneuvers and campaign of slanders of one section of the U. G. T., influenced by the so-called Communist Party. These lines express most strongly our adherence to the crusade which you have so valiantly undertaken in behalf of proletarian unity and for the triumph of the war and the revolution."

MR. BARON. Now, I have put all the documents that I want in the record, and I want to make a quick review of the things I have contended here, and then lead from that into my personal experience and my arrest.

As I pointed out, in December 1936 the Russian press indicated that they were going to start a reign of terror in Spain. From that flowed many events.

The first event was the elimination from the Catalanian Cabinet of representatives who were hostile to the Communist Party. Then in Madrid the offices and the newspaper of that particular party were wrecked by Hooligan mobs of Communists.

There was a reign of terror in the Province of Murcia, around Valencia, around Albaceta, and throughout the whole Catalanian section. All these things led up to the Barcelona riots of May 1937, when in resistance to this reign of terror members of the working class defended themselves against it, and in that struggle it is estimated between one and two thousand people lost their lives.

After the May events in Barcelona and the crisis that the Government underwent, the Government then presiding over Loyalist Spain, I want to refer to Francisco Largo Caballero's own words as to the reason for his resignation.

In that meeting it was asked of me—



He was referring to a meeting of the cabinet—

In that meeting it was asked of me, that the Government dissolve a political organization not in agreement with the Communist Party. I who have been persecuted in organizations to which I belonged and to which I still belong, by reactionary elements in our country, insisted that by no act of the Government would I dissolve any organization, political or trade union; that I had not come to the Government to serve the political interest of any one of the factions which were contained in it; that whoever felt the necessity of denouncing criminal acts or misdemeanors, however they may be called, should do so, and the courts would take charge and would dissolve the organization or not as they saw fit, but that Largo Caballero, the president of the council of ministers, would not dissolve any of these organizations.

When the Communist Party heard that Francisco Largo Caballero would not be a front for their dirty work they created a crisis and Largo Caballero, rather than further splitting the Loyalist forces, resigned from the Premiership.

I came back into Spain in the beginning of October 1937. I had letters of introduction to all the leaders of the Spanish Government from the Ambassador from Spain to the United States, De Los Rios. But do you think the Communist movement in Spain cares what credentials a person carries? They don't. I had credentials from my own party and credentials from the Ambassador, and still the minute I came into Spain I was followed continuously by agents of their Cheka, not of the Government, but of the Communist Cheka.

I went down to Valencia, and here I will relate this occurrence, and I go into some detail because it illustrates many things, and would be very, very important in educating the public in the United States. I do not go into detail because I am personally involved, but only that I feel it would do some good.

One day I am walking with a friend of mine.

I have this all written out, incidentally, but I am not going to read it, because I want to demonstrate that I am not sick, because I know that that is going to be used far and wide. I am going to relate it to you without looking at notes, and without referring to any other document that I have here.

I was walking on the street with a reporter of a Spanish newspaper when of a sudden somebody walked up and tapped him on the back and took him into an alley. He flashed a badge and took this friend of mine away. That very afternoon I went into my restaurant to eat and a lady sat down at my table. She was blond and evidently of German nationality. She immediately started to talk to me in English and I asked her how she knew that I could speak English and she answered that she could tell by looking at me that I was either an Englishman or an American. The conversation went on and in passing she mentioned my name and I asked her, "How did she know my name"; and she said "Everybody in Spain knows Sam Baron."

The upshot of this conversation was whether I knew a lady by the name of Anna Marie Baron. I was taken aback and I said I did not. She said she was a correspondent for the New Masses, the Communist publication in New York, and would I like to meet her? I said I would be delighted inasmuch as she has a similar name and further that she is a comrade.

So she agreed that she would make this appointment for the next day. Anna Marie Baron was out of town and would be in that night.

The next day I go to the headquarters of the newspaper of my friend who had been arrested and I find him sitting at his desk and I asked him what had happened. He said he was taken by the secret political police and that they were interested in him but had asked him questions concerning myself; how long he had known me and where am I living and what have I been doing, and so on and so on.

I was about to leave when this friend of mine said, "And furthermore, I have a message for you." I said, "What is the message?" and he said that there is a girl in jail, an American, who sends out word for me to help her, and her name is Anna Marie Baron.

When I got this information, having heard of the many things the Communists were doing in Spain, I felt it was my duty to go to the American consulate and tell the consul that an American citizen was in jail. I went to the consulate and spoke with Milton K. Wells, who was vice consul in the American Embassy in Valencia, about Anna Marie Baron. Before I quote him, let me say this, that Milton K. Wells was haggard and drawn from his work, day in and day out, trying to release Americans who had fallen into the hands of the Communists and were jailed.

I told him about Anna Marie Baron and he, in turn, asked me if I know where the Communists maintained their private jail, after saying to me:

What can I do about these things? There are many Americans in jail. If they are in Government jails, I can do something, but if they are in Communist jails, I am helpless.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he said to you?

Mr. BARON. That is what he said to me. Of course, being a member of the working class, I was not going to involve the American Government in the question of the Communist secret jails, but shortly thereafter the Government uncovered a secret Communist jail in the vicinity of Valencia, in the monastery of Santa Ursula, where the Communists kept those who were in disagreement with their policies.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that jail?

Mr. BARON. In the vicinity of Valencia.

The CHAIRMAN. In a monastery?

Mr. BARON. The monastery of Santa Ursula.

The CHAIRMAN. They had converted this monastery into a Communist jail?

Mr. BARON. That is correct. There were several other secret jails, one in Barcelona, which John McGovern, the English member of Parliament, referred to in his report. You recall that I spoke about it before. There were many.

In addition to that, the Communists controlled the International Brigade from top to bottom, because the International Brigade was an autonomous unit inside the Loyalist forces. They administered their own affairs under the leadership of Andre Marty, the French Communist. In other words, everybody in the brigade was subject to the Communist control without recourse to the Government of Loyalist Spain.

In the New York Times several months ago, you recall, there was a story about a Loyalist volunteer, an American who had come to the Government and said, "I have served my full time. I want to leave Spain." He was told to go back to the International Brigade be-

cause the Government had no jurisdiction, and when he went back to the International Brigade they slapped him into a jail. Then they took him out of jail and they tied him and six other people, arm to arm, and brought them back to the front, put them into the trenches. That was the time of the great Aragon offensive of the Fascists which broke through to the Mediterranean coast, and here were these boys without guns, unable to protect themselves, and they had to run for their lives.

If you will look up the edition—I have not got that story here; he is a boy from New York State and the New York Times carried a complete story on it—I am sure you will find that I am stating a fact.

Mr. MOSIER. Was the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, from the United States, in that International Brigade?

Mr. BARON. Absolutely; it was a part of the International Brigade.

Mr. MOSIER. The Abraham Lincoln Battalion was composed of American boys recruited over here, was it not?

Mr. BARON. That is so; yes, sir. I want to make this clear, also, that I admire, respect, and revere every boy that went over to Spain to fight against fascism. What I am trying to bring out here is the terrorist role of the Communist in the domination of the International Brigade. I want to go into these things very clearly, because it will be garbled and made to appear that I am in some way a supporter of Fascist Spain. In any event, I told you what vice consul Milton K. Wells told me in Spain, about a great many Americans being in jail. Let me say this, further, that it is my opinion that the State Department has many, many letters and many, many reports from Spain which substantiate what I am saying here. There are also mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers of boys who have gone to Spain who do not hear anything about their sons in Spain. Many of them have come to me personally, with tears, begging me to do something about their sons in Spain. Many of them have written me letters stating the same thing.

In my tours in the United States, those parents have come to me, but, unfortunately, I am bound to secrecy by these people who feel that their sons might be harmed if it were given publicity by mentioning their names. Therefore, I do not mention their names. However, I tell you in all sincerity that when men are in jail in Spain today, the only thing that can get them out—and I say this to the parents—is to give it publicity. They should even bring it out in the American press, because I know that this Loyalist Government has no sympathy with the Communist, and if there is adverse publicity they can go forward with new strength, and say to them, that they shall not hurt those boys that go over there, and that “You will not do your dirty political work any more.”

As an illustration of that, I have here two clippings. From time to time in the United States press you will read items of this nature. I am reading now from the New York Times under the date line of “Washington, November 4.” under the headline “Brooklyn Man Held in Spain,” as follows:

Mrs. Russell N. Blackwell, of Brooklyn, appealed to the State Department today for assistance in obtaining the release of her husband from jail in Loyalist Spain.



Mr. Blackwell, who is 34 years old, went to Spain to fight for the Loyalists, but was arrested a few months ago on the ground that he was a "known Fascist."

Mrs. Blackwell was told that the United States Embassy had made representations in behalf of her husband and had been assured that Foreign Minister Julio Alvarez del Vayo favored Mr. Blackwell's release.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, I am sure that a number of Members of Congress have had the same experiences. I have received several letters from my district from parents of boys in Spain. They did not know where their boys were. I have undertaken to secure information with reference to one young man, who is not a Communist, but who was induced by certain Communists to enlist. That boy has entirely disappeared. While they have been trying to find out something about him, it is impossible to find out whether the boy is living or dead, or where he is. I am sure that many other Members of Congress have received letters of the same kind from parents, and many of these parents caution them, saying that the names should not be used for fear something will happen to their sons.

Mr. BARON. I wish to say this, Mr. Chairman, that I disagree with those parents. I know that because I have spoken to officials of the Loyalist Government, and they have said to me, "What can we do about these things when in this day the United States refuses aid, England refuses aid, and France refuses aid. We have only the help of Soviet Russia, and you cannot bite the hand that feeds you." They say, "However, if on the outside there is created enough publicity and enough demand to remedy this situation, we will be in a position to rectify it." Those people in the United States who feel that they are helping their sons by being quiet are not doing so, because nobody knows how the war will turn from day to day. Territory held by the Loyalists today may be Fascist the next day. So, it is because so many parents have spoken to me about their boys that I want to bring this out clearly and sharply.

The CHAIRMAN. We have heard some testimony on that. We had two witnesses from Boston who went over to Spain, and we heard some witnesses from Detroit, and they all told practically the same story. Since they were far separated, they could not have been any concerted action or agreement as to their testimony. Therefore, we have every reason to believe that it was genuine testimony. They all agreed that they were approached to go to Spain by certain well-known Communists; that they were instructed to report in New York to a man named Mannie. That is the only name they knew him by. They went to the Communist headquarters in New York, and reported there to this man named Mannie, and were furnished with faked passports that enabled them to go to Spain. From this testimony that we heard from these volunteers, it is very evident that the Communist Party has played a prominent part in enlisting those boys and sending them over to Spain.

Mr. BARON. It is true that the Communists have recruited men for the International Brigade in Spain, but I do not criticize them for it. I believe that the cause is just and worthwhile, and that if the Loyalist Government had accepted my petition, I would have been fighting for the Loyalist cause. I offered to go with a batch of Spanish citizens to be trained for aviation, but an official of the Government said that

there were too many intellectuals fighting. They said, "Your job is to tell the story of democratic Spain and what it is suffering against Fascist aggression." So I do not criticize the Communists for recruiting. What I criticize is what they do with these boys when they get them on the other side. They take their passports away from them on the other side ostensibly to keep them safe, but I know they take the passports away to prevent any anti-Communist reports going out of Spain. Don't you see that if some of those boys came back and stated what they had seen or what the Communists have done in Spain, it would reflect on the Communist movement? Therefore, those passports were taken by officials of the International Brigade. Now, you hear in France that many Americans who have been in Spain, under the new policy of the Loyalist Government, have no passports. Where those passports are, nobody knows. I refuse to be silent about that, and that is what I am trying to bring out clearly and sharply.

I have another item here that reveals like nothing else how ridiculous can become the methods of the Communist movement in Spain. This is from the correspondent of the United Press in Valencia. He writes this story trying to show that a certain American has been framed in Spain and has been sentenced to 20 years in a concentration camp. Let me read the story:

## UNITED STATES TAXI DRIVER JAILED BY LOYALISTS

(By the United Press)

VALENCIA, January 6.—Because he pulled the whistle cord of a train, Zymund Piasecki, former taxicab driver of Toledo, Ohio, started a 20-year term in a Spanish prison today.

Piasecki, 23, came to Spain and enlisted in the International Brigade. Recently he was granted a 2-day leave. At Albacete he jumped into the cab of a locomotive in the station and pulled the whistle. He was arrested and accused of high treason on the grounds that he had attempted to drive a Loyalist train into rebel territory.

Brought before a military court, he was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. He began serving the sentence in a concentration camp near Valencia.

Let me add here that trial by a military court means a trial by the Communists who control the International Brigade.

It says here that Piasecki pulled the cord, or whistle cord, because he wanted to drive the train into Fascist territory. Now, Albacete is here [indicating on map]. This is about the dead center of Loyalist Spain, and here [indicating] is the front.

The CHAIRMAN. How many miles is that from the front, or Fascist territory?

Mr. BARON. It is hundreds of miles. Here [indicating] is the front, and the next nearest front is down here [indicating]. It is farther away. At the time the northern front was farther away. It ran up this way [indicating]. Here is Albacete, at the dead center of Loyalist Spain. You could not conceive that a person would get up on a train or attempt to drive a train over all these hundreds of miles from Albacete into Fascist territory. How ridiculous it is! The United Press correspondent only writes in that fashion to try to indicate, through the censorship, that this boy had been framed.

There was a headline in the press this morning that an American had been killed in Spain by Communists, and I want to read this into

the record. This is from Walter Winchell's column, dated September 2, 1938, and I will read from it, as follows:

Ernest Hemingway has a piece coming out in Ken about a correspondent for a powerful British newspaper. \* \* \* Because it would be libelous in England to mention the man's name it isn't. \* \* \* It tells how this correspondent tried to send out an uncensored story about Loyalist terrorism—that the soldiers are wantonly shot dead by their own fellows, etc. \* \* \* Hemingway tried to tell the newcomer that such terror happened last year—not anymore. \* \* \* Nevertheless the man insisted on sending out the fabrication by a newspaper girl, who didn't know the contents of the sealed envelope. Had she been caught with it on her person, she would have been shot. \* \* \* The newspapermen there finally intercepted the envelope and destroyed it.

What I want to bring out here is that Ernest Hemingway, a courageous individual, whom I admire, and an able story teller, who had just gone to Spain, tried to talk upon political matters, which Ernest Hemingway does not understand, but has just been whitewashing Communist terror in Spain in the various articles he has written in the United States. He has here admitted that the Communists have been spreading terror in Spain and shooting their fellow Loyalists in the backs.

If Ernest Hemingway is not sufficient authority, let me refer to a statement of Lawrence A. Fernsworth, Barcelona correspondent of the New York Times and of the London Times, one of the most able political writers in Loyalist Spain. Under date of May 25, 1938, he wrote:

Recent incipient terrorism was a result of attempts by the secret police to constitute themselves something resembling the old Russian Cheka with absolute power independent of the Government. There was another attempt of this sort a year ago when Communist influences did for a time set up a kind of cheka, which the Government was able to break up, and some of the secret police had gone so far as to claim the right to investigate and arrest ministers of the Government if they chose.

Mr. MOSIER. How did that dispatch get out of Spain?

Mr. BARON. All of these dispatches I have referred to, speaking of Communist terrorism, were written from Paris, over the border of Spain. The correspondents would go up to Paris, write out their dispatches there, and later on go back into Spain. That is the way they prevent, as the clippings here show, the statements of the terrorism going through the Communist controlled censorship in Loyalist Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we adjourn at this time until 1:30 o'clock. You may finish your statement, and then we will adjourn for 5 days so we may have a good rest.

(Thereupon the subcommittee took a recess until 1:30 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The subcommittee resumed its session at 1.30 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. You may continue your testimony, Mr. Baron.

#### TESTIMONY OF SAM BARON—Continued

Mr. BARON. I will just take a minute before I proceed to refer to an article in the Baltimore Sun of yesterday's date. I hesitate to refer to it because it is really an excellent report of the proceedings of this committee, but there is one item which I think is a misunderstanding,



and I blame myself, because what is clear in my mind is evidently not clear in other people's minds. The report has it—I quote:

The Socialists' principal complaints against Moscow were that it did not send troops into Spain soon enough.

Now, I never testified to that effect. What I referred to was aid from Soviet Russia, which I meant to mean planes, artillery, and other munitions of war or implements of war, which the Soviet Russian Government had a legal right to sell to the Loyalist Government. I say at this time that no troops were sent from Soviet Russia into Loyalist Spain. It is a known fact, however, that a handful of aviators, a handful of technicians, did get into Spain, along with representatives of the G. P. U. That is the Cheka organization of Soviet Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did Franco get his name as a Fascist? Who pinned that on him?

Mr. BARON. He did himself, sir. In every interview he has given to the press he has said very emphatically that if he wins the war he will set up a totalitarian state. There is no doubt about that, and there is no quotation that can be shown——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You understand that this committee is not taking any sides, one way or another, either for Loyalist Spain or against them. Our province is to hear the facts. We want evidence with respect to communism there primarily as it affects Americans who were sent there. That is because of the fact that many Americans have been recruited and have gone over there, and there are charges that they have been recruited by Communists and controlled by Communists. As to the question which side is right, that does not come within our province, and therefore we are not concerned with the views of any witness with respect to the merits of this controversy. The only thing we are concerned with is the facts with reference to communism as it applies to the American boys who went over there. Therefore we willingly hear witnesses who are for the Loyalist Government or those who are against it. That part of it does not control us. You are in sympathy with the Loyalist cause, and we are glad to have your testimony. We have had other testimony of those who are not in sympathy with it. We want to make it plain that the committee is not taking any sides in the controversy.

Mr. BARON. I understand that thoroughly. I just want to add this to the answer to that question concerning Franco, and that is that nobody can show at any time that the Loyalist Government or any individual thereof, or any of its resolutions in the Cortes or the Congress, had stated anything else but that they are for democracy, and that they would set up a democratic nation.

The CHAIRMAN. We are merely permitting you to make those statements in fairness to you. You understand that the committee is not concerned in any respect, nor will any finding of the committee be predicated, upon the question of whether the Loyalist Government is one way or another. We are permitting those statements in order that you may have an opportunity, in accordance with your request, to present the full facts with reference to them, but not as it pertains to this committee, because it is absolutely out of the province of this committee whether Franco is this or that, or whether the Loyalist Government is this or that. The main thing we are concerned with

is the Communist angle, especially as it concerns the American people.

Mr. BARON. I only wanted to show that Franco is definitely committed to a Fascist state, whereas the Loyalist Government is committed to democracy.

I left off in my testimony that pertained to my arrest, and I told how I was accosted by a woman in a restaurant and asked various questions. After this meeting I had gone to the newspaper reporter who had been arrested and, as I told the committee, the newspaper reporter had the following experience, where the secret political police were not interested in him, but were interested in me. Events followed very quickly after that; and, as I have stated before, throughout this time I was followed wherever I went.

However, before anything happened, I interviewed many leaders of Spain, and I spoke with many individuals who had gone through the gamut of the Stalinist terror in Spain. I am not going to go into those conversations, because you will find them replete in the documents which I have submitted for the record.

One day I went into my residence and there was somebody outside, sitting on the opposite side of the street, on the curbstone, watching the house intently. I went into the house, and the landlady was very nervous about it, and asked me what that man was doing out there, watching the house all the time. I told her not to worry about it, and I went up to my room. I noticed that this gentleman left, and after a time individuals came to my house, knocked at the door and asked for me.

I came down, and they showed credentials, and they were representatives of the secret political police of Spain. I immediately sent word to the former Ambassador from Spain to France, Luis Aragon, and fortunately he was home. He came into the house, and a long conversation ensued, and the upshot of the whole thing was that they wanted to search my baggage. We went upstairs, and I bowed them into the room, and they bowed me into the room—you cannot precede a Spaniard; they are very courteous—and they went over my baggage. After a lot of formality they pulled out a document and asked me to sign it. After looking over the document, all it said was that they did not find anything in my belongings, and I signed it. After signing it, they announced that I was under arrest. I was immediately taken over to a building and walked into a large room, and I looked up on the wall, and there was a huge portrait of Joseph Stalin looking down upon me.

I stayed in this large room, and many men came through, looking me over, up and down, and walking out without saying a word. After some time, I was taken into a smaller office, and there was a desk with a plate-glass top, and I looked down on the desk, and underneath the plate glass was Joseph Stalin's picture looking up at me.

I waited around the small office, and in time two individuals of the secret police showed sufficient proof that they were anti-Stalinists, and that they were terribly put out about my arrest, and spoke to me for a while. Then they left, and came back and told me that the leaders of the secret political police had called a conference on my case and that every known anti-Stalinist was barred from that meeting. So from that I knew immediately that they were beginning the operations of their Cheka.



After some time there was a commotion outside, and I heard my name called, and who should be brought into the room but Milton K. Wells, the vice consul that I referred to previously in my testimony. He looked at me in amazement, and he said to me, "What are you doing here, Baron?" I said, "I am under arrest." He says, "Impossible; I don't believe it." At any rate, he came there looking for Anna Marie Baron, that I referred to previously, and he could not find out where she was, and he had asked for her, and by mistake some official in that department had brought him to me. And I said as follows to Milton K. Wells: "I want you to listen to me carefully. I do not want the United States Government to become involved in my case. All I ask of you is to send a message to Norman Thomas in the United States notifying him that I am in the hands of the Communists and I don't know what they intend to do." And I want to point out, in connection with that statement, that when I came back to the United States and I read of the situation in this Robinson case in Russia—you remember, a couple who had gone to Russia and were arrested, and the United States tried to get to these people to aid them, and this woman, a citizen of the United States, had told a representative of the United States Government that they did not want the United States Government to interfere in the case—I saw a strange parallel in the two experiences; that whereas I wanted to keep the differences within the working class out of the hands of the Government, so in far-off Russia this person also did likewise. It is just a speculation, but the Robinson case received such wide publicity that I throw it out for what it is worth.

However, after being in this room for some time, in came some 20 or 30 men, and at their head was an individual who took a place behind the desk; and there was a lot of talk; and somebody pushed through and up to the individual behind the desk and asked him, "What is Sam Baron doing here?" and he very dramatically looked over the men standing in the room, turned to me, and stuck his finger in my face, and he said in Spanish: "Sam Baron is a Trotskyist Fascist."

Now, mind you, this is before one question had been asked. I had already been indicted as being a Fascist.

I turned to this individual, whom I called "El Jefe"—the chief—and there was a person in the crowd who I knew spoke English. My Spanish is what they call "poco"—I mean, I speak a little Spanish, enough to be understood, but not for such situations as that. I called him over and told him to tell this individual that I was a representative of the United States, that I had credentials from the Ambassador from Spain to the United States, and what I wanted to know was if he could not prove me a Fascist who was going to punish him? Well, it is a marvelous thing, in using a translator or interpreter, when you can sit back and watch the reaction of the words on the given individual. His face turned red, and all colors, and he picked up a sheaf of papers and slapped them, and he says: "He has got the goods." Then he turns to me and says, "Do you know"—and he mentioned a certain newspaper in Detroit, Mich.; and I replied that I did not know any such paper; that the only paper I wrote for was the Socialist Call, published by the Socialist Party.



He gave an order; I was twirled around; two men went through me like I had never been gone through before. They searched me from stem to stern, and at the end of this procedure he turns again very dramatically and he says, "Incomunicado"—and "incomunicado" in Spain means a dungeon, and nobody could get to you or speak to you.

I was taken through many alleys, and so forth and so on, and just then the siren began blowing, and the siren was right on top of that building, and one of the usual air raids was in action. The bombs were falling and the antiaircraft guns were banging away, and I was taken through the alleys and brought into a dungeon; and when I say "dungeon" I mean a dungeon. It was 5 feet in width and 6 feet in length. There was not a window; there was not any means of ventilation other than a little round hole in the door. There was no bed; there was no cot; there was no chair; there was nothing of any kind of equipment in that room. The only place you could sit down—but not lie down—was a cut-out in the wall; and if you have seen pictures of Spanish cathedrals, or any substantial buildings in Spain, you know they are made of this heavy stone. So these cells are made of the heavy stone, thick, and in the wall was cut out this box, and you were able to sit there, but not lie down.

Well, I was in that place for some 12, 13, or 14 hours. They had taken away my watch; they had taken away my tie and my belt, and they told me that they did that because they had had people commit suicide; and then after these hours somebody came to the door and I had two emotions. One was "Stay away from my door," and the second was "Come to my door." The first emotion was due to the fact that the way the Communists operated in Spain was as follows: They had control over the police department. They got their members of the police department to carry out a certain assignment. After that assignment was carried out, then the Cheka got to work and came to these institutions with false documents saying that a prisoner has to be transferred from this place to that place.

The CHAIRMAN. What date was that? You have not given us the date of your arrest and imprisonment.

Mr. BARON. I was arrested around the end of October 1937.

As I said, I feared what had happened to Andres Nin, the leader of a political movement in Spain, who was arrested under political charges, and before he had his day in court, the Communist Cheka took him out of that jail and murdered him. Well, it so happened that that was not the case. I was taken from the cell, and I was walked through some more alleys, and finally brought into an office, brightly lit, and it took me some time to recognize the individuals in there, and I found many Spanish leaders, statesmen, who are friendly to me personally, there as a committee, and they had come to the chief of police of all the Spanish police and demanded that the Communists produce their charges against me. And when I looked at the chief of police of all Spain I found him to be a personal friend of mine; that I had met him in Almeria when he was governor of that province. Then I turned to him and asked him how he, a Socialist, could permit these things to go on; and he threw up his hands in helplessness and pointed out that already he had a letter of resignation in the hands of the Government, because he would not be identified with the Communist

terror. He told me, however, that the Communists had decided to prefer charges, and that I was to come back the following day to be questioned.

I came back the following day with my own interpreter, and when I got into the office the secret political police summarily told my interpreter to leave. I want you to remember that fact. Instead they brought me their own interpreter, and the first thing this interpreter did was to sidle up to me and whisper in my ear: "You have many powerful friends on the outside; you have nothing to fear; they will take care of you; they have sent me here to help you."

Well, of course, he was an agent provocateur, too. He was trying to get me into a position where I believed that he was a friend, when I knew all the time that an interpreter for the secret political police, controlled by the Communists, was no friend of mine.

So the inquisition started, and for 6 hours I was questioned, and the first question, mind you, was: "Did you ever criticize the Communist Party of Spain?"

Now, mind you, here is a department of the Government that is supposed to see to it that justice is done in Loyalist Spain; and was this department operating in behalf of Loyalist Spain? Not at all. It was interested in the Communist Party.

Well, after 6 hours of questioning, this long document of many pages of testimony, taken down by a recorder, was handed to me to sign. I said, "I refuse to sign that document until somebody I trust comes here and reads it back to me, and if it is what I testified to, I will be willing to sign it."

And let me interject here now that I have received information from Spain that if I had signed that document they would have put me up against a wall and shot me first, and then explained to the world later that they had the proof against Sam Baron, a Fascist spy. And for confirmation of that fact here is a sentence that appeared in the Communist Press of the United States when I returned:

It is quite possible that if Baron hadn't been an American he would have been shot for treason.

After the questioning, and I had refused to sign this document, this "El Jefe," the chief, went back into an inside room for advice, and he came out and went downstairs and came back and told me, all right, I can go, but I must report to the police every day at 12 o'clock. Well, for the days thereafter leaders of the Spanish people, not sympathetic to the Communist Party, had me sleep in their houses—different houses every night. Why? Because they were certain that if the Communists could not accomplish what they wanted through an official department they would operate to get me through the illegal departments. And so I slept in a different house every night.

I came back to the secret police the following day with the former Ambassador to France, Senor Luis Araquistán, and we went to the main chief, and Araquistán looked at the main chief of the Valencia Province police and he says, "Don't I know you?" And this chief of police said, "Yes; we worked together as newspapermen many years ago." And Araquistán said to him, "How come you are a member of the Communist Party?" He had the hammer and sickle



in his lapel. He says, "Well, everybody today has to belong to a political party, and I think the Communists are the party of the moment."

So he asked him about Sam Baron and he says, "Why, of course Sam Baron is free to go." "Free to go?" I went out and made arrangements with friends, through the French Ambassador, where they would permit me to go on a French ship and be taken to Marseille. I came back to the secret political police and he tells me, yes, I was free to go, but not to leave Spain. And I said, "Who has the authority to permit me to leave Spain?" And he said, "Somebody up in Barcelona." So one morning, also during an air raid, a car pulled up to my door, and by sympathetic friends I was taken in the dead of night up to Barcelona.

I went to the American consulate and asked them to get my visa so I could leave Spain. And I am speaking about this particular item because it has been charged that the Loyalist Government put me out of Spain, and that is a falsehood, as the State Department can testify to through their records in the Barcelona office; that I went to the American consulate in Barcelona, and they themselves, after 3 days' wait, procured my permission to leave. And I left Spain.

When I got on the train at the border I noticed a certain individual, and it was not until about 3 weeks after that I took a boat, or took the train for the boat, to take me to the United States; and I am sitting in a cafe in the railroad station waiting for my boat train, and I am speaking with a Spaniard, and this Spaniard seems to be engrossed in something over my shoulder, and I am irritated by it, because he is paying no attention to my conversation; and I look around, and there is an individual leaning all the way back trying to catch the conversation. I immediately get up, and I pass this individual, and I look at him, and it is the same individual who was on that train from the border.

I get on my boat—a boat that had about 20 passengers; a slow boat, a 10-day boat from France—and I walk on deck that night, and who is walking toward me but that individual. I managed to secure the identity of that person, and I found that he had purchased his ticket right after I had purchased my ticket; that he had purchased that ticket to the same place that I bought my ticket, and that this individual was a Russian, recently Americanized.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who that individual was?

Mr. BARON. That is something that I have been looking through for 3 days. I have his name, and if I can get it—which I will get before I come back here Monday—the passenger list of that boat, I will give that name into the record.

John P. Frey was one of the passengers on that ship—John P. Frey, of the American Federation of Labor—and he could testify to the nature of my suspicions pertaining to that individual.

There were only 20 people—approximately 20 people—on that ship; and you know on a long voyage of that sort, 10 days, everybody gets to talk to each other. Well, that individual never spoke one word to me.

So I came back to the United States, to be greeted by a barrage from the Communists, from their stooges, from their fronts, from their "fellow travelers," destroying my character.



But before I close I want to relate just one incident of so many incidents in connection with this terror. I had known an individual, whose real name I am not going to give because he is still in Spain. This individual was born in a central European country, and when the Bolshevik revolution broke out he, in sympathy, went to that country, participated, was taken prisoner by Kolchak in Siberia, and subsequently stayed on in Soviet Russia and trained himself in the army. When the Spanish war broke out he volunteered to go there, and through his military abilities he grew to the rank of captain. I met him in Madrid. He was a hulking giant of a man, about 6 feet 2, who probably weighed something like 250 pounds. While in Valencia I heard that his wife, whom he had married in Spain, had been denounced by the Communists as being a Fascist spy. This woman had put in years of her life in the movement of the German Socialist Party; had come to Spain in 1932, when Hitler took power, and participated in her activities to help the working class there. The Communists denounced her as a Fascist spy because she was in opposition to the Communists.

Mr. BARON. Well, this particular woman was defended by many prominent people in Spain, and the Communists did not withdraw their charges; they just dropped them. But her character was ruined, because so many people know the charges and they rarely hear the answer.

Her husband, fighting at the front, tells me that the Communists came to him, and the G. P. U. ordered him to denounce his wife as a Fascist spy. He said, "How could I denounce this woman as a Fascist spy, when at the front, when things became hot, this woman came to the front with two revolvers and fought next to her husband throughout the defensive."

And he said, "Now, I do not know what is going to happen." and I looked at him, this hulking giant who formerly weighed 250 pounds, who probably now weighs about 150 pounds, just a visible example to me of how the terror can undermine a human being.

Then he said this last word to me. He said, "Sam Baron, forget all about it; go back to the United States and do your work and forget it." He said, "We have built a monster, Stalin, and he will destroy us all. You save yourself." I said to him, "I have a good many years to go, and I can never rest in peace if I remained silent."

That concludes my testimony in relation to the Communists' role in Spain. I want to give testimony on another aspect of Spain in a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. What other aspect do you have in mind?

Mr. BARON. I want to show what I believe to be un-American activities in conjunction with individuals in the United States who are supporting General Franco and the Fascist cause there, as it relates to the question of the Neutrality Act and the embargo on Loyalist Spain.

It is my contention that the embargo on Spain is unjust and un-American, that the Loyalist Government is a legal government and has the right to do business, especially in those nations—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baron, we have allowed you a great deal of latitude, but, of course, when you get into the question of the embargo, pro or con, we are getting into something that this committee has

absolutely nothing in the world to do with. We want to give you all the latitude possible, because we realize the circumstances surrounding this matter, but I doubt sincerely if we would be justified in receiving testimony either in defense of or against either Loyalist Spain or Franco's government, or anything else.

We have allowed you a lot of latitude in developing the communistic phase, but we have nothing to do with or are we concerned as a committee with the question of neutrality, as to which side is right.

Mr. MASON. We are very deeply concerned with communistic activities here in America in connection with the enlistment of these boys and how they proceeded, and so forth. If the witness has anything in that connection to give us, it seems to me that is one thing we should emphasize.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the witness, as I understand it, is taking the other phase of the question, which he is entitled to do; that is, the communist angle of those enlistments. As I understand it, what you want to develop is the Fascist angle of those who support that movement.

Mr. BARON. That is right. Your un-American activities pertain both to the Fascist and communistic activities.

Mr. MOSIER. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, we have in this witness one whom I would call an expert. If we have had any experts here, this is the one witness who is an expert not only on the question of communism in Loyalist Spain, but I think he would probably prove to be an expert on Fascist activities on the other side.

I think this committee ought to be perfectly fair. I do not care to have him argue the merits of the Neutrality Act, because that is something that Congress has already determined.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Committee on Foreign Affairs has charge of that.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes. But I think if he knows what is actually being done in this country by groups or individuals for the Fascist side in Spain, he ought to tell us.

Mr. MASON. That is a different thing, if it is being done in this country in support of the Fascists in Spain. If that is true, then it is just as un-American as any other un-American activity.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the effect of what you are going to say about individuals in this country?

Mr. BARON. Yes. Before going into that, I would like to tie up what I contended at the very beginning, when I started to testify, that the Communist Internationale, in its role in Soviet Russia, its role in Germany in 1931 and 1932, and its role in Austria in 1934, was predicated on the basis that all democratic forces were social Fascists, and I told the committee the fact that those in the Communist movement claim that since 1935 it has changed this line, and proceeded to prove in the Spanish events that the line has not been changed, but what has changed are slogans. Their tactics remain the same and their objectives remain the same, but in the changing of slogans—

Mr. MOSIER. You still have not told us what I asked you this morning.

Mr. BARON. After I get through with this you can ask me that question.

When I talk about changing the slogans, which I think is of importance to the people of the United States, and especially the working class, I want to indicate what I mean by that.

First, you heard about the League Against War and Fascism; then that was changed to the League for Peace and Democracy.

First, it was a league against imperialist war, and now it is collective security, and when that slogan became a little tainted, it is now concerted action.

You heard a lot about the people's front. Now that that has become a little tainted, they now call it the democratic front.

You heard a lot about defending the Chinese soviets, now you have defending the Chinese Republic.

In 1934, in the Madison Square Garden meeting, at which LaGuardia spoke, sponsored by trade-unionists and Socialists, to try to defend civil liberty and democracy in Austria, the Communists broke up that meeting, and that was one of the greatest riots recorded in that year.

The Communists refused to let any speakers speak. Why? Because Mayor LaGuardia was the chief speaker.

In 1938 the Socialist Party meeting was broken up. Why? Because the Socialist Party had refused to support Mayor LaGuardia.

In the old days it was social Fascists; today it is agents of fascism.

In the old days we were told to respect and admire the type of leadership of the old Bolsheviki as Communist leaders, but in the Communist movement today they have been put up against the wall and shot, and we are told we must despise them.

Throughout the course of Communist activities is one major premise; that is, no matter whether the Communist movement is left, right, or center in political affairs, it remains a totalitarian movement.

Its objective is to set up a dictatorship of its own party over all of the people. By that I mean the dictatorship of an individual over that party, as demonstrated in Soviet Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have covered that.

Mr. BARON. I am through now.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the point I am particularly interested in. You wanted to tell us about Americans in Spain who have been victimized by the Communists. You have given the instance of yourself, your trial and arrest, and certain instances about which you have read from articles, but you have not testified and come down to facts. What we are interested in is the American participation in this thing, the part Americans are playing in it.

Mr. BARON. You ask the questions and I will answer them.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you a few questions to see if we can get the specific facts.

Do you know how many American boys, at the top figure, were in Spain?

Mr. BARON. Well, I think the reports in the press are accurate. They range between four and six thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what percentage of those boys were Communists and what percentage were non-Communists?

Mr. BARON. According to Communist sources themselves, the percentage was 25 or 30 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Twenty-five or thirty percent were Communists and the others were of different political beliefs?



Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there many Socialists over there?

Mr. BARON. Of Americans?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BARON. Very few.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you maintain, from your experience and investigation, that the Communists were wholly instrumental in enlisting these boys for Spain?

Mr. BARON. In the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; in the United States.

Mr. BARON. Yes; that is true; but, as I said before, I do not criticize them for that.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to get the facts.

Mr. MASON. In that connection, could you say whether many of these boys were enlisted on W. P. A. projects, who were working for the W. P. A. here before they were enlisted to go to Spain?

Mr. BARON. I could not testify to anything like that. I would imagine——

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not imagine. You do not know?

Mr. BARON. No; I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us try to get positive evidence just as to what you know.

Do you know what percentage of the American boys in Spain are now in prison?

Mr. BARON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to say whether any of them are in prison?

Mr. BARON. Any of them?

The CHAIRMAN. Any of them.

Mr. BARON. I have brought out various instances of Americans in jail, and all through the newspaper clippings and articles, many things I have put into the record, I referred to or I pointed out that all through these you will find instances of Americans getting caught up and being put in jail in Spain. That is why I wanted to read those things, and then I climaxed it by showing you——

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. From the information you have and from your own experience, would you say there is any considerable number of them in prison?

Mr. BARON. It is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you found it difficult to get the facts over there, did you not?

Mr. BARON. Very difficult. But I do know this: That I have spoken to some 50 people who were with the International Brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were over there?

Mr. BARON. Yes; and that men who have fought in the American Brigade have confirmed it and told me many stories of instances where Americans were clamped in jail because they disagreed with the Communists.

I have letters and other material, but, as I told the committee before, I am not breaking any confidences. I am not involving people who do not want to come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. But your information, which you secured while in Spain, based on the documentary evidence which you have submitted, indicates that a number of American boys have been imprisoned by the Communists.

Mr. BARON. Quite a number.

The CHAIRMAN. And that some have been kidnaped.

Mr. BARON. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And that some have been subjected to other forms of torture.

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be correct, would it?

Mr. BARON. That would be correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not that is confined to non-Communists, or whether Communists who went over to Spain are subjected to similar treatment?

Mr. BARON. It is confined primarily to non-Communists, but it is not unusual for Communists to get the same medicine the first time they step out of bounds.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "step out of bounds"?

Mr. BARON. For instance, Communists go over there and they see what goes on, the activities that are carried on in the movement. They become disgusted, and they declare their disgust, and various officials in the movement hear about it, and so they are marked, and they suffer the consequences like non-Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. You had conversations with officials of the Loyalist Government?

Mr. BARON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they admit to you that the Communists have jails over there?

Mr. BARON. I would rather read those reports; I can give you that from the report of John McGovern, a Member of Parliament.

They told me that they know the Communists have jails throughout Spain and that they are trying desperately to find out where they are and break them up. Officials of the Loyalist Government have told me that, many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you learn that from other sources?

Mr. BARON. Oh, yes; from many people.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a matter of common knowledge throughout Spain?

Mr. BARON. Throughout Spain; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you, yourself, know of any specific act of murder of an American?

Mr. BARON. Did I witness a murder?

The CHAIRMAN. You, yourself, never witnessed one, of course.

Mr. BARON. I am sorry to say the Communists did not invite me to their parties.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, from specific acts, that you yourself have investigated, with the facts that you discovered surrounding them, that you were led to the certain belief that Americans had been either kidnaped or murdered?

Mr. BARON. Members of the International Brigade in New York have told friends of mine, and have boasted, that they have shot other

members of the International Brigade because they disagreed with most of the communistic line. That is all there was. I could give you plenty more instances of people I spoke to in Spain, and I wish that a certain doctor, who has returned from Spain——

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute.

Mr. BARON. I wish that a certain doctor who has come back from Spain and who had been there for 15 months on the ground and served with the medical bureau—I wish he would come forward and tell what he knows and what he told me about the terror in Spain, as it affected the American boys.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want to give his name?

Mr. BARON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to give the names of any of these members of the International Brigade who gave you this information?

Mr. BARON. No; if I had their names I would give them, those who boasted about murdering.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have any of their names?

Mr. BARON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it true that your charges of murder and kidnapping are largely based upon hearsay testimony, on what you were told, and what you learned from others?

Mr. BARON. In addition to my own personal experience with the secret political police, which reveals——

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that is direct testimony. I am trying to verify this to get the meat of this thing exactly, as to how much you, yourself, know as distinguished from what some one else knows.

Mr. BARON. Hearsay, and in corroboration I have had in hundreds of stories from various sources from the American press and from people who have been in Spain, and it corroborates what I have said before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to your own trial and one or two incidents you have enumerated, what was your actual experience with the Communists in Spain? I am asking now for your own experience.

Mr. BARON. I was in contact with them all over Spain, wherever I went.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet them at various places in Spain?

Mr. BARON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see them function as unofficial committees?

Mr. BARON. As committees of the Loyalist Government—well, I saw them operate around the censorship bureau, and I will relate an incident that occurred there upon my second trip.

On my second trip, I had notified a member of the censorship bureau that I would be there the following day. I came up there and was greeted immediately, and turned over to one by the name of Steve Nelson. Steve Nelson is an American, and a political commissar in the International Brigade.

Steve Nelson said to me, he said, "You are Sam Baron?" I said, "Yes."

He said, "Are you a Fascist?" I said, "No." He said, "Did you write an article in the Socialist Call?" I said, "Yes."



Then he went into a long tirade in which he denounced me. So I turned to him and said, "If you have anything to say about me there are many agencies in the Loyalist Government who will be glad to hear of it, and I will answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get this straight in my own mind, Mr. Baron. Of course, much of your information is based upon these newspaper articles and magazine articles. You are not in a position to say whether those articles are authentic, or not, are you?

Mr. BARON. You mean the material contained in the articles?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. What leads you to believe that they are authentic articles that actually depict the truth?

Mr. BARON. Like any reporter, when he speaks with such people as the former Premier—

The CHAIRMAN. I was not speaking about that. I mean, in reference to articles written by other newspaper reporters in Spain, who wrote of certain incidents that occurred, what leads you to believe they are authentic?

Mr. BARON. If you make it specific—for instance, as to the terror, I have spoken to and have known many hundreds of people in Spain who have been through the terror, and when a newspaper writer writes about the terror, and I get the evidence on all sides that it exists, that is my experience in that direction.

For instance, let me cite this: Eugene Lyons, in his very excellent book on Soviet Russia, compiled data which indicates certain events in Soviet Russia. Eugene Lyons was not in the period or the time they had millions of people dying from hunger. He was not there to die with them, but still he ascertained the facts by speaking with many people who should know.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it not, Mr. Witness, somewhat similar, we will say, to the Klan in the United States, the Ku Klux Klan? You ask the ordinary American if there was a Klan in the United States. He probably was not a member and did not see the organization, but it was common knowledge that there was a Klan in the United States, and it was common knowledge that the Klan did a lot of things that were horrible. It was common knowledge, and you did not have to prove it, either to yourself or anybody else, because everybody knew of it.

As I understand the operations of the Communists in Spain, it is more or less an underground proposition; they do not let you see any more than they can possibly help.

If you happen to get into a situation, as you did, where you were personally involved, it proves to you that there is a great deal of truth in all of the stuff you have heard, especially that other people have gone through the same experience.

Mr. BARON. I think you have made an excellent point about the Ku Klux Klan in operation as an underground movement. That is why no underground or illegal movement functions in a way in which you can say it operates here or there, or does this or that; the only thing you can do is to take the people who have suffered at the hands of these illegal organizations and produce them, and I have in those articles names and dates and places when and at which people were persecuted by this underground and illegal Communist organization in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. You have to depend to some extent—there is only one item in a great many like it, so you record your personal experience and other newspapermen recorded their personal experiences, and you put them together to get a composite picture of the whole situation.

Mr. BARON. That is right. When I tell you I have traveled in every section in Spain and been in every major city, and in many small towns, certainly that wide survey would indicate that the ground has been thoroughly covered.

Mr. MASON. I want to ask this question: I understood that the main reason you put so many newspaper and magazine articles in the record was to use them as corroboration for the incidents you testified to from personal observation, as coming from other authorities besides yourself, to back up your own observation and experience.

Mr. BARON. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you one more question. You mentioned a man by the name of Steve Nelson. What part of the United States was he from?

Mr. BARON. New York City.

Mr. MOSIER. Had you known him before you went to Spain?

Mr. BARON. I knew of him.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he a Communist in New York?

Mr. BARON. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Active in the Communist Party?

Mr. BARON. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that his correct name, Steve Nelson?

Mr. BARON. I doubt it.

Mr. MOSIER. But he was known as Steve Nelson, in New York?

Mr. BARON. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Was this Steve Nelson, to your knowledge, ever located in New York on Fourth Avenue, and associated with a man known as Manney?

Mr. BARON. I do not know of my personal knowledge, but I have heard it.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you ever hear of any man they called Manney?

Mr. BARON. Only as you know about those things, because you hear about things. I do not know Manney personally, or his activities.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. BARON. Of course, I will tie these things together, but I want to put in the record photographs of German Nazis, Italian Fascists, Moors, that were taken prisoner by the Loyalist forces in Spain and whom I interviewed.

I also want to put in the record certain items that I picked up when I followed the Loyalist Army, which resulted in the Guadalajara rout of the Italian forces in Spain, and when I got to the Italian positions, or positions formerly held by the Italians, I picked up certain things which I want to put into the record.

For instance, here is an Italian money order, indicating evidently that the Italians were being paid through Rome. It has not been cashed.

Here are covers of cigarette packages indicating where they came from.

I took this plate off an anti-aircraft truck, which indicates the truck was manufactured in Italy.

I have here a document of the War Department of Italy with all the fancy rigamarole indicating the owner of this document was a member of the Italian Army.

All of this in Spain.

Of course, no longer is there any dispute that the Italians, Germans, and Moors are in Spain, but the thing that affected me most in that experience is that when I went into a machine-gun nest formerly held by the Italians and I picked up the shells of the bullets they were firing and I looked at them, I saw that the imprint was "U. S." Here are the bullets. [Producing bullets.] There was graphically revealed to me that munitions manufactured in the United States get into the hands of Fascist Spain by purchase through Germany and Italy.

The point I want to make is that the Neutrality Act is unneutral; that if we really wanted neutrality we should at least refuse to sell munitions to Germany and Italy, who are participants in the war in Spain.

Not only these bullets but it is a fact that bombs have been shipped from the du Pont plant, where the bill of lading made clear that the ultimate destination was not Germany. The New York Evening Post brought that out very clearly.

While I was in Spain a group of eight planes were being flown into Spain and they came down on the border of France, and upon investigation it was found that these planes were consigned to Franco but they were of American manufacture.

Now, one thing I cannot understand is this. I have experienced this, that the Fascists' capacity for terror and horror surpasses even the Communist capacity for terror and horror. I have been in Madrid for 30 days, throughout the time that city was shelled day in and day out. Approximately 700 shells would hit that city in 1 day from two positions outside of Madrid. These shells sent into the city, no matter where they fell, there was no bit of desire upon the part of those firing them to hit any military objective.

I personally witnessed so many horrors that if I told you about them it would make your blood run cold, as it did mine.

I have been in approximately 50 areas in territory that had no military objective. I have been down into Almeria at the time 100,000 people were driven out of the city of Malaga and they came up a road, a road cut out of a cliff that on one side had a sheer drop to the Mediterranean below, and on the other side was this wall and the only way they could proceed north was along the open road. The Fascist ships pulled up in the Mediterranean and the planes from above dropped bombs on these refugees and then swooped down strafing these refugees until some of them in desperation found peace by jumping off the cliff down into the Mediterranean below.

I can go on for hours telling of terror and horror, but what amazes me is that certain priests in the United States—for instance, Father Coughlin in the press yesterday takes the occasion to point out alleged brutality from the Loyalist side and never mentions one word about the Fascist brutality on the other side.

What I ask of these priests and Ellery Sedgwick and the Catholic laymen who are in the press every day talking about terror on the other side is, Why don't they speak out and tell the world about the terror that exists as the result of the Fascist onslaught?



I cannot understand it and I do not say this in any sort of religious intolerance, because nobody will ever find a word I have written or said where I have preached religious intolerance.

But what I cannot understand is how the Catholic Church that fights Hitler in Germany and is at the throat of Mussolini in Italy can find itself in a united front with Hitler, Mussolini, and last, but not least, the Christian-hating Moors in Fascist Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that in Loyalist Spain the churches were demolished and the priests and nuns were butchered?

Mr. BARON. I will answer that question. The churches were demolished; nowhere near the number stated.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. BARON. Because I have been all over Spain and I have seen churches that have been demolished.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of a church that has not been used for military purposes, that has not been taken possession of, that has not been seized?

Mr. BARON. I know churches have been closed and I have seen hundreds that are not used for military purposes and I have been at religious services of Protestant churches in Spain during the war that have not been closed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any Catholic churches that have not been closed in Loyalist Spain?

Mr. BARON. Not that I know of, but at the time I was in Spain I knew as a fact that priests were officiating at services in various parts of Spain, and the Catholic Church of the Basque section of Spain, all the churches there were functioning, and the Catholic Church in that section officially supported the Loyalist cause.

The CHAIRMAN. What section of Spain was that?

Mr. BARON. Basque section.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of that section, do you know of any churches that were open?

Mr. BARON. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think by that act the Loyalist Government condemned itself?

Mr. BARON. No; and I will explain that.

The CHAIRMAN. As intolerant?

Mr. BARON. I will explain that.

The CHAIRMAN. What I want to get in my mind is this: We cry out against the persecution of people in one area—let us say Germany; and that is bad, we all agree. But here is Spain, in which a religious body was not permitted the right to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, where the Government used repressive measures.

Mr. MASON. That is not democracy.

Mr. BARON. It is not democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that not a condemnation of their whole set-up?

Mr. BARON. I will answer that. I disagree with you. Has it ever occurred to the Catholic Church to ask itself the question why it is that not the Loyalist Government but the people who attend those churches—because Spain is 98 or 99 percent Catholic—rise up in a frenzy and tear apart a church? Nobody has shown to this date that the Loyalist Government has ever spoken or directed or in any way

had anything to do with the burning of churches in the early days of the war.

How did that occur? I tell you from personal experience, when I went through various cities of Spain, I saw this: The church had been burned, and in front of the church was the usual watering place; the church usually faces the square, and in the center of the square is the watering place.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know what the other gentlemen on the committee think, but I think we are wandering far afield to permit any testimony either of approval or condemnation of any religious body. It brings into the picture a very controversial subject. I do not know that it adds anything to any testimony that we have had with respect to this inquiry. Do you not think we have had enough on this?

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I want to know just how and where and by whom any aid of any kind is being sent to Franco from the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. MASON. In violation of the law. That is all I am interested in. I am not interested in what is going on over there pro or con, who is being cruel and who is not. But the other is really part of our function. We want to know where this stuff is going over there, to either side.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we have had testimony that large sums of money have been raised.

Mr. MASON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. By such organizations as the League for Peace and Democracy, and the money evidently was used to purchase supplies that went to Spain. If the witness has any testimony with respect to the other side, we will hear that. But what I mean is, when we get into the question of the Catholic Church in a country across the water—

Mr. MASON. That is extraneous to our investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is wandering far afield.

Mr. BARON. I am not condemning the Catholic Church. I am referring to individuals and sections of the people who are active in being pro-Franco supporters in the United States. This committee has heard many, many people who have come here and denounced people who have supported the Loyalist side. This is not an issue with the Church as such. Catholic institutions run by Catholic laymen are also raising money for General Franco.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any evidence of that?

Mr. BARON. Why, it was reported in the New York Times, and there is a list of contributions to the Spanish cause, which I have here.

There was an American Committee for Spanish Relief—and you can get this information, it is well known that there were a lot of Catholic laymen connected with that and they held one meeting at Madison Square Garden where the amount of contributions received was \$28,696.24 and expenditures for relief in Spain, nothing. Funds spent for administration, publicity, affairs, campaigns, etc., \$30,359.10. Nothing was sent to Spain.

Then the Brooklyn Tablet: Certainly everybody in New York knows that that is a Catholic organ. They raised \$33,335.56. Sent to Spain,

to General Franco. \$26,804.50. I can go down the list and point out other organizations.

What I am trying to say here, if you will let me answer the former question, is that there have been so many misstatements of fact. For instance, why were churches burned? On July 18, 1936, when the revolt spread out and the army did not have a military base, the church was used as a military base. I have gone through many cities and towns in Spain where I corroborated that testimony.

In the center of the square, facing the church, this stone watering place was simply peppered with machine-gun-bullet holes, where on the day of the revolt the local Fascist supporters locked themselves into the church and fired upon the people upon the outside.

On the back of the church was a rope hanging down from the window, up which the Loyalist supporters climbed and went inside and fought with them to the death.

Naturally the people in a town like that, finding the church supporting the Fascists and the Germans and the Italians, would rise up and revolt, and no government, I do not care what it is, at a time like that can control the emotions of the people.

And what I said before was that I have attended services in the Protestant church. No Protestant church was closed in Spain. The Catholic church was closed for one simple reason, that if it were opened the people would have risen and torn them apart.

Now, you see in the press every day church after church being opened in Loyalist Spain, Catholic churches, because the feelings and emotions of the people have been quieted since that time. But to tie it up with the Loyalist Government I think is unfair, terribly unfair.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that conclude what you wanted to say with reference to the Fascist aid?

Mr. BARON. Just this: That, as I contend, the Loyalist Government is a legal government and has a right to do business with governments having normal relations with it. The reason why the Communists have been able in Spain to make such inroads against democracy is because the various governments have refused to do normal business with the Loyalist Government. I hold and I submit to this committee that certainly the Government of the United States ought to lift the embargo and let the Loyalist Government buy on a cash and carry plan the things that it has a right to buy from this Nation. That means that the United States Government cannot become involved in the fight in Spain; that the Spanish Government would send its own ships and carry off its own merchandise.

Let the Neutrality Act be amended so that it is a neutrality act. The United States Government should refuse to sell munitions of war to Germany and Italy if it does not do what I have suggested.

That is all I have to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you feel you have had an opportunity to express fully your views?

Mr. BARON. Yes, and I appreciate the cooperation of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We have permitted you to do that, not because it is in the province of the committee to discuss these subjects, it is wandering afield, but we wanted to be absolutely fair with every witness. That is the reason we permitted you to make your statement.



MR. BARON. That completes entirely the Spanish question. I would leave my testimony on the other aspects of the Communist work in the United States until the committee reconvenes again.

THE CHAIRMAN. Before we conclude the hearings, the Chair wishes to read into the record from the November 1933 issue of *Fight* and a statement by Roger Baldwin, executive director of the Civil Liberties Union, as follows:

For militant tactics against war in the United States, we of the Anti-War Congress must not count upon conscientious objection based upon individual consciences as any force whatever. We must count only upon organized workers, farmers, and their sympathizers among intellectuals, to refuse service to the war machine, to block a declaration of war by a general strike, to impede a war by the same tactics after it has been declared, and failing that the moment the opportunity comes to refuse to go on with the war. Historically examined, such mass refusals have always been the prelude to ousting the war government and ushering in revolutionary change. No adequate power can be built to end war, as all its opponents identify themselves with the struggle of those classes which alone can abolish the system of conflicting greed on which war thrives.

There is a note under that article which the Chair wishes to read, as follows:

NOTE.—This article by Mr. Baldwin, while not expressing the official position of the American League Against War and Fascism, is an important contribution from one who has been actively engaged in the antiwar movement. The editors invite discussion.

The Chair reads that because the evidence before this committee indicates that a number of Government officials are prominently identified with the Civil Liberties Union.

MR. MOSIER. Are they classed as farmers or workers or intellectuals—these gentlemen?

THE CHAIRMAN. The Chair also wishes to read from the December issue of this magazine, an excerpt from an article by Donald Henderson, executive secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism, as follows:

Organize temporary stoppages of work in the factories, on the docks, on all war jobs. Demand the appropriations for relief and insurance, for slum clearance and new houses, for schools and unpaid salaries.

Let all supporters of peace throughout the churches approach their ministers, priests, and rabbis to demand that they speak out against these policies of war works instead of public works. Let the preachers of the gospel demand from their pulpits immediate cancelation of all war contracts; let them range themselves openly and sharply with the forces fighting for peace and against the war makers in our Government. Let the last two Sundays of this year be "Peace Sundays."

THE CHAIRMAN. The Chair read a statement from an earlier article by Mr. Roger Baldwin, and the record also contains another statement heretofore placed in the record in which Mr. Baldwin, quoting his own language, stated that "communism is the goal."

Now, there has been called to the Chair's attention a statement issued by Secretary Ickes, in which the Secretary has engaged in his usual campaign of abuse and vilification. The Chair will not attempt to contest with the Secretary on the question of which one can be the most abusive. The Chair is willing to award that palm to the Secretary without argument.

However, the Secretary in his statement does admit, and, I might interpose, somewhat proudly, that he is a member of the Civil Liberties Union.

As to the statement which has been read from Roger Baldwin, who is the guiding genius of this organization, and has been for many years, the Chair wishes to summon as a witness Mr. John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, who in 1924, I believe was the date, had this to say about the American Civil Liberties Union:

There are 200 organizations in the United States actively engaged in or sympathetic with the Communist revolutionary movement as directed and conducted by the Communist Party of America. Some of them are local in their scope and work; others are Nation-wide. Forty-five of these organizations of either "pink" or radical structure are engaged in the Communist effort to seize control of the labor unions in this country and convert them to the revolutionary movement. In virtually every instance these organizations have direct contact, through the mechanisms of interlocking directorates, with the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, or with its legal branch, the Workers Party of America.

I note that it says further:

Illustrative of this arrangement is the executive committee of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, at New York, posing as the champion of free speech and civil liberties, but serving as a forerunner and trail blazer for the active and insidious activities of the Communist among labor organizations. Harry F. Ward, born in London in 1873, and chancellor of the Union Theological Seminary, is chairman of this organization. The managing director is Roger Baldwin who served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County jail in New Jersey in 1918 and 1919.

So the Chair summons as a witness the United Mine Workers and Mr. John L. Lewis as to the character and type of this organization which Mr. Ickes admits he belongs to, and to which it has been shown other Government officials belong or are identified with.

In the statement which had been handed the Chair, the Secretary is quoted as saying:

I think that the sound and decent public opinion of America should be felt, if there is such a thing as sound and decent public opinion.

The Chair can appreciate the Secretary's doubt as to whether there is a sound public opinion, in view of the fact that public opinion has been very unfavorable to him in recent times, especially in Virginia where they repudiated him for his interference in a congressional campaign, as well as in other sections where he intruded.

The Secretary makes no attempt to answer the testimony which was received by this committee with reference to the action of the Civil Liberties Union in sponsoring legislation which was later incorporated in bills and became a law. He makes no attempt to answer the charges, but resorts to his usual tactics of abuse for the simple reason that he is unable to answer the testimony by facts.

The chair wants to add, as he has stated many times, that the Secretary of the Interior, or anyone else, is welcome to appear before this committee and refute under oath any testimony that has been received. The Chair has extended that invitation from the first moment we met, and the record will show that there have been repeated invitations. Also, the newspapers have carried that invitation throughout the country. Up to this present time, a very small number of those against whom any charge or attack has been made have requested the opportunity, either in person or through affidavits, to appear before this committee to refute any such charges. The committee, of course, has a schedule now, having invited numerous outstanding citizens to appear before the committee beginning December

5 and extending through December 16, which is the latest date on which we can hold any hearings, because of the approaching holidays. From the 5th to the 16th of December we will give those witnesses every reasonable opportunity to be heard. I want the record to show that ample opportunity has been afforded anyone against whom charges have been made to appear before this committee and refute any such charges.

The Chair wishes further to say, as he has said before, that any witness who testifies falsely before this committee can be punished for perjury. One individual, Mr. Isserman made some threat that he was going to proceed in criminal court against one of our witnesses, but we have heard nothing about that from that time to this, although we stated at the time that we would be glad to cooperate with the district attorney or any Federal agency, because if any witness perjures himself before this committee we will cooperate to the end that he be punished for it. We do not anticipate that Mr. Isserman will press his charges, because we happen to have considerable corroborative evidence in the form of witnesses and in the form of documentary proof which is ready to be offered should any attempt be made to question the accuracy of the witness' statement.

The committee will stand adjourned until Monday morning at 10:30 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee adjourned to meet on Monday, November 28, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)





# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present also: Mr. Mosier and Mr. Starnes.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. I want to put in the record some galley sheets from the New Jersey Guide and the Montana Guide. These galleys are the ones that went to the press for publication.

(The galley sheets referred to are as follows:)

A. J. M.—Machine No. 5—October 4  
RACK 21—SLIDE 59

GALLEY 33

2463—W. P. A.—NEW JERSEY—10 Int. Gara. on 12 x 25

The industrial revolution, which closely followed the political revolution against England, created a favorable opportunity for labor organization as it replaced home manufacture with the factory system. Despite this and the growth of many other natural fields for unionism, notably railroad and canal construction, iron and glass making, and pottery production, organization until 1850 was almost wholly confined to the older individual crafts. The extremely harsh conditions of the Paterson textile factories made them an exception. Here, women and children, who formed the majority of the employees, were required to be at work at 4:30 a. m.; the whip was frequently used to obtain speedier production, and the work day lasted up to 16 hours.

One of the earliest recorded strikes and the first recorded sympathy strike in America occurred in these Paterson mills in 1828. The employees, including a large number of children, walked out, demanding restoration of the noon lunch hour (which the company had changed arbitrarily to one o'clock) and reduction of the work day from 13½ hours to 12 hours. Carpenters, masons, and mechanics struck in sympathy with the millhands. The strike was lost, although later the owners conceded the 12 o'clock lunch.

Trade unions organized by journeymen in several crafts caused the first real wave of strikes in New Jersey. Rising costs of living unaccompanied by increased wages during the prosperous period 1830-1836 resulted in at least a dozen important strikes. In 1835 or 1836 shoemakers in Newark, Paterson, and New Brunswick; hatters in Newark; textile workers in Paterson; harness-makers and curriers in Newark; and building-trades workers in Trenton, Paterson, New Brunswick, and Newark—all battled for higher wages, and in some cases for the 10-hour day. A majority of the strikes was won by organized trades societies that closely resembled the present-day "locals" of international unions. Early co-operation among such societies was evidenced by a \$203 contribution from the Newark workingmen to striking textile workers in Paterson.

Recognition of the value of such mutual aid led 16 trade societies to form a Newark Trades Union, which today would be called a city federation or central labor council. Although this body sanctioned strikes and lent moral and financial assistance, the individual trade societies shouldered the brunt of strike action. The Newark group played an important part in 1836 in the formation of the

National Trades Union; New Brunswick also had a trades union, but it did not participate in the national movement. Paterson's organization, grandiloquently styled "The Paterson Association for the Protection of Laboring Classes, Operatives of Cotton Mills, Etc.," joined with the Newark Trades Union.

Workers' co-operation coupled with the burgeoning of radical thought paved the way for labor's entry into politics during the turbulent thirties. In September 1830 a group of farmers, mechanics, and workmen from Essex County met in Newark to form a Workingmen's Party. Although the outcome is unknown, records show that the meeting demanded the removal of property qualifications for voting, the taxation of bonds and mortgages, and free schools. In 1834 and 1836 attempts were again made to establish a labor party in Newark. Their failure may be traced to the founders' apparent aim to build a patchwork political party rather than a strictly labor party, as demonstrated by their nomination of a coach lace manufacturer for mayor.

The panic of 1837 temporarily halted the remarkable progress of the previous decade. Along with most other trades unions, the Newark group expired during the long depression, and in 1840 labor sacrificed its tiny political independence to the Whig onslaught against the "panic-making" Democrats. The following quarter of a century was marked by the growth of reform movements rather than militant trade unionism. Labor neglected organization for Fourierism, land reform, and the struggle for the 10-hour day. Perth Amboy and Trenton were centers of the reform movements; workmen in the latter city were mainly responsible for the passage in 1851 of the 10-hour working day law which also prohibited labor of children under 10 years of age.

Out of this law, which characteristically carried no provisions for its enforcement, developed the Paterson textile strike of 1851. This struggle lacked the united front of the 1835 strike, and, although there was some attempt to form a union to sustain the law, most of the strikers lost their demands or agreed to work the 10-hour day at a reduction of wages.

Three years later a spectacular dispute arose between the directors and the engineers of the Erie Railroad. The engineers objected to a company rule which made them solely responsible for the safety of the trains. They tied up the railroad's traffic, and were charged with violence against strike-breakers. The difficulties were compromised, but in 1856 a new strike occurred when the company discharged 10 members of a negotiating committee which was seeking to revise the objectionable rules. The Erie employed a strong police force to guard the nonstrikers; contemporary journals warned readers against traveling on the road during the strike. Although the struggle was won by the company, the engineers were prepared for participation in the national railroad organization that grew up after 1852.

Despite an epidemic of strikes in the late fifties, organization activities fell off during the Civil War. When they were resumed after 1865 it was on a broader, more nearly national basis. New Jersey contributed to this widening through the work of Uriah Smith Stevens, a native of Cape May, who founded the Knights of Labor in Philadelphia in 1869. This organization (whose sessions were secret until after 1878) sought to form a national alliance of skilled and unskilled workers, women as well as men, but its progress was impeded for almost a decade by the results of the panic of 1873. One of the earliest New Jersey groups to join was that of the ship carpenters and caulkers of Camden, organized in 1873 as Local 31. Other State locals were formed by Trenton printers, Jersey City mechanics, and Newark brewery and leather workers.

During this period the State was the scene of two important events that indicated labor's rising strength. In 1877 the Socialist Labor Party, the oldest labor party in the country, was founded at Newark at the second convention of the so-called Working Men's Party of the United States. This early organization had grown from a union of various socialist groups (1874-6). In 1882 Peter McGuire, of Camden, and Matthew Maguire, of Jersey City, started to campaign for the establishment of an official Labor Day. Despite these significant trends, it was said in 1882 that the window glass workers of New Jersey constituted the only large body of workers in the State that had steadily maintained a trade organization throughout the previous 15 years.

Improved conditions after 1882 swelled the membership of the Knights of Labor, which more and more showed itself a forerunner of industrial unionism. It made rapid strides in railroads, textiles, hats, cigars, leather, machinery, and pottery. The organization reached its peak in the State in 1887 with an enrollment of 30,000 out of a total of 50,000 organized workers; 11,000 of these were in Newark alone.



A combination of causes brought about the sudden and swift downfall of the Knights. The looseness and latitude of the organization made strike operations difficult, and its leaders tended toward conciliation rather than militancy. More serious, however, were the external obstacles and internal wrangles arising from the invasion of mass production industries employing unskilled labor. In these fields the Knights lacked the strength to cope with the employers, who could

A. J. M.—Machine No. 5—October 4

RACK 21—SLIDE 60

GALLEY 34

2460—W. P. A. Guide—New Jersey—10 Int. Gara. on 12 x 25

easily dissuade immigrant labor from unionism and could use the new arrivals as strikebreakers. Finally, the advocates of the old craft union system bitterly and constantly fought the national policy.

These dissenting factions gradually made their way into the New American Federation of Labor which completed the local disintegration of the Knights by a vigorous push into the State shortly after 1890. The organization, set up on a craft union basis, was successful in unionizing the theatrical, printing, metal and building trades, although brewing and textile operatives were organized industrially. The federation concentrated on skilled workers and, although it became the official voice of labor in New Jersey, it generally neglected the mass production industries which dominated the State after 1900.

The most important struggles in New Jersey labor history have been the Paterson silk strike in 1912-13, under the leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World; the Passaic woolen and worsted strike of 1926, the first strike in the country in which acknowledged communists played a vital part in organization; and the Paterson silk and dye strikes of 1933 and 1934. Only the 1933 strike was notably successful. Both the silk workers' and dyers' unions won recognition, with pay increased from \$12 and \$13 weekly to \$18 and \$22 in the silk mills, and wages as low as 20 cents an hour in the dye houses raised to 66 cents.

Perhaps the most ruthless labor massacre in New Jersey occurred early in 1915 when "deputy sheriffs" hired from a Newark detective agency fired on an unarmed group of pickets standing outside of the Williams and Clark fertilizer factory at Carteret. A member of the local police force testified later to the peacefulness of the strikers, whose losses were 6 dead and 28 wounded. Twenty-two deputies were arrested on charges of manslaughter but were later released. The following year guards of the Standard Oil Company at Bayonne killed 8 and severely wounded 17 men. As with the Carteret killings, this assault outraged even the conservative press.

For about half a century the efforts of workers in New Jersey, as elsewhere in the United States, to form unions have been handicapped or crippled by the activities of industrial spies. The La Follette committee's report (1938) on violations of the rights of labor showed that 11 New Jersey corporations alone spent 12 percent of a \$9,440,132 national total for espionage, strikebreaking, munitioning, and similar activities in 1933-37.

At least 31 other New Jersey concerns were listed as clients of detective agencies that provide spy service. All of the widely known detective agencies had contracted with one or more New Jersey corporations to provide lists of union members or workers interested in unionization; or reports on union meetings; or armed guards for strikebreaking—or all of these services. In every important manufacturing city spies worked side by side with the employees, often taking a prominent part in union activities, and turning in daily reports that resulted in the sudden dismissal and blacklisting of an unestimated number of workers.

At present the New Jersey State Federation of Labor numbers approximately 200,000 dues-paying members, organized in about 1,000 local unions. There are 21 central labor bodies in the State, which include most of the A. F. of L. local unions in the respective county districts. Strongholds of organized labor are Newark, Passaic, Elizabeth, Trenton, Paterson, and Camden.

Of recent origin is the work of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which established a special North Jersey Council early in 1937, later supplanted by the Greater Newark Industrial Council. Similar councils have been set up in Trenton and Camden. The C. I. O., with a State-wide membership estimated (1937) at 130,000, is attempting to organize on an industry-wide basis thousands of workers who have been neglected by craft unions. The committee's immediate objectives in the State are the textile, steel, heavy machinery, and electrical industries.

Although Governor Harold Hoffman warned early in 1937 that he would tolerate no sit-down strikes involving the C. I. O., a number of such strikes, as well as ordinary walk-outs, have been called successfully. The organization's drive continued virtually unimpeded until December 1937 when it launched an offensive against the open-shop refuge of Jersey City. Police of that city seized distributors of literature, prevented mass meetings, and jailed organizers. However, in April 1938 the ban against the distribution of literature was lifted.

The American Newspaper Guild's successful strike in 1934-35 against the Newark Ledger (the Nation's first large-scale strike of newspapermen) not only established the Guild as a labor power but also broke ground for the subsequent C. I. O. drive to organize white-collar workers. Including the Guild, C. I. O. affiliates in this field late in 1937 numbered approximately 2,700 members. Among these were office, professional, and insurance workers, architects, engineers, chemists, and technicians, State and municipal employees, retail clerks, and professional medical workers. The A. F. of L. has also organized teachers and has retained a portion of the unionized office workers. An independent white-collar union is the State chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild.

Because New Jersey remains "The Garden State," the unionization of agricultural and allied workers constitutes an important labor objective. The first farm labor organization in the State developed in 1934 from a strike at Seabrook Farms in Cumberland County. Although the A. F. of L. subsequently chartered agricultural locals in three other counties, in 1937 the New Jersey membership of 1,500 helped to organize the international union of United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers, which immediately affiliated with the C. I. O.

To one other class of workers the C. I. O. opened wide the door to full-fledged unionism. In line with its drive for industrial unionism, the C. I. O. offered Negroes equal membership with whites and established locals in fields where Negro employees predominate. Organizers have been conspicuously successful with junk yard, novelty and felt, and domestic workers. The A. F. of L. responded by increasing the Negro membership of the International Union of Hod Carriers, Building, and Common Laborers and by organizing building service workers. The great mass of Negro labor, spread over light industry and mercantile establishments, still remains unorganized.

Union labor in New Jersey keeps vigilant watch on the entrance of "runaway shops." According to the State Federation of Labor, of 250 factories that moved to the State in 1936 approximately 200 were "fugitives" from trade union activities. Most of these shops were in the needle trades; a few manufactured cosmetics, hats, or textiles. They have invaded Essex, Passaic, Union, Hudson, Morris, and Monmouth Counties. In 1937 a runaway umbrella shop from New York was established in Boonton; union organizers signed up a majority of the underpaid girls, and a strike was called. The manufacturer moved to Pennsylvania, and again was harried by the union. He returned to Boonton, and finally went back to New York. There are many other instances of sweatshop operators being pursued across State lines.

Not so progressive as the labor legislation of New York, Massachusetts, or Wisconsin, New Jersey laws protective and favorable to labor have slowly increased since the impetus given 25 years ago by Woodrow Wilson. In 1932 the Consumers' League of New Jersey established a labor standards committee

J. A. E.—Machine 5—Oct. 4—Tuesday

RACK 21—SLIDE 61

GALLEY 35

2460—WPA—New Jersey—10 Int. Gara. on 12 x 25

which unites the efforts for labor legislation of a score of progressive organizations. In 1937 the State Federation of Labor cooperated with the Consumers' League, the New Jersey League of Women Voters, and the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs to secure an appropriation for the enforcement of the minimum wage statute and maximum hour law for women passed in 1933. A somewhat similar coalition succeeded in 1935 in having the legislature ratify the Federal Child Labor Amendment.

Progressive labor continues to struggle against the power of the Court of Chancery to grant injunctions in labor disputes. An anti-injunction bill was passed by the assembly in 1936 but was defeated in the senate. A major factor in the defeat, it is alleged, was the withdrawal of the traditional Democratic support for the bill on the ground that its passage would frighten industry from the State.



In common with other industrial States, New Jersey is faced with the problem of regulating industrial home work. The State department of labor licenses these operators, but it has not had sufficient funds to enforce even the meager health restrictions. The latest census shows that 5,000 operators have been licensed but since each family works under a single license, the total number of home workers may well be 15,000 or even 20,000. The median wage for this type of work is figured to be 9 cents per hour and the average family income \$2.60 weekly. Major home work products are dolls' clothing, knitted goods, and powder puffs. The legislature has to date failed to pass the industrial home work bill sponsored by the Consumers' League, which would drastically reduce health hazards and raise wage levels to those paid for similar employment in factories.

Undoubtedly this menace to legitimate industry and to the preservation of minimum wage standards accounts for a large number of New Jersey workers who earn a sub-subsistence wage. According to a survey completed in 1937 by the minimum wage division of the State labor department, 34,000 women and children receive less than \$5 weekly and 292,000 less than \$17.

After a generation of allying itself with either the Republican or Democratic parties, New Jersey labor took a step toward political independence in 1935 when Labor Party tickets entered the field in Essex and Passaic Counties. Although none of the nominees was elected, the action led to the formation of the State-wide Labor's Nonpartisan League the following year. Thus far the organization has endorsed two successful candidates in the Newark city election of 1937 (one of them Vincent J. Murphy, secretary of the State Federation of Labor), and held the balance of power in the last gubernatorial contest. The estimated 150,000 members of the League are expected to form the nucleus of the proposed State Labor Party.

Along with its quest for political independence, labor is seeking economic independence by joining professional and white-collar workers in cooperative enterprises. Cooperative leaders look to such economic activity to provide consumers with a means of controlling prices and the cost of living. Fifty years of effort in New Jersey resulted in the establishment by December 1936 of 240 consumer-producer cooperatives. Of these, 120 were credit unions; 42 agricultural purchasing organizations; and 26 urban food stores.

Consumer cooperatives, which chiefly sell groceries and fuel supplies, are strongest in the northern and central urban areas; producer cooperatives naturally center in the agricultural south. Jersey Homesteads, organized by the Resettlement Administration in 1935, is considered one of the most modern cooperative experiments in the United States. With a garment factory, gardens, and homes, it represents a fusion of the industrial, agricultural, and consumer interests of cooperative enterprise. This fusion typifies on a small scale the social goal of the cooperative movement.

#### AGRICULTURE

New Jersey is rightly called "the Garden State." Its truck farms, extending from the northern mountains to the southern plain, are mere garden patches when compared with the western prairies or southern plantations. But these gardens produce a large proportion of the fruits and vegetables consumed in New York and Philadelphia. For these millions as well as for its own, New Jersey has developed exceptionally prosperous small farms and some of the highest types of agricultural specialization.

The State has three main soil and topographical farm belts. Underlain largely with limestone and other glacial rock, the northern counties are hilly and in some places even mountainous. Here dairying and the raising of grains and other field crops predominate, with scattered centers for market gardening. Although found in all sections of the State, commercial poultry farms are concentrated in the northern and central areas.

In the middle counties are fertile loam lands, level or rolling, with a rich subsoil of green sand marl. Of first rank in this section are truck crops and potatoes. Grain, hay, fruits, and milk are secondary.

The southern counties of the level sandy coastal area contain, in addition to a broad expanse of pine barrens, large fertile areas that yield excellent apples, peaches, cranberries, and small fruits and vegetables. Peach blossoms in Burlington and Cumberland Counties make this section the agricultural show place of the State in spring.



When the early settlers arrived they found the Indians growing corn, pumpkins, gourds, tobacco, and beans. Taking a lesson from the natives, they cleared the lands, and with the help of seeds and livestock imported from the old country, soon made New Jersey an important agricultural colony.

Although its large wheat yield ranked New Jersey as one of the "bread colonies" before the Revolution, the farmers were already anticipating the present-day variety of products. Large farms had been established in the South on which Negro slaves performed most of the work. This system was readily adapted to flax-raising, a major pre-Revolutionary crop. Although white labor predominated in the North, Negroes were commonly seen in the small fields and large orchards, which produced fruits, vegetables, and cider. The hill country specialized in grazing, and about 1750 New Jersey was reckoned the leading sheep-raising Colony. By the time the armies of Washington and the British were criss-crossing the State, New Jersey offered a ready supply of horses and pork from the north, flour and grain from the central part, and fruits and thread materials from the south.

After the Revolution a period of serious depression was intensified on New Jersey farms by the ravages of the Hessian fly in the wheat fields. This was followed by a gradual upward trend in agriculture that reached fruition in the middle of the nineteenth century. During the next half century agricultural societies were formed in the several counties. Worn-out soils were restored by the use of marl, lime, and fertilizer, and crop yields soared.

J. M. R.—Sept. 27, 1938—Tuesday—Nite—Mach. No. 4

RACK 1—SLIDE 39

GALLEY 39

2457—W. P. A. GUIDE—MONTANA—10 Int. Garamond—25x12—

being the trefoil or cloverleaf window over the arch of the middle front doorway. Von Herbulis, European architect who helped design the Votive Church in Vienna, drew the plans.

Ranch buildings and summer homes in the mountains are usually of logs hewed, in most instances, on the interior surface only. The logs extend beyond the corners, where they are notched together, and are either sawed off uniformly or, if the ends are chopped, allowed to protrude at random. Outside chinking is usually of clay and gypsum; inside, of cedar strips. Old-style roofs are of cedar shakes nailed to poles placed lengthwise, but in recent construction rafters, board ceilings, and composition shingles are favored. There are examples of fine log work near Red Lodge, at Swan and Flathead Lakes, and around Lake McDonald (see *Glacier National Park*). The slightly modified Swiss chalets of Glacier Park have a rightness in relation to their setting that nothing in the State, unless it be the old-fashioned prairie sod house, has ever equaled.

## NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO

### NEWSPAPERS

The first news sheet published in Montana (name unknown) was printed in Virginia City in January 1864 on a small press brought by an ox team from Denver. Wilbur F. Sanders was the editor; John A. Creighton, who later founded Creighton University at Omaha, was printer's devil.

The *News Letter*, a small paper printed by Francis M. Thompson, appeared in Bannack two or three months later. The press was hand operated and used mostly for business purposes; no copy of the short-lived *News Letter* is extant.

The first newspaper of consequence was the *Montana Post*, published by John Buchanan and M. M. Manner. Arriving in Virginia City in 1864—after an adventurous trip on the steamer *Yellowstone* from St. Louis to Fort Benton—they set up their equipment in a cabin cellar. The events of the trip were the chief matter of the first two issues, but the publishers planned wide news service. An introductory editorial said: "We have correspondents in the various mining camps, who will keep our readers well posted on what is going on in . . . our young and rapidly growing territory." The first issue appeared August 27, 1864; the 960 copies sold quickly at 50¢ each, usually in gold dust. Before the third issue, Buchanan and Manner sold out for \$3,000.

The Republican *Montana Post* was followed in 1865 by another Virginia City weekly, the *Montana Democrat*. The publisher freighted all his supplies from Salt Lake City.

The *Lewiston Radiator* (1865) was Helena's first newspaper. Press and supplies were brought across the snowy passes by mule train from Idaho's

Snake River country. At first independent, it became a Republican organ, the *Helena Herald*.

Other gold camp weeklies were the *Rocky Mountain Gazette* (Helena, 1866), the *Independent* (Deer Lodge, 1867), the *New Northwest* (Deer Lodge, 1868), and the Missoula and Cedar Creek *Pioneer* (Missoula, 1870), which later became the *Daily Missoulian*. The *Independent* became one of the strongest advocates of Helena in the impending capital-location fight.

These early newspapers, filled with zestful matter pertaining to gold strikes, Indian raids, hold-ups, and range affairs, held up a faithful mirror to frontier life, but they softened the reflection a little in dealing with politics. They were eagerly received, for printed matter was scarce. News from the East came most quickly through Salt Lake City, whose newspapers, brought in by stage were much clipped by Montana editors.

Railroad building brought a boom in newspaper publications, as towns sprang up along the routes; but it did not last long, and several papers reversed the usual order of newspaper evolution by becoming weeklies after having been dailies. The Livingston *Enterprise* started as a daily when the construction crews approached in 1883, became a weekly when the boom collapsed the following year, and did not return to daily publication until 1912.

In the turbulent 1890's, W. A. Clark and Marcus Daly fought for control of public opinion and acquired ownership or control of most of the influential publications. Copper-knuckled editorials followed. In Billings, whose first newspaper had adopted the hard-boiled slogan, "We did not come to Montana for our health," Shelby E. Dillard was editor of the *Vociferator* and a sharp critic of public affairs. A story is told of Dillard that illustrates his high-pressure methods of obtaining money from political factions. On one occasion he wired the head of an influential organization: "I must have \$200 by tomorrow or hell will begin to pop." The check apparently arrived, and Dillard celebrated so diligently that he forgot to print any further issues of the *Vociferator*.

Animosities among the powerful papers subsided as their economic interests began to grow identical. Lesser journals continued in the pugnacious tradition of the earlier press, but their alignment changed from one of owning faction to one of public interest against corporate interests. After 1917 Bill Dunne issued more or less regularly the small and sometimes violent, but always vital, Butte *Daily Bulletin*, to the occasional discomfiture of the reigning powers and at almost constant risk to his own life and health. For years after the *Bulletin's* suspension for lack of funds, Montana had no aggressively independent daily, but scattered weeklies carried on the fight.

"It is doubtful," wrote Oswald Garrison Villard in the *Nation*, July 9, 1930, "if in any other State the press is . . . so deeply involved in the great economic struggle . . . at the bottom of our political life." He declared that the same corporation "generously runs both Republican and Democratic dailies," and that in Missoula a single versatile editor wrote at one time the arguments for both sides. In 1928 W. A. Clark, Jr., launched the *Montana Free Press*, at first a very promising effort to achieve journalistic independence on an effective scale; but the expenses of the paper were ruinous, and he gave it up within a year. Of the independent weekly newspapers the *Producers' News*, the most outspoken, closed its shop at Plentywood (see Tour 2) early in 1937 after twenty years of activity had made it nationally known. The *Montana Labor News* and the *Eye Opener*, published at Butte, are the chief surviving organs of labor opinion in the State.

Butte has a morning paper and an evening paper without Sunday edition. This pattern is repeated in Great Falls, Missoula, and Helena. Of 120 newspapers published 20 are dailies.

—JACOBSON—Machine No. 4—September 26 (night)

RACK 27—SLIDE 97

GALLEY 22

2457—W. P. A.—MONTANA—10 Int. Garamond on 10 and 12 by 25

increased 365 percent. This record was never approached again. Later census reports—up to 1930—show that, although the State's growth was still rapid, it became steadily less so; from 1890 to 1900 the increase was 70 percent; from 1900 to 1910 nearly 55 per cent; from 1910 to 1920, about 46 per cent. Then, as drought and inequalities struck hard at the farmers, and activity in the State's chief industries slumped, the movement of population changed its direction; from 1920 to 1930 there was a decline of slightly more than 2 per cent.

Politically Montana has been somewhat unpredictable during its entire period of Statehood. Since 1900 it has invariably cast its electoral votes for the win-



ning Presidential candidate; but, while all but two of its Governors have been Democrats, a majority of the other elective State offices—up to 1933—was held by Republicans. In the face of great exertions made by corporate power in civic affairs Montanans have been sympathetic to labor's point of view and inclined to support candidates and policies that seemed to promise something in the way of betterment for the common people; they have been prone to consider and try out experiments and have given at least temporary support to many anism; a few of these they have retained, adapted, and made workable.

Socially significant laws include those on compulsory school attendance (1887) and child labor (1907); the initiative and referendum (1907) and the direct primary (1912); and special laws which protect the health of women at work and provide for an eight-hour day (1917) and equal wages to men and women for identical work. Under the Workmen's Compensation Act (1915) graduated compensation is paid to those injured in industry, and employers are required to contribute to an insurance fund. An inheritance-tax law imposing graduated assessments was passed in 1923, the moneys received to go into educational, conservational, and general funds. A year later the people initiated and passed a law imposing a tax of one-fourth of one per cent on the gross production of metal mines. Laws on grain grading and marketing (1915), livestock and fruit inspection, hail insurance (1917), and education through extension service have aided agriculture. Traffic laws were first passed in 1905, and the State highway commission was created in 1913. A gasoline tax of five cents (1931) pays for construction of hard-surfaced roads. A planning board, created in 1934, is studying means of bringing resources of the State into more extended use. A highway patrol system was inaugurated in 1935.

The State government is of an old, not particularly centralized type; but, since the passage of House Bill 65 (often called the "Hitler Bill") by the 1937 Legislature, the power to hire and fire all appointive State employees (even including stenographers)—with the other powers that this implies—has been concentrated in the hands of the Governor. Montana has two executive bodies not common to all States: a special livestock commission of six members appointed to protect the livestock interests of the State, and a water conservation board whose special interest is irrigation.

In 1916 Jeannette Rankin of Missoula was elected to Congress as the Representative of the western district. She took her seat as the Nation's first Congresswoman the following spring, in the special session which met to declare war on Germany. At first—according to Walter Millis' *Road to War* (1935)—she did not vote. Then "Uncle Joe" Cannon urged her, "You cannot afford not to vote. You represent the womanhood of the country in the American Congress." "At last," says Millis, "she rose \* \* \* looking straight ahead, 'I want,' she said \* \* \* 'to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war \* \* \* I vote No.'" Then she "fell back into her seat, pressed her forehead, and began to cry." Her action was widely denounced as discreditable to women and to women's participation in politics, and, from an opposite point of view, as widely acclaimed.

Montanans have a fairly warlike tradition. Many of the pioneers were veterans of the Civil War, or had fought Indians. The First Regiment of Montana Infantry won high praise in the Philippines, and their flag in 1905 became the official State flag. The Second Montana Infantry served four and one-half months on the Mexican border in 1916, and in 1917 sailed for France as part of the 163rd Regiment. Montana troops fought at Cantigny, Chateau Thierry, and the Argonne, winning 54 Distinguished Service crosses. In the Argonne the war cry of the Ninety-first became famous, "(We're from) Powder River; let 'er buck!"

In the early 1920's, while oil and gas fields were being discovered in Montana, oil was indirectly responsible for bringing into Nation-wide prominence two Montana Senators, Thomas J. Walsh and Burton K. Wheeler. Walsh, who led the investigation that unearthed the illegal Teapot Dome lease and other irregular leases of naval oil lands, had been Senator from Montana for years; after this episode he became known as the inquisitorial genius of the United States Senate and one of the best legal minds in the Nation. In 1933 he was chosen for the post of Attorney-General in the Cabinet of Franklin D. Roosevelt, but died suddenly before taking office. Senator Wheeler became the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Progressive ticket headed by Robert M. La Follette in 1924. When this ticket was defeated he continued as Senator from Montana. In 1937 he acted as spokesman for the group in Congress that opposed the President's court reform plan.



Montana recovered slowly from the depression of the early 1930's; adverse factors included a drought of unprecedented length. Great aids to the State, however, were Federal projects such as Fort Peck Dam and lesser undertakings, and large Federally sponsored programs of soil conservation, irrigation, rural electrification, insect control, and construction of roads, parks, and recreational facilities, under such agencies as the Public Works Administration and Works Progress Administration. In 1935 Helena suffered disastrous earthquakes. Several lives were lost and property damage ran to \$4,000,000. Business revival and great activity in mining and oil districts were observed in 1936 and 1937; mines and ore-reduction plants operated at capacity. Eastern Montana, at the same time, was subjected to extreme drought. In the autumn of 1937 some of the Butte mines suspended operations although the owners reported high profits; others followed until, early in the summer of 1938, only one or two remained in operation. In contrast to the gloom in industrial Butte, there was joy in the State's agricultural districts as a rainy summer had brought to maturity the best crops in ten years.

#### ETHNIC GROUPS

Many of the early trappers engaged in the Montana fur trade were French-Indian; the managers of the companies were usually English or Scottish, and several of them, who married Indian women, left descendants of mixed blood. Most of the people who poured in when gold was found were native whites from the Midwest and East; those who rushed to the Butte silver and copper ledges were largely German and Irish. Between 1880 and 1900 many immigrants helped build railroads, then turned to farming and lumbering. Thousands of Germans and Scandinavians settled in the dry-land sections after 1900.

The CHAIRMAN. I have prepared some extracts from these galleys which I should like to make a part of the record at this time. I have only picked a few of the extracts from these Guides, to show the types of statements that are placed in publications supposed to be impartial. All of these are from official publications of the United States Government, paid for by those who pay taxes into the Federal Government.

(The extracts referred to are as follows:)

#### EXTRACTS FROM GALLEYS

A combination of causes brought about the sudden and swift downfall of the Knights (Knights of Labor). The looseness and latitude of the organization made strike operations difficult, and its leaders tended toward conciliation rather than militancy. \* \* \* In these fields the Knights lacked the strength to cope with the employers, who could easily dissuade immigrant labor from unionism and could use the new arrivals as strikebreakers. Finally, the advocates of the old craft union system bitterly and constantly fought the national policy.

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The State government is of an old, not particularly centralized type; but, since the passage of House bill 65 (often called the "Hitler bill") by the 1937 legislature, the power to hire and fire all appointive State employees (even including stenographers) with the other powers that this implies—has been concentrated in the hands of the Governor.

In 1916 Jeannette Rankin of Missoula was elected to Congress as the Representative of the western district. \* \* \* (Then follows a description of her

vote against war.) Her action (in voting against war) was widely denounced as discreditable to women and to women's participation in politics, and, from on opposite point of view, as widely acclaimed.

Montanans have a fairly warlike tradition.

In the autumn of 1937 some of the Butte mines suspended operations although the owners reported high profits.

### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF SAM BARON

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baron, I believe you had concluded your statement with reference to Spain and you were going to tell us this morning about some other activities of the Communists, especially as they relate to front organizations. Will you proceed?

Mr. BARON. Before I do that I think at this time I will answer the questions put to me at various times through the hearing as to my understanding of the differences between socialism and communism. First, as to the economic differences, or rather pertaining to the economic, both the Socialist and the Communist movements want to replace the capitalist economy with that of a cooperative commonwealth, which is a Socialist economy.

The distinctions between the two philosophies are that the Communist philosophy calls for extreme socialization, the Socialist philosophy for moderate socialization. I am going to do this in brief form, because you can speak on this subject for hours.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. BARON. The next item is how to accomplish the replacing of the capitalist economy. The Socialist movement has always taught faith in democratic procedure and seeks to change our economy through the use of the ballot. On the other hand, the Communist movement predicts that only through an uprising of the people and through force and violence will the capitalist economy be replaced.

Mr. STARNES. It is the difference between ballots and bullets?

Mr. BARON. I leave that to the committee.

The third item is how a Socialist state shall be governed. Socialists believe that socialism without democracy is not socialism. The Communist philosophy calls for a dictatorship of their party over all; and, naturally, when you have a dictatorship of a party, it becomes a dictatorship of its highest body and naturally results in the dictatorship of one person, as evidenced in Soviet Russia, where Joseph Stalin is the dictator of that nation.

The Socialists claim and insist that the economic solution is not one by itself, but it must be in conjunction with other things. For instance, we can all get three meals a day in any prison. That is an economic solution, but certainly it is not a solution for civilization, and therefore, no matter how much you prattle about idealism, as long as you have dictatorship, it results in what you see in Soviet Russia.

On religion: The Socialists have always taught religious tolerance and have only criticized the church when, in its judgment, it thought that the church was being used as a bulwark to protect the vested interests of a particular nation.

The Communists have taught that religion is the opium of the people and in practice we can turn to Soviet Russia and see what has happened to religion there. But do not think that religion is



entirely out of the picture in Soviet Russia, because they have a new religion. They have set up Stalin to be worshipped.

On war: Socialists are unequivocally against war as an implement or as a method to settle any problems, especially the age-old, Old World problems. The Communists at the present time are bending every effort to bring about an alignment of forces which will mean that the United States is on the side of Soviet Russia in a coming war.

Mr. STARNES. Do you not think the Communists would like really to align the democracies against the dictator nations, and let them fight a war to exhaustion, after which communism would be the prevailing power in the world? Is not that what is really in back of their minds?

Mr. BARON. Would the committee wait until I get through with my explanations, and then if you want to ask me questions, I will answer them.

Class war: Class war is an exaggerated term, but let us accept the term and I would state that such a war exists in every nation of the world where the capital economy is practiced; and that every time you have a strike anywhere in the world, that strike is a clash of interests between the employer, who seeks the greatest amount of profit out of his investment, and the employee, who seeks the greatest return for his labor.

The Socialist movement teaches the working class that it must think in terms of its class interest; that when workers do not invite their employer to administrate their economic organizations, their trade unions, so should not the workers in their political activities vote for representatives of their employers, but they should vote for representatives of their class.

The Communists teach in more violent terms, as has been proven in Soviet Russia, that the owning class must be exterminated. The distinction there is again a matter of emphasis on violence as against teaching the working class to take intelligent political action.

Of course, all my opinions of the Communist philosophy are qualified in only this one respect, that in the last 2 years the Communist movement is operating under a sedative, a sedative prescribed by Moscow. In other words, it is their opinion that their main objective—that is, the people's front and collective security—can be enhanced if the fundamental propositions of the Communist movement are put in the background. And so you see the phenomenon of Communists talking in terms of 100-percent Americanism, wrapping the American flag around them and are as patriotic as anybody possibly can be. That is the only qualification that I have to make.

I am through with the definitions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That new policy is not a sincere policy; they have not abandoned any of their fundamental convictions. That is merely an expediency, is it not?

Mr. BARON. Absolutely an expediency; and as I go on into the question of security, I will bring that out definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. One more question I want to ask you. Do the Socialists teach class hatred, that the employee should hate the employers as a class?

Mr. BARON. No; not at all. You do not look upon an employer and say he must be exterminated, he is our enemy. The Socialist movement accepts the fact that the human being is operating under a certain economy and if he is an employer or a worker, he has his position in that economy. We have no personal hatred against an individual because he is an employer.

The CHAIRMAN. How does that compare with the Communist attitude?

Mr. BARON. The Communist attitude, as I have said before, has been an emphasis upon the fact that this class as a class must be exterminated.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask you some questions. You said a moment ago that the Socialists did not believe in war as an instrument in settling international disputes.

Mr. BARON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, as a policy?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That is not true of the Communist Party. They are only against what they call imperialist wars, is not that correct?

Mr. BARON. They are not against imperialist war any longer. This new philosophy cuts across all lines. Their old philosophy of being against imperialist war has been changed of necessity, because Soviet Russia is threatened. Soviet Russia is threatened by Germany and Soviet Russia is threatened by Japan and they would just as leave England go into a war of an imperialist nature in order to defend the interests of Soviet Russia. That is why the lines have been cut away.

Mr. STARNES. I come back to the question that I asked you a moment ago, when I interrupted your prepared statement, and it was this: Frankly, the Communists would be glad to array the dictator nations of the Fascist and Nazi types against existing democracies, and let those nations fight a war of exhaustion or extermination in order to prepare the way for world-wide communism, is not that true?

Mr. BARON. No; I would not say that.

Mr. STARNES. You would not say that?

Mr. BARON. No; I would not say that because I think Soviet Russia is sincere in this respect, that if Germany and Japan want to keep the peace they are only too anxious to keep the peace. What Soviet Russia fears is that Germany and Japan do not want to keep the peace. And I agree with them. Therefore Soviet Russia's objective is to get as many allies as possible.

Personally, my opinion is that a war cannot settle these problems. You cannot do what we failed to do in 1914; we cannot save the world, save democracy in 1938 when we did not save it in 1914. And so for the United States to become involved in the economic problems of the Old World, that go behind all the ideological differences, whether they be Nazi or whether they be Fascist or whether they be Communist—the economic problem that is generated is the same as it was in 1914.

Mr. STARNES. I come back, though, to this thought. Communism in the ultimate is just as violently opposed to democracy as it is to fascism and nazi-ism?

Mr. BARON. Absolutely. I have testified to that all the way through.

Mr. STARNES. Well, I did not hear all of that testimony.

Mr. BARON. There is no doubt about it. They are as totalitarian as any other movement, whether it be called Nazi or Fascist.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Baron.

Mr. BARON. Now, I kept referring to collective security throughout my talk. I want to point out that under this seductive slogan is what I call propaganda for war.

Of course, the members of the committee know Earl Browder. He is what I call a super-super 150-percent patriot. He testified before a legislative committee in New York that in the event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia he would fight on the side of the United States—a super-super 150-percent patriot.

Earl Browder is the secretary of the Communist Party in the United States. The Communist Party is a section of the Communist International whose headquarters are in Moscow, Russia. The head of the Communist International is Dimitrov, and the head of the foreign office of Soviet Russia is Litvinoff. I do not know who sits in whose lap, whether the head of the foreign office sits in the lap of the head of the Communist International or whether the head of the Communist International sits in the lap of the head of the foreign office.

Mr. Earl Browder on yesterday said that the Communist Party of the United States does not take orders from Moscow, and in that statement he took time out to again propagandize the American public on the holy war under the seductive slogan of selective security when he pointed out that what we needed at the present time was for our democratic nations to get together.

I just referred to that in passing to show that the Communist movement, day in and day out, is working for this purpose of involving the United States in a war on the side of Soviet Russia.

Not only in this statement but several months ago Earl Browder had occasion to write an article for the *New Republic*, a weekly publication, and in that article he told the people of the United States—and he wrote so graphically that you could visualize the Japanese already on the shores of California taking over valuable properties and land resources—but, amazingly enough, he did not mention anything about the sanctity, or, rather, he did not mention the sanctity of the home and virtue of our women.

What Earl Browder was bringing out in his article was that we have more to fear from Japan than has Soviet Russia, and that any person in the United States who thinks that the United States is fighting for Soviet Russia when it fights Japan is making a mistake, because the United States has more danger involved from a Japanese invasion than has Soviet Russia. Any day now I expect Earl Browder to produce a letter from William Randolph Hearst which would say as follows: "I thought I knew all about the Japanese menace, but you have me topped"; and signed, "Yours for a people's front against Japanese aggression, William Randolph Hearst."

I would also indicate to the committee the kind of propaganda that is going through this country. For instance, I have here a leaflet published by the Young Communist League of America. This leaflet was published at the time of the *Panay* incident. On the face of this leaflet you have a ship that is going down, which is supposed to be the



*Panay*. It has two smokestacks and it has about four decks. In other words, to look at this picture of the *Panay* you might think that it was some great passenger ship going down under Japanese bombs. I quote from that leaflet, as follows:

The sinking of *Panay* in Chinese waters, an American boat; the *Panay* is cruising peacefully on its errand of mercy for American refugees.

Overhead fly death-dealing Japanese planes, a typical sight in the invasion of China.

I do not have to tell you how I feel about Japanese imperialism, and I do not have to tell you about what I think of Adolf Hitler, because I am a Jew. It should be self-evident that I am unalterably opposed to this vulturous form of society, but when this type of propaganda fails to mention that the *Panay* was a gunboat, that the *Panay* was escorting tankers of the Standard Oil Co., it is promulgating propaganda to inflame the minds of the American public, and drive them into a war situation.

Morrie Ryskind, one of the highest paid Hollywood writers, has been referred to before this committee in some indirect manner, leaving the impression that Morrie Ryskind was being used by the Communist movement, and the suspicion was that Morrie Ryskind was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall any such testimony as that.

Mr. BARON. I will add this, that Morrie Ryskind wrote an article for the Nation, in which he referred to it. His name evidently appeared on some stationery that was submitted in connection with the Communist Party, and it was concluded that naturally he was a Communist. I will put that in two parts: One is that Morrie Ryskind, whom I know personally, has said he is not a Communist, and never has been a worker of the Communist Party. At the same time, I will put into the record a letter he wrote, in which he not only gives his own word as to the Communist Party problem, but, also, on the question of collective security. This letter to the "University against war" group, or rather, published by the Columbia University Youth Committee Against War, reads as follows:

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER: First, let me thank you for your kind note. During my teens and twenties, it always made me feel good to get an appreciative slap on the back from my elders; now that the forties are upon me, it feels even better to get a word of praise from the younger generation.

I am sorry to say that at the moment I'm involved in a writing assignment that should keep me busy for the next 2 months. That means that I'll not be able to do an article for you, and I can add that I regret this far more than you. And not because I think my article would be important, but because I think every voice lifted against the Communist line for collective security is a vote against war.

They don't have to prove the world is round to me. I stand almost exactly where I stood in 1917. In those days the boys on the right were yelling that this was a war to make the world safe for democracy. I didn't think it was and the results seem to justify me. We traded the Kaiser for Hitler, and Nicholas for Stalin.

Today, curiously enough, it's the boys on the left who demand war; of course, their war is different; their war will make the world really safe for democracy. And if, in the course of it, many Americans die, what of it? What are lives compared to the C. P. line?

No, thanks, says I. A plague on both their houses; a plague on the Fascists of the right and the Fascists of the left. I'm in favor of adopting the Communist technique of the united front. I want a united front against both Communist and Fascist warmongers. And I want American lives saved, and not

thrown to the dogs of war in order to save the economic security of the totalitarian states.

And, after all, I couldn't say more in 1,500 words.

Yours,

MORRIE RYSKIND.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, let us move on.

Mr. BARON. I have one more example, which will take but a minute, to show what length Communists will go to in impugning our position on the program for collective security. I quote from *An Appeal to Socialist Voters*, published by the New York State Committee of the Communist Party:

A vote for Thomas is in effect an aid to Fascist aggressors—a helping hand to the American Chamberlains.

Now, of the two organizations, aside from the Communist Party of America and the Young Communist League, which are Communist-controlled, I think by far the greatest work in behalf of this program is by the League for Peace and Democracy, and the American Students' Union. Both of those organizations are Communist-controlled, but I want the committee to definitely understand that when I say an organization is Communist-controlled, I do not for a minute imply that every individual connected with the organization is a Communist. There are many honest people in public life who really believe that these organizations stand for all their titles say. I do not think that Americans know what these organizations actually constitute, and the danger of calling everybody connected with these organizations a Communist is self-evident. I believe that this is a serious item. Permit me to state to the committee that the American Civil Liberties Union is not Communist, and that Roger N. Baldwin is not a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he is not a Communist, meaning that he is not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BARON. He is not a member of the Communist Party, nor does he follow the Communist line in any particular.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with his statement wherein he said that communism was the goal, are you not? Are you familiar with that statement?

Mr. BARON. I do not know what statement you refer to.

The CHAIRMAN. His statement in the Harvard College Class Book of the class of 1905, published in 1935. That is his own article, in which he says that the capitalist system is doomed and that communism is the goal.

Mr. BARON. I do not have that statement before me. I do not know anything about that statement, but I will give you what I think is sufficient evidence to show that the American Civil Liberties Union is not Communist or communistic, nor is Roger N. Baldwin a Communist. The members of the committee must know that there is no intention upon my part to hide Communists, wherever they are. I want to bring out the facts.

Mr. STARNES. Do you say that the International Labor Defense is not communistic?

Mr. BARON. I will speak on that, because the International Labor Defense has nothing in line with the American Civil Liberties Union. They do not run on parallel lines. In that connection, I will call your attention to the case of Fred E. Beall: Fred E. Beall was con-

nected with the Gastonia strike, and was indicted for some crime committed in connection with the strike. He was out on bail, jumped bail, and fled to Soviet Russia. After a time in Soviet Russia, he saw what the Communist Party or communism is in actual practice, and he became thoroughly disgusted with it. He came back to the United States, and when he came back to the United States, of course, he denounced Browder and the movement, and after that the Communists went after him as they did no other man. Subsequently, Fred E. Beall was picked up in a New England State. A committee was organized in his behalf, but the Communists violently denounced him and did everything in their power to get him in bad. The proof of that is here in a copy of the New Leader publication, under the headlines, "Communists turn on pressure to keep Beall in jail." I submit to the committee that no Communist would dare come out in defense of Fred Beall, but Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, is on record in the defense of Fred Beall. No Communist was permitted to do that, but they did it.

Now, the second illustration—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Did not the International Labor Defense defend some Nazis?

Mr. BARON. Never; no, sir. Let me get through with my answer to that question: The second illustration is the business of violently breaking up Nazi meetings, which happened in New Jersey, at Union City, and other places. The Communist group, plus certain so-called veterans organizations, broke those meetings up, but Roger N. Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union came out in defense in the right of free speech in this country. No Communist would dare do that.

The third illustration is this: I sat on the executive committee with Roger N. Baldwin. That is the executive committee of the North American Committee to Aid the Spanish Democracy. Individual Communists in the organization, although the organization is not a Communist one, came to the North American Committee and tried to impose upon this organization a political line in reference to Loyalist Spain—a line that was pro-Communist. Roger N. Baldwin, in conjunction with myself, fought that tooth and nail, and we defeated them. Of course, no Communist would be permitted to do that.

So I submit to the members of the committee that the greatest danger in the United States, in fighting the Communist menace and fighting the Fascist menace, is to take every one in this picture and label him as a Communist or communistic, because the net result is that the people who want to reach throughout the whole thing say, "This is utterly impossible," and, therefore, the Communist movement gains by it.

Mr. STARNES. You brought up a point right there, and that is that many of these people, or a majority of the people in these organizations, are not supporting the activities of the Communist Party.

Mr. BARON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And therein lies the greatest danger.

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. They are inclined to laugh and ridicule any threat of Communists or insidious movements.

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir. I want to answer the question this way: The Communist movement has a slogan that communism is twen-



tieth century Americanism. My answer to that slogan is that communism is twentieth century double talk. In other words, they do not reveal themselves to the public, which shows lack of confidence. It is more like racketeers who will use something which will not identify them.

Mr. STARNES. That is the point. As you say, the movement does not reveal itself to the public.

Mr. BARON. They have a seductive slogan, which does not reveal the Communist movement.

Mr. STARNES. They never wear a distinctive uniform, or drill with wooden rifles, or any other sort of rifles.

Mr. BARON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we go from that subject, let me make this statement: This committee, and no member of it, has ever charged that a majority of the members of those front organizations are Communists. As a matter of fact, I have repeatedly stated that, so far as the evidence is concerned, it shows that a majority in the American League for Peace and Democracy, and a majority of the members of the C. I. O., and all those organizations, are loyal, patriotic Americans. There has been no such effort on the part of this committee. While on the subject of the Civil Liberties Union, I want to call your attention to this statement of Mr. Roger Baldwin. This is his own statement, and not what someone has said for him. You say he is not a Communist, and does not believe in communism, but here is his own statement, and this shows whether he believes in communism. I am reading from the statement of Roger Nash Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, appearing in the Harvard Class Book, published in 1935:

My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profits, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I see social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal.

That is one excerpt that was placed in the record the other day. There is another article written for the Fight magazine.

Mr. BARON. What was the date of that?

The CHAIRMAN. 1935. We put in the record a few days ago an article written by Roger Baldwin for Fight, and if it is not of a communistic character, nothing can be classified as such, because he has followed on the whole line of communism.

Further, as you know, in 1924 the United Mine Workers and Mr. John L. Lewis filed a report on the subject of communism in the United States, and in speaking of the Communist organization, they have this to say:

Illustrative of this arrangement is the executive committee of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, at New York, posing as the champion of free speech and civil liberties, but serving as a forerunner and trail blazer for the active and insidious activities of the Communists among labor organizations. Harry F. Ward, born in London in 1873 and chancellor of the Union Theological Seminary, is chairman of this organization. The managing director is Roger Baldwin, who served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County jail in New Jersey in 1918 and 1919.

They go ahead and set forth the directors and leaders in this organization, and the number of Communists is predominant. That is not a statement from this committee, but it is the statement of Mr.

Lewis and the United Mine Workers organization. That is Senate Document No. 14. Furthermore, we have in the record some documentary evidence on that line that I would like to call attention to. It is very voluminous. Much of it deals with the American Civil Liberties Union, classifying the directors, and from the beginning on down, you will find among them many well-known Communists. They were people who have contributed money to many of these organizations. They contributed money to the International Labor Defense, and they have contributed money to various known Communist organizations.

. Therefore when you say that the American Civil Liberties Union and Roger Baldwin are not communistic, at least this much can be said, that, in view of the words of Mr. Baldwin and others connected with him, they favor communism. I do not want to enter into any dispute about it, but I am calling attention to this documentary evidence, which is stronger in the case of the American Civil Liberties Union than in the case of some other front organizations. You will find many pages of it, if you want to go back to the beginning of this documentary proof. There are reports and there are publications regarding their activities and what they say about themselves. You will find some far-reaching statements which would lead anyone to believe that they are a Communist organization.

Now, you were to tell us something about the International Labor Defense.

Mr. BARON. The International Labor Defense, as I have said before, is a Communist organization in the Civil Liberties field, but the personal political opinions of members of the Communist Party organization who belong to the Civil Liberties Union do not, I submit, make that organization a Communist organization, nor, for instance, do members of the Ku Klux Klan, who are likewise members of the Democratic Party, make the Democratic Party a Ku Klux Klan organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody is charging that; but as to this being a front organization——

Mr. BARON. It is not a front organization, I submit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean the International Labor Defense?

Mr. BARON. No, sir; the American Civil Liberties Union. What you have done here, Mr. Chairman, is to go into their individual opinions. Now, for instance, a statement made 18 years ago is not to me documentary proof, nor is the statement made by a person that communism is the goal is, of necessity, proof that it is a front of a given organization. That is the vital point.

The CHAIRMAN. But when you have the statement of a person showing what he says about it, it is different. There was an article in Fight magazine, which I read in full a few days ago, in which Mr. Baldwin espoused practically everything on the Communist Party line, what they advocate in reference to war, property, and so forth. When you take that, it at least raises a question in your mind as to just what he believes in. In addition to that, if you will read the documentary evidence here dealing with the numerous directors, starting from the beginning, you will find that a large number of them are Communists. When you take that, at least very much can be said as to the Communist Party members of the organization, whether they dominate all the activities or not.

Mr. BARON. Which is important.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is important?

Mr. BARON. Whether the Communists dominate the activities. That is the important thing before you, and I submit again that the American Civil Liberties Union is not a front organization for the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us pass on to the International Labor Defense.

Mr. BARON. In order to continue with the point I was making, here, for instance, in your statement where you characterize certain organizations as front organizations, you have listed the League for Industrial Democracy. I have been personally associated and acquainted with the League for Industrial Democracy, and it is not in any sense of the word a front organization of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, the Communist Party has done everything in the world to try to destroy that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me show you some of the evidence on that organization. What is it called?

Mr. BARON. The League for Industrial Democracy. May I suggest that I go on with the organizations I know not to be Communist front organizations, so we may have them at one time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BARON. The next organization which I hold and contend is not a Communist front organization is the North American Committee for Spanish Democracy.

Another organization is the American National Socialist Party, by which I think the chairman meant the Socialist Party of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. No, no. This is an organization that was recently formed—a small organization, advocating revolution.

Mr. BARON. Then you do not mean the Socialist Party of the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. BARON. Then I withdraw that.

The CHAIRMAN. It is an entirely different organization.

Mr. BARON. Those are the only two organizations that I wish to make my statement on—that they are not “front” organizations to my personal knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read you something on this League for Industrial Democracy. You say you served on the board once?

Mr. BARON. Of which?

The CHAIRMAN. Of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Mr. BARON. No; on the North American Committee, I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, go ahead with your statement.

Mr. BARON. Before identifying certain individuals who are operating in public organizations and concealing their identities, I would like the record to show also, as one being present during the time that Norman Thomas was forcibly removed from Jersey City, and upon his second deportation—I was deported with him, on the same train—that the statement made before your committee that the incidents that occurred in Jersey City in relation to Mayor Hague were Communist inspired is not true.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know of any statement having been made to that effect before the committee.



MR. STARNES. The statement was made in the New York City hearings that members of the Federal Writers' Project who were known Communists were in Jersey City helping to make publicity arrangements, and other arrangements for the meetings there. I do not recall that it was for the Norman Thomas meeting, but I think it was for a couple of Members of the Congress, as I recall it now.

In other words, the testimony was not that the Communists themselves set it up, but they said they were members of the Federal Writers' Project, who were open and aboveboard members of the Communist Party—they made no denial of it—who were over in Jersey City helping to arrange the details for the meeting and to help handle publicity for the meeting.

MR. BARON. Mr. Starnes, I am going to refer to that which you have mentioned and show just what connection the Communists had with it. But the press in New York did carry statements flowing from the testimony of these individuals, giving the impression that this thing was a Communist idea, Communist inspired, and a Communist plot.

And I want to keep the record straight. The only thing the Communist movement had to do with that affair was when the I. L. D.—the International Labor Defense—brought those two Congressmen from the far West to speak at Jersey City; and then the International Labor Defense stuck their toes in the water and found it too hot, and they ran. But aside from that, Norman Thomas, and, as I contend, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers' Defense League, and the C. I. O., are not "fronts" for the Communists and were not operating in the interests of the Communist Party.

That is the only thing I want to say on that question.

MR. STARNES. For the sake of the record, there was no testimony to the effect that the Communist Party or, as I recall it, that even Communists were sponsors for the Norman Thomas meeting or had anything to do with it. That testimony that was given there was given by a member of the Writers' Project in New York City, and he testified that he was asked to go over there himself by other members of the Federal Writers' Project and to help on publicity and arrange details for these two Congressmen. That was the testimony.

MR. BARON. Yes; on the Congressmen. That is right. I agree with you. I do not dispute that.

MR. MOSIER. Who did you say brought the two Congressmen to Jersey City?

MR. BARON. The I. L. D.—the International Labor Defense, which is Communist controlled; and Vito Marcantonio is the head of that organization.

MR. STARNES. He is coming back to us?

MR. BARON. He is coming back with you.

MR. STARNES. As a Republican?

MR. BARON. No; he withdrew from the Republican Party.

MR. STARNES. Did he? I did not know that.

MR. BARON. Yes.

The next item to get out of the way: Also before the committee was the statement that the C. I. O. in its inception was in some direction and somehow inspired, and also a plot of the Communist movement;

and I have here just one document which I think will sufficiently prove to the committee that the C. I. O. is not a Communist machination.

Mr. STARNES. For your information, there has been no testimony before this committee that the C. I. O. had a communistic inception. The only testimony before the committee about communism and the C. I. O. is this sworn testimony, with the names and addresses and the organizations in which the Communists worked as organizers of the C. I. O.

Mr. BARON. I do not dispute that at all. I am not referring to John P. Frey's testimony. I do not dispute that. But there was another witness before the committee who in passing made the statement that the inception, that the idea—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). No; here is where that arose. In 1924 Mr. Lewis in his pamphlet said that the Communists were trying to seize the labor movement by setting up an industrial organization.

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is what you are referring to.

Mr. BARON. That is right; and in the testimony upon that point the witness drew the conclusion for you that therefore the C. I. O., the Congress for Industrial Organization, was a Communist plot.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that is correct, Mr. Baron.

Mr. BARON. But if you will let me make the point, just to get it clear, it won't do any harm.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BARON. For instance, I want to show you the proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. That was the Congress where they developed the "Trojan horse" policy; that is, to give up their dual unions and come into the parent labor unions and do their work from within.

Now, when did this Congress occur? It occurred on August 20—one of the speeches in the Congress, to give you the dates. It was August 20, 1935—the end of August—that the Communist International first laid down the "Trojan horse" policy.

Now, I was a delegate in the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1935 at Atlantic City. That was in October, only about 2 months after this convention. The Communists were still in their dual unions. They still had not gotten out of them. They still had not put this into effect. And I was there in the A. F. of L. Convention with the few Communists that were there, and I personally know that these few Communists were confused. They did not know what to do. They had already decided that they must be good boys; that they must comb their hair and press their pants and be "goody-goodies;" and all of a sudden, in their convention, John L. Lewis starts a movement for the organization of the mass production industries.

So the Communist movement did not know how to approach this question: and I know, in my own union, that I was president of, a Communist got up in the union and said that under no circumstances should we get out of the A. F. of L., showing that they were playing both sides against the middle, but that the C. I. O. was certainly inspired out of a certain condition in our economic set-up, where the mass industries had not been organized in the last 25 or 30 years, and that certain forces in the C. I. O. had set their minds to complete the job. So there was a split, and the Communists climbed into the

band wagon afterwards and got into various positions in unionist control.

Mr. STARNES. That is right. Now, they did do this, and I think you can give us further light on that point: The Communists did have a labor policy of their own for a time. The American Federation of Labor consistently fought against the infiltration of communism in its ranks. The Communists then attempted to set up a labor policy of their own.

Mr. BARON. Inside or outside?

Mr. STARNES. Outside.

Mr. BARON. Outside; that is true.

Mr. STARNES. But they abandoned that outside policy when, as you say, they got a chance to ride on the band wagon?

Mr. BARON. No; it was not that. They abandoned their dual union policy before the C. I. O. was created by virtue of this convention in Moscow. They decided there that no longer would they try to build revolutionary unions, dual unions, but they would go back into the parent body. When they went back into the parent body, into the A. F. of L., they found they had to take a choice, and either go out again, or stay in. So they did not leave their dual unions in order to create the C. I. O. or go on the band wagon, because they did not know of the C. I. O. at that time. It had not occurred. It did not occur until 1936.

Mr. STARNES. But they did go then?

Mr. BARON. Oh, after. After the thing had developed, the Communist movement could no longer play one side against the other. They, in all their records, have gone into the C. I. O. and they have done enough damage in that organization, by virtue of the fact that in every trade union they control there is no democracy; there is ruthless, dictatorial purging of all minority opinions; and further, in comparison to the old line A. F. of L. conservative leaders, the A. F. of L. conservative leaders were the acme of democracy in comparison to the Communists, where they get control in trade union organizations. They do not allow any freedom to any minority or to any opposition.

The minute somebody raises his head in that organization they will yell, "You are an agent of the Dies committee; you are an agent of the boss; you are an agent of fascism." And so they disgrace and destroy anybody who, in the trade-union movement, desires to develop a trade union along constructive lines.

Mr. STARNES. That is a point that I am happy that you brought out. In other words, their work in trade unions does not promote the cause of labor nor of trade unionism, but, to the contrary, it has a destructive effect?

Mr. BARON. Absolutely.

Mr. STARNES. And it discredits the entire labor movement in the eyes of the American public?

Mr. BARON. There is no doubt about that; that every time you have a clash in a trade union, and it breaks out to the public, where minorities cannot get their democracy rights, it reflects on the trade union.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to clear up the record, you said something about the International Labor Defense bringing speakers to Jersey City?



Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say? There seemed to be some doubt among the reporters about what you said, and I did not want you to be misquoted.

Mr. BARON. Why, the International Labor Defense sponsored the meeting at which the two Congressmen were supposed to speak, and those two Congressmen are O'Connell and Bernard. I mean that, and that is a fact.

Mr. MOSIER. What was it you said about Marcantonio? Is he the head of that organization?

Mr. BARON. Vito Marcantonio is the presiding head of the I. L. D.

Mr. MOSIER. The International Labor Defense?

Mr. BARON. That is correct; and further let the record show that it was Vito Marcantonio's statement to the press that called off the meeting of the two Congressmen in Jersey City.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say there is no question about that organization being a "front" of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARON. No question in my mind whatever.

Mr. STARNES. And absolutely controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, continue, Mr. Baron. Can you tell us how the Communists became influential in certain unions connected with the C. I. O.? How did they work it? How did they get these positions as organizers, and in some instances get on the board of executives of local unions?

Mr. STARNES. As president, secretary, and so forth?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BARON. First, to preface my remarks on that score, I think within a trade-union organization that is strictly economic you cannot examine the political beliefs of the members in that trade-union.

Mr. STARNES. That is right; and no attempt should be made to do so.

Mr. BARON. That is right. The only thing, however, that should be done is that where a trade-union official is taking his orders from the Communist Party and carrying out its political line inside that trade-union, in all honesty these people should get up and say, "I am a Communist, and I stand for this," and stand on their own feet, so that the public will know and be able to decide. But they do not do that. In the trade-unions these Communists will deny they are Communists, and then they will put forward their propositions, and so the members will not be able to consider the propositions on their merits.

And so here came a new organization—the Committee for Industrial Organization—that had a job to do which should receive the applause of every working man and woman in the United States; and, of course, the Communists, who were an active entity in the United States, saw to it that they secured as many positions of influence as possible, and they horned their way in, and wherever there were any forces in that situation that were in any way inimical to their interests, those forces were destroyed in one way or another.

Now, of course, at the height of an organizing campaign you cannot go out and wash dirty linen in public; and so the work of the Communists in certain sections of the C. I. O. was sort of—

Mr. STARNES. Glossed over—

Mr. BARON. Kept quiet. But after the job had been done, and when you could evaluate the job, wherever the Communists got control it was just a sorry mess. Wherever the Communists did not have control, they went on to further and further gains. Because the ordinary trade unionist is primarily concerned with his organization and the development of that organization. The Communists have many concerns—many concerns that do not have anything to do with the organization itself—its outside interests.

And so you ask me how they got control of various places. They are hard workers. They are disciplined workers; and in the trade-union movement those who work hard, those who sacrifice themselves, are voted into positions of power.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any of these particular instances that have occurred?

Mr. BARON. First, I want to speak about Mortimer—Wyndham Mortimer, of the Automobile Workers Union. I corroborate the testimony before this committee that this person is a Communist. At the A. F. of F. convention of 1935 the representative of the Communist movement, Jack Stachel, introduced me to him as a Communist. Mortimer is of the Automobile Workers Union of America and he leads the Communist faction in that union.

And while I am on the question of the Automobile Workers Union of America, let me say that I think that the trade-union movement would receive a terrible blow if Homer Martin, by any manner of means, is defeated by the Communists in that union; that Homer Martin is a thousand percent more progressive than the Bridges, the Rathbones, the Merrills, and the others. I feel that Homer Martin, who does everything in his power to keep America out of war, and who is a capable executive in a trade union, should receive the support of every conscientious person.

I want to speak now of the president of the International Professional and Office Workers Union.

This president, Lewis Merrill, had been charged before this committee as being a Communist. He has called upon the gods to witness his persecution, and has vehemently denied that he is a Communist, in the New York press. I am here to state that on two different occasions Lewis Merrill told me that he was a member of the Communist Party. In one conversation I asked him: "How did it happen that during the dual union period of the Communist Party you were working for an A. F. of L. organization?" I asked him whether he had received a special dispensation from God—Stalin. He laughed, and he said, "Something like it."

But if Lewis Merrill, the president of the Professional and Office Workers Union, wants to deny that, I will give him something else to deny, and that is that Lewis Merrill attended a political conference in the headquarters of the Communist Party in New York, at which I was present and several other people were present; and nobody attends political conferences at the Communist Party headquarters unless he is a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to be there?

Mr. BARON. As a representative of the Socialist Party. I mean, I am an official of the Socialist Party, as you understand, and naturally there are political conferences of all kinds.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to clear that up for the record.

Mr. BARON. Again, let me say that I expose individuals in the trade union movements and other organizations as Communists, because I believe there is a moral right in exposing them, so that the membership of their organizations know from where comes the policy that they propose, and they can act intelligently upon those propositions.

I speak now of the president of Local 16, the largest unit in the United Professional and Office Workers Union of America, by the name of Peter K. Hawley.

Peter K. Hawley, the president of the union, was expelled from the progressive group in that union, which group I headed, for being a Communist plant in that group.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does Peter K. Hawley hold?

Mr. BARON. He is president of the largest unit within the United Professional and Office Workers Union. That is the biggest local in New York—Local 16.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Socialists expelled him?

Mr. BARON. Not the Socialists—the anti-Stalinists in the union. Like in Congress and other places, there are groups formed on certain propositions. The progressive group in that union expelled Peter K. Hawley from the group because he was a plant of the Communist group.

Another individual in that union is Norma Aaronson. She is the general organizer of that union in New York. She was formerly leader of the dual Communist union, the Office Workers Union of New York, and she is a known Communist.

Morris Yanoff, who is general manager of that union, has been a candidate on the Communist Party ticket several years ago.

The next person I want to refer to is Claude Williams. Claude Williams is head of Commonwealth College; and I am going to read from the Socialist Call, the issue of Saturday, September 3, 1938:

Socialists and other friends of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union should be informed that President Butler of the union, on the basis of documentary evidence, is bringing charges that Claude Williams, the head of Commonwealth College, has been secretly a member of the Communist Party and is cooperating with the Communists in the Commonwealth College to capture the S. T. F. U.

Mr. STARNES. That Commonwealth College is down in Arkansas?

Mr. BARON. Yes, sir.

The next individual I wish to refer to is the head of the Workers' Alliance of America, the president. David Lasser was asked to resign from the Socialist Party because he was following the Communist line in that organization.

Mr. STARNES. And Oscar Fuss, the first vice president, is an avowed Communist; that is correct, is it not, Mr. Baron?

Mr. BARON. According to my information, Fuss is a Communist. Joseph Lash, I believe, the president or the head—I do not know his title—of the American Student Union, a very powerful organization in propagandizing collective security—Joseph Lash was asked to resign from the Socialist Party because he was following the Communist line in that organization.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union is controlled by the Communists?

Mr. BARON. No; the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was anti-Communist and was exposing—



Mr. STARNES. This fellow as president of Commonwealth College?

Mr. BARON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. But the president, the head of the Workers' Alliance, was expelled from the Socialist Party because of his communistic activities?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And his first vice president, Oscar Fuss, is an open and avowed Communist?

Mr. BARON. Yes. But more important than those two is Herbert Benjamin.

Mr. STARNES. He is the power behind the throne; he has been and is an open and avowed Communist?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. He is really the power behind the throne in the Workers' Alliance movement?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

I just want to make this concluding statement and I will be through with my testimony.

I am perfectly aware that the wolves are howling, and they are ready to tear apart one who has strayed from the pack.

I know also that it will be charged that I sold out.

I plead guilty to that charge; I have sold out. I have sold out the dictators; I have sold out fascism, whether its color may be brown, black, or red.

In return for this sell-out I have given myself peace of mind that I had not remained silent concerning the twin menace of communism and fascism.

And I say to my friends in New York, of the Socialist Party, that they have an opportunity to tell the entire world that the Socialist Party has at last ceased to aid and abet the criminal activities of the Communist movement by refusing to accept my resignation from the party.

I want again to repeat in closing that whatever criticism there is of the Dies committee, I still consider the committee as a public forum from the House of Representatives of the United States Government, and that that committee has in no way or fashion told me what to say and what not to say, that those who really want to do something concrete about the admitted menace of communism and fascism in the United States have a public forum in which they can do it.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, may I say, Mr. Baron, that this committee has invited repeatedly every organization and every individual who has been involved directly or indirectly in any charge to appear before the committee and give us their testimony.

The first thing this committee did was to invite Mr. John L. Lewis to appear before this committee.

Instead of pursuing the course of appearing before the committee and under oath testifying either for or against, whichever the case may be, most of these individuals and organizations have resorted to a campaign of abuse and misrepresentation, evidently feeling that they could discredit the investigation by witticism or by sarcasm or ironic remarks when, as a matter of fact, they have only increased suspicion throughout the country with regard to their activities, as manifested by the fact that we are receiving thousands of letters

from every section of the country, and the fact that organizations have taken up the slogan from one end of the country to the other, and are saying that it is very unfortunate that these people who are so incensed about this investigation fail to take advantage of the repeated opportunities and offers we have made to them to come before the committee and say exactly what the facts are.

We want to express to you our deep appreciation of the fact that you have availed yourself of the opportunity to come before the committee.

As I said in the beginning, we are not after anyone; we are not interested in the investigation disclosing any particular facts; but we do want the facts and have invited people from every quarter to come and give us those facts, and the committee feels that the approach you have adopted has been a constructive course, and the one that should have been adopted by all others interested in true liberalism, and are able to distinguish the difference between true liberalism on the one hand and communism on the other, that being the most pagan philosophy in the world.

I want also to say, in addition to expressing our deep appreciation to you, that if other members of your party, instead of resorting to newspaper comments and intolerant statements, and jumping at conclusions without any evidence to support them, would come before the committee and under oath give us the benefit of any information they have, they would be doing justice to themselves and doing a service to the country.

One of the great mysteries about the whole thing from the beginning has been the unwillingness of organizations like the League for Peace and Democracy to come before the committee and show what are the facts, and to say, "Here are our records; we want to deal cleanly and openly with the Congress of the United States."

MR. BARON. Might I say, Mr. Dies, that this committee would have probably done the unusual if these organizations had not felt that there was a political objective of this committee, and I personally, in all honesty, must say, if I had been subpoenaed before the national elections, I would not have appeared before the committee; that I did approach it with the thought that the committee was being used to impair the political position of certain individuals in the National Government, and if that had not been the opinion of many you would have had many more organizations appear before you than you have had.

THE CHAIRMAN. The trouble with that is that it is not supported by the facts. Of course, the fact is that long before any political elections, it was announced that this committee would begin its hearings and continue them right through; that our time was limited, and that if we deferred the hearings until after the elections there would be no investigation; it would have been utterly and physically impossible, with the time available, to make an investigation. But from the time the investigation was announced all those people who had the facts have had an opportunity to present such facts as they saw fit, so their failure to do so antedated any political campaign. It was long before the national election was imminent, and way back in the beginning, long before their names were brought into the evidence, that they assumed a belligerent attitude, seeking to discredit the committee, and

the result has been to arouse feeling in the minds of millions of patriotic American citizens.

Mr. BARON. It has just occurred to me that I can make a statement to the committee concerning Heywood Broun, which I think will be very interesting.

I think somebody should go to the trouble of taking Heywood Broun's articles in the daily press over a period of the last 2 years and try to find any one instance or any proposal wherein Heywood Broun discredited or criticized any political line of the Communist Party.

Heywood Broun, you will find in a research of these 2 years of articles, has criticized and attacked practically every political section in public life, including a mild criticism of President Roosevelt. But I say again, from full knowledge, you will not find one written word by Heywood Broun that he has ever criticized or discredited any of the fundamental tenets of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to the League for Industrial Democracy, beginning on page 683 of the hearings and on down page 691, you will find a list of various officers and directors and the duties they put them on, and you will find well-known Communists occupying important positions.

Mr. BARON. Name one.

The CHAIRMAN. Here are some. Here is Robert W. Dunn; do you know him?

Mr. BARON. How many years ago was that?

The CHAIRMAN. That was several years ago.

Mr. BARON. What was the date, Chairman Dies? I can satisfy you right now, Chairman Dies, so you will not misunderstand. The League for Industrial Democracy has an individual, Prof. John Dewey—right?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. BARON. As to Prof. John Dewey, if anybody has been excoriated mercilessly and whipped by the Communist movement, that is John Dewey, because of his defense of Leon Trotsky.

Even as to Norman Thomas, if you pick up any paper of the Communist movement, you will find him lashed by that movement. Or, take Dr. Harry W. Laidley. He is the head of the State Socialist Party of New York. The Communists have flayed him unmercifully.

I tell you this organization has been unmercifully attacked by the Communist movement, and they have tried for several years to destroy that organization. And when you mention an individual—

The CHAIRMAN. Your contention is that this organization is not a front of the Communist Party and is not influenced by the Communist Party?

Mr. BARON. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. And your contention is the same in respect to the Civil Liberties League?

Mr. BARON. And as to the North American Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of those, are these other front organizations, like the Young Pioneers, the Communist League of America, the International Labor Defense, and various other agencies which have been set up, fully controlled and dominated by the Communists?



Mr. BARON. I have testified to those I know. There are so many new organizations, I cannot keep up with them.

But I will not characterize any organization that is a relief organization, not political, in reference to China or to Spain, as a Communist organization, because the one error that is made by people coming here to testify is to attack relief organizations that are not political as Communist. That is doing an injury that I cannot put into words.

So I say that those organizations I know to be Communist I have named, the I. O. D. and maybe several others that I know about that I will be sure of.

The CHAIRMAN. The ones you have named you say are not?

Mr. BARON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. We certainly appreciate your testimony.

The committee will stand adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned to meet subject to the call of the chairman.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

## TESTIMONY OF HOMER MARTIN, DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. MARTIN. Homer Martin.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. MARTIN. Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. MARTIN. Since 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you live prior to your residence in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. MARTIN. At Kansas City, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you live in Kansas City, Mo.?

Mr. MARTIN. About 5 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What business were you in at Kansas City, Mo.?

Mr. MARTIN. I was in the ministry.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you live prior to going to Kansas City?

Mr. MARTIN. In southern Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. In what portion?

Mr. MARTIN. At Goreville, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you live there?

Mr. MARTIN. All my life. I was born there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you finish high school there?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any college education?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you obtain it?

Mr. MARTIN. At Ewing College and at William Jewells.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Ewing College located?

Mr. MARTIN. In southern Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is William Jewells?

Mr. MARTIN. At Liberty, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. You completed your course at those institutions, and then went into the ministry?

Mr. MARTIN. I was in the ministry during that time.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time you were going through college.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On the completion of your college course, did you enter the ministry?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On a full-time basis.

Mr. MARTIN. On a full-time basis; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not until 1936 that you became connected with the labor movement.

Mr. MARTIN. No; I became connected with the labor movement in 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. How did that happen?

Mr. MARTIN. I was elected vice president of a local union in Kansas City.

The CHAIRMAN. What local union?

Mr. MARTIN. It is known as Local No. 93, in Kansas City.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. MARTIN. Chevrolet and Fisher Body employees.

The CHAIRMAN. That was while you were in the ministry?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; while there I was active in the ministry.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your connection with that union continue during the time you were in Kansas City.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hold any position in that union?

Mr. MARTIN. I was vice president and then president.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any other connection with any union besides that before you went to Detroit?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; no official connection.

The CHAIRMAN. When you went to Detroit in 1936, did you go there for the purpose of doing union work, or were you in the ministry there?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; I went there as vice president of the organization called the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America.

The CHAIRMAN. You went there as vice president, and were you later promoted?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; I was later elected as president.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you elected?

Mr. MARTIN. In April 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. And you later became president of that same union?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately, what is the membership of your organization?

Mr. MARTIN. About 350,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your membership located?

Mr. MARTIN. They are located throughout the United States, principally in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, but scattered throughout the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Martin, do you know of your own knowledge of any Nazi, Fascist, or Communist activities in the United States?



Mr. MARTIN. I have a statement I would like to read to the committee as a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you first answer that question?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that of your own knowledge?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any Nazi or Fascist activities?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are they located?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, the principal activities that I would like to deal with in my report are in Detroit and in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. What character of Nazi and Fascist movement is it?

Mr. MARTIN. They are the activities of the various organizations and representatives of the Italian Government and German Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You propose to give us a statement dealing with that phase of it?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You appear under subpoena, do you not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have appeared otherwise if you had not been subpoenaed.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us exactly what you know with reference to Nazi and Fascist activities in Detroit and in Michigan?

Mr. STARNES. And their connection with the German Government, or the Imperial German Government, and the Italian Government, with a statement as to whether or not there is any connection between the movement and the Governments. If so, state what the connection is.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. MARTIN. My first statement is relative to the witnesses that appeared before the committee. I will refer to one, Judge Gadola, of Flint, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. You will connect him with the Fascist and Nazi movement?

Mr. MARTIN. I will connect him with the Fascist movement.

Mr. STARNES. In connection with the Fascist Government of Italy?

Mr. MARTIN. In connection with his activities in support of the Fascist government.

The CHAIRMAN. Of Italy?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MARTIN. It is common report that Judge Gadola has been seen many times at Fascist meetings. It is reliably reported also that in Flint Judge Gadola participated in meetings called for the purpose of raising money to help Mussolini in his war of aggression against Ethiopia.

There is one other phase of Judge Gadola's activities that places his testimony in a very biased position: He is a notable hater of organized labor and of all activities of the labor movement.

Following Gov. Frank Murphy's successful efforts to settle the General Motors strike because of his humane statesmanship, the General Motors Corporation and the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, agreed to the dismissal of the injunction suit which had been started by the General Motors Corporation before the notorious Judge Black, who was a substantial stockholder in the General Motors Corporation. Only the exposure by the union of this unholy relationship between Judge Black and the General Motors Corporation ended Judge Black's insistence to sit on the case.

It was then that Judge Gadola stepped into the breach. Despite the agreement of all parties that no useful purpose could be served by the further continuance of the injunction suit, especially since a peaceful settlement had been arrived at, Judge Gadola refused to dismiss the case and technically it still is current litigation, although almost 2 years have passed.

It may be well to remember that, at the very time that Governor Murphy was approaching a successful climax of his efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement, and sensed that a postponement of General Motors' application for an injunction would be conducive to a speedy accomplishment of his objective, Governor Murphy had caused to be brought to Judge Gadola's attention his request that a continuance be had while negotiations continued. Judge Gadola showed his respect for the chief executive of the State of Michigan by telling him to go to hell.

This vicious, antilabor complex of Judge Gadola has been manifested since that time by an undignified and unjudicial demeanor on the part of Judge Gadola, who, in and out of season, and chiefly without provocation, has indulged in frequent tirades and attacks upon organized labor and the Governor of the State of Michigan.

As illustrative of this, may I direct your attention to the fact that a few months ago, our organization appeared before a judge in the same county in which Judge Gadola sits, and secured a temporary restraining order to prevent a local Flint concern from avoiding its responsibilities created by an agreement with our union when it sought to move out of the county and indulge in what in common parlance is called "make a run-away" effort. Judge Elliot, in keeping with the precedents that had been established within the last few years, granted such a temporary restraining order, whereupon Judge Gadola and the notorious Judge Black both complained to judges of the Michigan Supreme Court in their criticism of Judge Elliot's action.

The latest episode in which Judge Gadola demonstrates this unbelievable antagonism toward organized labor is exemplified by a recent lawsuit commenced in Genesee County, in which he issued a temporary injunction *ex parte*, restraining an employer from living up to an agreement made with a labor union. Could it possibly be that this is an accident—that this judge has this attitude?

No one can deny that Judge Gadola's testimony can have any place in an inquiry into alleged subversive activities directed specifically at fascism, nazi-ism, and communism, except that the only connection that Judge Gadola had with any of these "isms" puts him squarely within the ranks of the Fascists themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that complete your statement as to Judge Gadola?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of any Black Shirt movement in and around Detroit? Are they active there in the Black Shirt movement?

Mr. MARTIN. I so understand. I do not have personal knowledge of this, but it is a matter of common knowledge that there is quite a bit of activity, which has recently increased, in the city of Detroit.

Mr. STARNES. Who is the head of the movement, according to repute, if you do not have first-hand knowledge of it? I admit that we are going far afield when we let in matters of general knowledge, but, as a matter of common repute, can you furnish the committee the name of the leader of the Black Shirt movement in Detroit?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; I cannot. My statement relative to that has to do with the activities in the past, known and of record, of the Italian vice consul by the name of Giacomo Ungarelli. In that connection, I would like to read this statement:

In 1934 Detroit was blessed by one Giacomo Ungarelli, who had arrived from Brazil to serve as Italian vice consul. Ungarelli came to Detroit because of his effective methods in forcing Italians living in Brazil to become willing and pliable agents of the Italian Fascist Government. He was sent to Detroit to succeed a vice consul who had not been hard enough in forcing the Detroit Italian community into line in support of the Italian Fascist Government. Ungarelli immediately began his work. Prominent Detroiters, American citizens of Italian ancestry, were called in by Ungarelli to fall into line in support of the Fascist Government. This meant that American citizens were being asked by the Italian Government to be traitorous to their country and carry on actively in support of Fascist Italy. When these requests met with refusal threats of physical violence were made, and when this did not succeed, Ungarelli set into motion an economic boycott against these persons. Merchants who obtained provisions and supplies from Italy were told that they would be cut off from their source of supplies in Italy if they did not accede to his demands. Ungarelli also sought to persuade those whom he thought were loyal to Fascist Italy to refuse to patronize American citizens of Italian descent who had proved stubborn in resisting him. Attempts were made to compel Detroiters, American citizens, to contribute financially to organizations and activities sponsored by the Italian Government. Threats of injury to relatives and friends in Italy if resistance was offered constituted one means of persuasion employed by Mussolini's puppet.

A veritable reign of terror ensued, which even caused Detroit citizens to go to the prosecuting attorney of Wayne County for relief against the terroristic methods of this Italian vice consul. Finally, protests were lodged against Ungarelli with the State Department in Washington. So compelling were the facts against him that the American State Department made certain representations to the Italian Government which resulted in the Italian Government recalling Ungarelli from the United States. The official excuse given was that Ungarelli was "promoted" from a position of vice consul in the fourth largest city in the United States to the position of consul in an insignificant North African village near the Sahara. It is reported that Ungarelli's successors, two in number, proved to be more decent than the Italian Government expected them to be, with the result that both have been recalled and there is now on the way to Detroit, it is said, another consular representative of Fascist Italy, a "squadrismo"—a storm trooper of ability and a rival of Ungarelli's terroristic abilities.

Undoubtedly there has been a definite revival of Fascist activities within the last few months, including an interference with the election campaign in Wayne County. The Fascists, in endorsing two Italians running for office on the Republican ticket, spoke in this fashion of Italians opposed to Italian reactionaries running on the Republican ticket:

"When nationalities inferior to ours, like the Polish, Irish, and Jewish, have absolute control of the political situation in Detroit, some degenerate, ignorant Italian sons, for the price of treachery, are using the right of speech to sell,



like Judas Iscariot, the dignity and honor of our race. We, the avengers of our rights, and our history, give warning so that you may not be deceived by those miserably sold worms."

Those statements and others were distributed by Fascists in the last political campaign in the city of Detroit.

Mr. STARNES. Through what agency?

Mr. MARTIN. Through some newspapers, and through leaflets distributed throughout the city.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any evidence of uniformed Black Shirt activities in the Detroit area?

Mr. MARTIN. There is evidence to that effect that can be uncovered.

Mr. STARNES. Will you be kind enough to furnish the committee with leads and names so we may pursue that inquiry?

Mr. MARTIN. I will be most happy to do so.

Mr. STARNES. The committee, I am sure, will be happy to have it. Can you give us an estimate of the approximate number of Fascists in the Detroit area?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that is impossible, because all of those foreign organizations, or all of those organizations are controlled and operated by totalitarian governments, and as to those organizations, the membership is kept secret, and it would take an investigation by the Department of Justice or some other source of investigation to uncover their identities and their membership.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about Fascists' activities, or do you have personal knowledge of those activities in other areas of the country, outside of Detroit?

Mr. MARTIN. Only from a report that I think can be verified by much evidence.

Mr. STARNES. But you have no first-hand knowledge of it.

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; I have no first-hand knowledge of it.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know approximately how many Italians live in the Detroit area?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know. There is an Italian community there, however.

Mr. MOSIER. That community is the community that those consuls or vice consuls worked on.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they work through any particular organization, or Italian organization, such as the Sons of Italy, or any other like organizations?

Mr. MARTIN. I understand they do, and that recently there have been other organizations, or new organizations, formed for the purpose of furthering Fascist influence in this country.

Mr. STARNES. I judge from the tenor of your remarks that Judge Gadola is an American citizen of Italian descent.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know how far removed?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. You say you have it on good evidence that he contributed to Fascist campaign in this country.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; that he has been in meetings and taken part in activities in support of the Fascist dictatorship. I would like to make one other statement: It was reported that Italians living in the United States, if they continued as members of the Italian race,

did not want their names made public. It tended to show that their relatives were threatened in Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there we have had considerable testimony about that which has gone into the record. As a matter of fact, some of the witnesses talked to the Department of Justice. We furnished the part of the testimony where they did not want their names revealed. Full information of that whole matter was turned over to the Department of Justice for further investigation. We have in the record of the hearings letters from consuls—I do not know whether they were consuls, but they were officers of the Government Consular Service, bearing on that subject. You will find documentary proof of it, and you will find the testimony of witnesses to that effect. That has already gone into the record.

Mr. MARTIN. The information I have will certainly bear out those witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Your testimony is based on what somebody told you.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The testimony we have in the record is direct evidence. The witnesses testified under oath what they knew about it. On account of the fact that those people had been threatened, they did not want their names revealed. The names were submitted to the Department of Justice; or, rather, we submitted the statements of those witnesses for further investigation.

Mr. STARNES. You understand that we are only a fact-finding committee. We are only interested in the facts, and if the facts tend to show evidence of a violation of the law, the only thing we can do is to call it to the attention of the Department of Justice. We cannot indict anybody; we cannot prosecute anybody or persecute anybody. We have no intention of doing so. All we are looking for is the facts.

Mr. MARTIN. There is a working arrangement between the German-American Bund and the Italian Fascist groups in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. May I add something right there? We have photographs in the record showing them meeting together; showing the whole pictures in the record—humorous photographs, well identified and proven up. I just mention that for your benefit.

Mr. MARTIN. That is fine. They have their meetings together, and rent their halls jointly.

The representative of the German dictatorship is a consular officer. His name is Fritz Heiler, in Detroit—an American citizen and a practicing lawyer in the State of Michigan.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any idea as to the number of Nazis who are members of the German-American Bund movement and the Italian Fascist movement in the Detroit area? Do you have any figures?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. On that point, Mr. Martin, we have the Department of Justice's estimate. When they investigated the Fascist-Nazi movement, they arrived at the figure of 6,000 or 6,500 members. Our committee investigator, who I think made a much more careful investigation—at least the documentary evidence that he submitted is far more voluminous and, I think, much more explicit than that of

the Department of Justice—estimated it at 25,000 direct members of the Italian-Nazi movement; and I think altogether, considering sympathizers—those who attend openly meetings of the bund and meetings of the Italian Fascists—his estimate is 500,000 as the total strength of the Nazis and Fascists and their sympathizers. Of course, that is just based upon estimates. That is as near as we have gotten at it. The Department of Justice had a very much lower figure than our committee has.

Mr. STARNES. Will you kindly state, if you have any knowledge of the fact, or if you are in possession of any facts which lead you to the conclusion that either the Italian Government or the German Government is financing or supporting a campaign in the Detroit area in an attempt to spread either Fascist or Nazi ideology?

Mr. MARTIN. I have information give to me confidentially by members of the Italian race, and who say they have knowledge of the German situations, that leads directly to that fact. It is my opinion, if I may offer my opinion relative to the facts that I have, that the Italian, Russian, and German dictatorships are financing activities of their proponents in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be willing to give your source of information to the Department of Justice in connection with this matter?

Mr. MARTIN. I will.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the names of the people who told you this?

Mr. MARTIN. I will.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen any evidence of Nazi influence and Fascist influence within the labor movement in the Detroit area? What I mean by that is an attempt by members of the Fascist and Nazi group to infiltrate into the labor movement and to seize it for their own purposes and spread their ideology?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, not unless the notorious Black Legion was an example of the efforts of the——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Do you have facts that you could give this committee to show that the Black Legion had any connection with the Fascist Government of Italy or the Nazi Government of Germany?

Mr. MARTIN. I could only give the names of witnesses who would say that they know that.

Mr. STARNES. We would be glad to have them.

Have you seen any evidence of any activity on the part of either Fascist agents or Nazi agents to infiltrate into the schools and colleges of the Detroit area? If so, please be specific, if you can.

Mr. MARTIN. I can, on good authority—one of the professors in Michigan University—I can give his name to the committee——

Mr. STARNES. We would be happy to have it.

Mr. MARTIN. Who is an exponent of the Nazi form of government, and uses his classroom as a means of propagating his theories.

Mr. STARNES. But as to any organized activity on the part of the Fascist movement or the Nazi movement in this country to infiltrate into the ranks of labor or into the schools and colleges, you have no specific evidence?

Mr. MARTIN. No specific illustrations.



Mr. STARNES. Do you have any evidence of the fact that they have attempted to organize relief workers in this country and use them for the spread of the Nazi and Fascist ideology?

Mr. MARTIN. That again would be a matter of giving the committee the names of witnesses who say that they have that as a matter of record.

Mr. STARNES. But you have no specific information of your own?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Nor any personal knowledge on your part of any of these activities?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any evidence in your possession, or do you have personal knowledge of the fact, that the Nazi and Fascist movements in this country are attempting to work in a so-called united-front movement in an attempt to change our form of government?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that there is ample proof—and my knowledge comes again from witnesses who have come and asked that their names not be revealed and made public—that there is absolute proof that the Nazi agents and supporters and the Fascists are cooperating in their endeavors to spread their propaganda in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Again, will you furnish the names of those witnesses to the committee and authorize us to furnish them to the Department of Justice?

Mr. MARTIN. I will be glad to do that.

Mr. STARNES. You know of no concerted movement through any number of front organizations in this country, however, by which they are attempting to change this form of government of ours?

Mr. MARTIN. I know very little about them. I have asked for their names, personally, but have had no success.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us the name of any organization that the Nazi movement or the Fascist movement in this country is using as a united-front or a popular-front movement in order to change our form of government?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I cannot, personally.

Mr. STARNES. Will you please give, then, to the committee, the benefit of any names of other Nazi or Fascist groups that you know are operating in this country, that you have not mentioned in your testimony, or that you have not been questioned about as yet?

Mr. MARTIN. I will do that.

Mr. STARNES. Confining yourself to personal knowledge or to first-hand rendering of facts, will you give us those names, if you have them?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I will be glad to. I do not have them here. I will be glad to furnish them to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You can readily appreciate, Mr. Martin, the difficulties of this committee when you and other witnesses are unable to give us the names. We have encountered that before.

Mr. STARNES. This is not the first time.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless we have the names and the facts, it is difficult for us to pursue it.

Mr. MARTIN. I understand that. The only reason is that I have been asked by these people to keep their names secret, for fear of reprisal.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the Silver Shirt movement in this country?

Mr. MARTIN. I know of it, of course, but not personally.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not the so-called Black Legion is still operating in the Detroit area or any other area in this country?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know about that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of other un-American and subversive activities that you have not testified to? Of course, I have not touched on the question of communism, and I presume you are prepared to elaborate on that yourself at a later date, or during a later part of the session. Do you know of other groups that are un-American and subversive in their character?

Mr. MARTIN. Not just at the moment, that I could name.

Mr. STARNES. You have now given to us, as a committee, the full benefit of the knowledge that you now have in your possession with reference to Nazi and Fascist activities?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And to other un-American or subversive groups within this country, other than communism?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I have asked you no questions about that.

All right, sir. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Is any part of your testimony based upon your direct knowledge in reference to the Nazi-Fascist movement?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or is it entirely based upon hearsay?

Mr. MARTIN. It is based upon the affidavit proof which I have in my possession.

The CHAIRMAN. And which you will submit to this committee?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the German-American Bund in Michigan?

Mr. MARTIN. I simply know of its activities through these witnesses that have given me the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the membership; the size of the membership?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about who the officers of the bund are?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen any evidence that either the Nazi or the Fascist groups, as they are designated, have ever exerted any influence within the ranks of labor?

Mr. MARTIN. I think there is evidence that there has been a definite attempt on the part of these groups to help break up the unions, and in some cases to put them under their control.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instance of such an attempt, yourself?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What attempt was that?

Mr. MARTIN. In one or two instances that I recall, the officers of the local union—these names I can furnish you—turned out to be

members of the Black Legion, which, as I said, I have knowledge of being connected with the Fascist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that they were members of the Black Legion?

Mr. MARTIN. We have evidence to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do when you discovered that?

Mr. MARTIN. Kicked them out.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Black Legion still in existence in the Detroit area, or anywhere in this country?

Mr. MARTIN. We do not have any—I do not have any personal knowledge as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it common knowledge that after prosecution and investigation they ceased to exist?

Mr. MARTIN. They went pretty largely out of existence; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of the Black Shirts, do you know of any attempt made by the Nazi or Fascist groups to permeate the labor ranks?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I think—

Mr. STARNES. Your statement, Mr. Martin, was that they were not trying to permeate, but were trying to destroy.

Mr. MARTIN. To destroy; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Aside from that, you do not know of any other instances?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Martin, since you have been president of this union, have you ever received any evidence, or do you have any knowledge of any communistic activity within the unions?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I think that my statements relative to those matters are matters of public record. I think that my efforts are well known relative to the activities of Communists in the labor movement. I think that the airing of those internal situations before the committee will not aid in the battle against these subversive forces within the labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that is a matter of opinion of yours.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But we are asking you now for specific facts; as to any facts that you have. We are acquainted with many statements that you have made from time to time. As a matter of fact, the Chair is in possession of many of those statements. What we are interested in is to have the benefit of your information with reference to any communistic activities that exist, or have existed, and still exist, in the labor movement.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I would like to say that I have knowledge not only of their activities in the labor movement, but of their activities outside the labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. We are familiar with that, and we want to get to that.

Mr. MARTIN. Their activities in the labor movement are not different from their activities outside the labor movement.

Mr. STARNES. They seek control both inside and out?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And that is their goal?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think there is any question about that.



Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Martin, in your experience have you not found, too, that the goal of that group in this country is also to seek to change this form of government of ours, if it takes violence to do so?

Mr. MARTIN. They are in the same class, in the same category, and use the same sort of weapons, that the Nazis and the Fascists use.

Mr. STARNES. They are all, in the last word, absolutely opposed to representative, constitutional, democratic government, as we know it here—all of them?

Mr. MARTIN. Despite any of their protestations to the contrary.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you tell the committee, Mr. Martin, when you first began to observe this Communist infiltration and strategy, and give us, in your own language, the beginning and on down to the present time.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I think it is a matter of record that in every part of the labor movement the Communist Party has sought control and domination.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they do that?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, like they do in every other organization; like they do in every other institution that they undertake to control.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to make the complete statement.

Mr. MARTIN. In the labor organizations—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). With reference to any organization?

Mr. STARNES. Take the bridle off and tell us what you know about the Communist movement in the trade-unions as an un-American and subversive activity which is not friendly to the labor movement or to the trade-union movement at all. Go along and take the bridle off, in your own language.

Mr. MARTIN. I think this: That there has been much over-emphasis as to the number of Communists in the labor movement. I think that the number is relatively small; that the American working people are as much, if not more, opposed to nazi-ism and fascism and communism as any other group of people in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. I agree with you thoroughly.

Mr. MARTIN. Like the Nazis and the Fascists, the Communists seek to control these organizations by getting into leadership, into positions of leadership; by getting themselves elected to office; by carefully caucusing on issues, on positions to take in the union, or any other organization, before the meetings. They are active in the American Federation of Labor; relatively as active as they are in any other organization. They are active, in my opinion, in most other organizations throughout the country in their efforts to control.

Mr. STARNES. Are they active in the C. I. O. to be specific?

Mr. MARTIN. They are. We are most unfortunate in a great organization such as the C. I. O., or such as the U. A. W. A. We have the same kind of luck as the committee might have had in its investigators and others, that are carefully seeking position or getting into position.

Mr. STARNES. Have you attempted, in your position as president of the U. A. W. A., to stamp Communists out of your organization? Or, I will put it broader—not only that, but the entire labor move-

ment? I will put it that way. Have you attempted to do so in your official position?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct, and we are making real headway in that direction. I feel that the Communists have no more place in the labor movement than do the Nazis or the Fascists; that they are inimical to the interests of American labor.

Mr. STARNES. Have you not found it necessary, as president of your organization, to discharge officials in the labor movement on account of their communistic activities?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I think that is a matter of record.

Mr. STARNES. But the answer is yes; it is a matter of record, and the answer is yes?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what else can you add on that subject?

Mr. MARTIN. I think there is nothing further that I might add, other than what is in the record, as a matter of public record.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct to say that—

There are those who have been in positions of leadership in our organization, first through the idea of personal gain or with other interests, who have sought to make that organization something else than that. And I am not trying to raise a "red scare." I am not "red-baiting" when I say that the Communist Party has put forth every possible effort that they could put forth to capture the entire labor movement of this country.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

I am not raising a "red scare" about it. I am telling you what I know from experience to be the facts. I am not asking anybody "to take the torch," so to speak, or just hearsay, I know whereof I speak.

The United Automobile Workers of America is the strongest single new organization in the C. I. O. The other organizations are not so strong, although there are some of them that are fairly strong. The capture of the United Automobile Workers of America was the first goal, and the most important goal, of the Communist Party. I have letters in my office sent out by the Communist Party to our membership, the names and addresses of which they had gotten by manipulating themselves into office, telling them that very thing. The United Automobile Workers of America is one of the strongest and most important organizations of labor, and the first goal of the Communist Party, and of a good Communist, is to take control of the U. A. W. A.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct to say as follows:

In order to further their plan and their hopes of gaining control, they have worked in various ways. One, of course, is to get the local Communist leaders elected to positions of influence—presidents of unions.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be correct:

The other day at the demonstration—and if you had been down, if you just happened to stroll along the park outside of the Griswold Building, you would have seen what I saw, where more than half of the congregation out there were known Communist leaders. One Mr. Stone was out there, the president of one of our local unions, a known Communist Party leader, who made this assertion: "I am in the U. A. W. A., but the Communist Party comes first."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be correct:

They seek, of course, to get their people in positions of leadership. One of the principal offices they tried to get was the financial secretaryship; that seems to be the first goal, to get hold of the financial secretaryship because he has something to do with the money.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be a correct statement:

I am not just guessing about that. The Dodge local by the deal was to be turned over to the Communist Party and in exchange for this very serviceable service, Richard T. Frankenstein was to be given the political backing of the Communist Party. Just as the other deal that was made, that I announced in the papers yesterday, concerning Labor's Non-Partisan League for Wayne County. But I must go on with the story of how it is done.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember that I made—I do not have the proof that I made that statement directly.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. But on particular instances of this kind I would want to check up on the facts as to whether I made those statements or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know whether or not that statement is correct, do you not?

Mr. STARNES. Substantially correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say that it is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Is it substantially correct, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. I would say that perhaps it is substantially correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this statement be correct:

Then, of course, they [the Communists] manipulate to get their people elected by several maneuvers. One thing, of course, is to misrepresent the facts. They are absolutely unscrupulous. They lie with all the facility in the world. They have no morals concerning their activities, when it comes to accomplishing their end, namely, to take over the local union or the international union.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be correct?

Let us give you an illustration of that. At the signing of the General Motors' supplementary agreement last year, Ed Hall and Wyndimer Mortimer negotiated the contract when I was not even there. When I came in I thought it was an improvement; I thought it was a necessary improvement. We accepted it, and in the rush we pushed aside formalities because we knew the workers would be glad to get it. Knowing the situation we passed it out to our local unions without even taking it to the executive board of the international union. We did it because we were trying to stop those terrible unauthorized strikes; that is, I was, and they didn't say a word.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, relative to that matter, the general statement of the position of the Communist Party on that matter is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. It is substantially correct?

Mr. MARTIN. It is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be a correct statement:

This year we signed a better supplementary agreement, after General Motors had given us notice of cancelation. These same men that last year signed the agreement negotiated for themselves and signed it with me, and we didn't even give it to the executive board. This year they raised the howl of dictatorship against me because we negotiated the General Motors agreement, passed it on in keeping absolutely with the constitution, had the general executive



board approve it, and then after they had voted upon it, passed it on to the local unions in direct keeping with our constitution. These two men raised the false issue, and the Communist Party members in every local union, even in local unions that were not even in the General Motors, passed resolutions, got their local unions to pass resolutions condemning me as a dictator, because I had thought about negotiating a contract and having the international executive board to approve it, according to the constitution of the United Automobile Workers Association.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the position of the Communist Party, it is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be correct?—

Every issue that the Communist Party has raised, with not one single exception, they have not been honest in it. They have raised false issues, both in the local unions and in the international union, to bring discredit upon all those who refuse to bow to their dictating along with them.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct:

Let me give you an illustration. Six months ago Richard T. Frankenstein was a hated "red" baiter of the worst type, who was not to be gotten at any expense. Suddenly, over night, Mr. Frankenstein becomes a little more "kosher," and we find the Daily Worker beginning to print his picture and beginning to write little articles, at first, about him, and beginning to talk about what a wonderful, and, finally, what a really great labor leader he was.

That change in attitude came immediately after a conference in Atlantic City at the C. I. O. convention, where for the first time I knew that Frankenstein had met Gobart and Hathaway of the Communist Party. For days he was with them there. He ate with them, stayed with them, conversed with them, met with them, and all the rest. Immediately thereafter, all the heat began to be taken off of Mr. Frankenstein and all the heat was directed at me.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the attitude and activities of the Communist Party, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement:

In Flint, Mich., Wyndiner Mortimer, who, in 1935, according to the affidavits we have, invited three of our members to join the Communist Party at one time.

I mean it is not just merely hearsay; I am not trying to give you hearsay, but we have those that will produce that in the record. Wyndiner Mortimer in charge of that, placed every secretary without a single exception—why, when I went into Flint headquarters I thought I was in the headquarters of the Communist Party. Every organizer on the staff, and every secretary, without a single exception, that Mortimer had appointed, was a Communist Party member.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not certain as to the exact statement I made relative to that.

Mr. STARNES. That is substantially correct, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Substantially, and the record concerning the activities of the Communist Party there as at other places is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You did have those affidavits, did you not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You did go into those headquarters and find nothing but Communists there?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember whether I made the statement that I found nothing there but Communist Party members. We did find that the local union had a great many Communist Party members as secretaries, and as local organizers, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. What union was that?

Mr. MARTIN. Local 156.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what jurisdiction?

Mr. MARTIN. Covering the General Motors plant in Flint.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members in that union?

Mr. MARTIN. About 35,000. That is not true today, however.

Mr. STARNES. You do not mean to say there are 35,000 Communists in that organization.

Mr. MARTIN. There are very few.

Mr. STARNES. That is an illustration of what you have already brought out, that what they do is to seek to work themselves into positions of control; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to clear that up, let me say again, as the members of this committee have said time and time again, that the evidence is very clear that the overwhelming majority of the men in the C. I. O. and other organizations are loyal American citizens. There has never been any intimation that the Communist Party has any large percentage of membership there.

The testimony before this committee, with which I think you will agree, is to the effect that the Communists by reason of having a tightly organized minority are able to seize the strategic positions in the unions and in that way make their influence felt. I think you will agree that that is a correct statement of the situation.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And I might say this, Mr. Martin, and I think you will agree with me, that no greater service could be rendered by any labor leader than to assume a courageous and definite opposition to the Communist element and to eject them from positions of influence. Is not that true?

Mr. MARTIN. As I said previously, the Communists have no more place in the labor movement than do the Nazis or the Fascists. They believe in dictatorships, all of which is inimical to the interests of democracy, in which I am a believer.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be a correct statement that what you, as a responsible labor leader are seeking to accomplish, and what other responsible labor leaders are seeking to accomplish, is the betterment of the workers' condition, and that is your sole objective?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the objective of the Communists, to infiltrate or penetrate the labor movement, or what is their objective?

Mr. MARTIN. They are all alike; the object of the Nazis and the Fascists in the labor movement, as in any other movement or any other organization, is to control it so that its policies will be in line with the dictatorships which they represent.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, is it correct or not to say that all three of those, the Nazis, the Fascists, and the Communists represent totalitarian governments, where the rights of the minority are ruthlessly suppressed?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. There is ground which all of them hold in common?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know the difference between the three; I do not know of any difference.

Mr. STARNES. You just know the effect?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know of any difference.

Mr. STARNES. Let me ask you if it is not a fact that the Nazi and Fascist elements operate not so much to infiltrate and control the unions as to ruthlessly destroy the unions.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Whereas the Communist policy is to work inside the unions and seize control of them and use them for their own purposes; is not that the difference between the ideologies?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that that is a specific difference. I think they work along about the same lines. I think they are all willing to go through any organization they can, in any way they can.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it not been your experience that those who oppose the Communists are branded by the Communists as Nazis or Fascists, and that those who oppose the Nazis or the Facists are branded as Communists?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Is it not their invariable strategy to so brand every one who is opposed to them?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. What we need is a little bit more talk to stir the people to direct action for the preservation of constitutional, democratic government; is not that right?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. I say if we could get more of that, affecting the very center of our life, if we can talk a little bit more about American culture and democratic government and a little less about these other "isms," we would be on the road to Utopia, or more nearly so than by following these other "isms."

Mr. MARTIN. Of course, the mere branding of people as Communists, or as Nazis, or as Fascists, is a very dangerous procedure.

Mr. STARNES. Certainly.

Mr. MARTIN. Because the flagrant calling of names without substantial proof aids—it does not hurt—their cause, and the danger of merely calling names, without the facts, is grave, because it leads to misinformation and misrepresentation of Americans who believe that the best way out from the influence of any of these foreign "isms" is by building up the economic and social security of the working people and of the common people of this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you not say that the harm of name calling would also extend to those who ruthlessly call people Tories and reactionaries?

Mr. MARTIN. It is the same thing; there is no difference.

The CHAIRMAN. Then is it not true that the best way to cure all of this is to provide economic security and social safety for every American citizen, to make democracy effective?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

There is nothing more important to the preservation of democracy than the absolute protection of the working people of this country



in their rights to belong to labor organizations and exercise their constitutional rights and privileges provided in the Constitution.

There is nothing more conducive to respect for democratic government than the complete protection by every force of government and every responsible industrial organization in this country for the protection of the workers and their rights to organize as other groups of individuals organize and have for years exercised that privilege, under the Constitution.

Mr. STARNES. You are entirely correct in that statement, and along with that is the corollary that every American citizen should respect property rights—human rights coming first—of course, and for the preservation of the capitalistic system of government.

Mr. MARTIN. The workers and other people of this country, the common people of this country will, and should, have the greatest respect, and will continue that respect, and that respect will take care to protect their rights that are guaranteed under the Constitution. Special privilege is the greatest danger in America.

The CHAIRMAN. That applies not only to organized money but also to special privileged organized groups.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The principle applies equally.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement:

I was invited by Mr. Gebert, who came to my office, and I remember a certain Biblical illustration that reminds me of this: "I was taken up on the mountain, and I was shown the promised land." Mr. Gebert informed me that if I would just come down to Mr. Weinstone's office, or meet him, Mr. Forester, Browder, and others, and deal with them on the number of organizers to be appointed, the number of local unions that would be turned over, and I was to go out and see that they were given over to the Communist Party, that I, indeed, could be the greatest labor leader in America, even greater than John L. Lewis, greater than anybody.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That was his exact statement.

The CHAIRMAN. And your refusal to do that brought on you the antagonism and the hatred of the Communist elements.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I told them where they could go.

The CHAIRMAN. You also say here:

All I had to do to become great was to come down and make the deal. Well, I don't need to tell you that I told Mr. Gebert, who was right across the table from us, that Hades was hot, but it wouldn't be half as hot as my office, if he didn't get out and get out quick.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

Immediately after when they saw that there was no chance, then the great campaign of vilification started against me personally. Well, I could go into that ramification.

Are these men Communists? There is only one of them that is a Communist. Are they dealing with the Communist Party? Absolutely, 100 percent. There are at least four deals in which Dick Frankenstein was mixed up with the Communist Party.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the position of the Communist Party, relative to activities in new situations, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing further):

The C. I. O. for the State of Michigan was to be placed in the Communist Party, and an organization for dictatorship worked out, and a Communist Party leader elected to that place with Dick Frankenstein.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the activities of the Communist Party, it is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You made that statement, did you not?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know for certain whether I made that statement or not.

Mr. STARNES. You made substantially all these statements that the chairman has read, some of which are verbatim?

Mr. MARTIN. Substantially, regarding the activities of the Communist Party, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing further):

In the Hamtramck election a deal was made in Dick Frankenstein's office in the Griswold Building with Mortimer, Hall, Gebert, and Weinstene, by which Frankenstein was to use the labor movement to elect certain Communist Party leaders to the council, and it would have been done had we not said, "You try that, and we will come out on the radio and blast you. We just won't stand for it."

That is substantially correct, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember just the exact statement I made relative to that, and whether or not this is a correct reproduction. Substantially, the record concerning the activities and the proposals of the Communist Party are correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember that incident, do you not, in the Hamtramck election, as to the making of a deal in Dick Frankenstein's office?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that personally; I have information relative to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You had information to support you in making that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct, and if it is not, say so:

I am saying this because I am coming to one of the important points I want to discuss with you. Just as the opponents of the labor movement realize the importance of the labor movement as far as actually putting the workers into a position of bargaining and actually becoming an important factor in democratic government, so those who have had fads, who have had principles and had political ideas and ideals, if they may be called such, have realized the importance of the labor movement for the development of their particular ideals. This has been particularly true with the Communists in this country, and it may happen that this is a fad. But I may say this is no fad with me. I am not speaking now of the present crisis or something that now exists. For 2 years, or long before that, since I came into the U. A. W. A., I have been fighting consistently under cover, without bringing the matter to the attention of the public, to eliminate from the labor movement, and the U. A. W. A. particularly, the Communist leadership that was leading it in the wrong direction.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. These are statements made by you, Mr. Martin, and are correct, or substantially correct, in an address you delivered, first, on July 28, 1938, at 8 o'clock p. m., at the Shrine of the Little Flower; is that correct.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether it is correct or not.

Mr. STARNES. They are statements made public, made as matters of record, in public addresses.

Mr. MARTIN. I addressed priests and ministers of my own labor union, my own organization, many times.

Mr. STARNES. Those statements are excerpts, and you recognize them as being substantially correct statements?

Mr. MARTIN. I recognize them as being factually correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The question arises, "Do the Communists seek to use and control the labor movement for their interests?"

The answer is positively yes. Emphatically yes. Skillfully, they have changed their tactics from time to time. Back in 1929 to 1932 and over a period of time before that, they had the policy of creating dual unions, or revolutionary unions—destroying the real unions in existence and creating for themselves other unions in which they could have power.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing reading):

Shortly after they adopted another policy, which has been described as the Trojan horse policy. In other words, they come into the labor movement, or any movement, into the churches just as well as into the labor movement, in a Trojan horse fashion under the guise of pretense.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I have in this file here a statement which was taken from a Communist meeting in which a member of one of our local unions, Fred Williams by name, who is a member and one of the principal agitators of local No. 7, in which he states: "I went to church this morning with a prospective member for the Communist Party. It was an awful ordeal, but we must make all kinds of sacrifices for the cause."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

In this statement we have an indication of the new policy which has been adopted by the Communist Party—at the seventh congress of the Communist International held during the summer of 1935.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; that is a correct statement; I do not know whether I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about the authenticity of that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement:

I say this: It is unfortunate that Mr. Frey, before the investigating committee appears to be solely a protagonist for the A. F. of L. and antagonistic toward the C. I. O. Much, however, of which Mr. Frey says is true. Much of what he says is fact. I am satisfied that Mr. Frey has authentic information concerning the truth of what he says. However, he goes too far. He makes some statements that are not true, but in others he is right. He goes too far and hurts his cause before the country because he takes an antagonistic attitude. But much of what he says is true about the Communist Party's effort to get control of every union for years. The A. F. of L. is not free of it.

Is that a correct statement?



Mr. MARTIN. My statement relative to that—I do not know that I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is relatively true. Mr. Frey, however, in his statement, evidently used the platform from which he was speaking to blast the C. I. O.

Many of the statements which he made are unfounded; they are untrue.

Mr. STARNES. You do not say that what he said about communism is untrue?

Mr. MARTIN. Some of the things he said about people being connected with the Communist Party are incorrect. He named some people, and it is absolutely untrue that they are connected at all with the Communist movement in any way; that I know personally.

Mr. STARNES. The number he named incorrectly are relatively few?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. If he had done justice to his testimony he would have pointed out that John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Sidney Holman, David Dubinsky, and many others have long been active, aggressive, and intelligent opponents of communism.

Mr. STARNES. Let me say for your benefit that he stated positively that John L. Lewis was a good American citizen, that John L. Lewis, to his own knowledge, was opposed to communism.

He further made the statement before the committee, and the record will show that Mr. Frey made the statement, that hundreds of thousands of the C. I. O. were good loyal American citizens, and that the Federation of Labor had had the same difficulty in fighting the infiltration of communism as the C. I. O.

He further stated that Mr. Lewis had fought and expunged from the ranks of organized labor those leaders.

My recollection is that he also said that Mr. Dubinsky was not a Communist, and his testimony is rather voluminous.

He, upon further investigation, when denials were made that certain people whom he named were Communists, submitted to the committee a statement that, upon further investigation, he found that such was not true about some of the parties whose names were mentioned.

I want to say that in fairness to Mr. Frey and also in fairness to the committee, because we are not pro or con so far as that matter is concerned, we are not concerned in any jurisdictional disputes.

But we are unalterably opposed to the spread of Communism or any other un-American activity, and as much opposed to that as you gentlemen who are leaders, and we know that you are opposed to those activities. We want to make that clear.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct? You have answered these questions by saying they are correct, and that is sufficient. But the question is this, are the statements that I am reading correct statements of facts?

Mr. MARTIN. There may be certain ones that I might question, but as a matter of relativity, that is correct. I mean, the factual situations were there.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, what is said is true?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct:

In the U. A. W. A. local unions, officers by one false statement or one false position after another have allowed Communists to be elected to local offices by one maneuver or another.

Is that true, or is it not true?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this true, or is it not true:

They were not exposed and often able to take control in local unions.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

The entire lists of local unions have been turned over to the Communist Party and then the Communist Party has mailed its propaganda to the members of those local unions.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. We have undeniable evidence that that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I have here a letter which went to every member of the U. A. W. A. in the contests of which it says that the U. A. W. A. is a new union which the reactionary group is in a mad struggle to gobble up.

Is that correct or not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this true or not:

The letter then goes on to explain the tactics of Martin and his reactionary followers and the opportunity that is offered to the members of the Communist Party. Every union in the United States as far as I have been able to determine has a Communist Party faction—every single one of them, at least in every one of our unions, and we know who most of their members are.

Is that true or untrue?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that it is exactly correct as to the entire group, but we know, as a matter of fact, that there are and have been a number of cultured Communist Party fractions within the local unions.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that is true as to all the unions, or a majority of them?

Mr. MARTIN. I would say a good number of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a true and correct statement:

I suspect that practically every church has also its Communist fraction.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know relative to that, whether I made that statement or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not undertake to say whether that is true or not?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I don't know what they call that unit in churches.

I am asking you whether that is true or not true, and also this:

But it is the policy of the Communists to get their group within organizations and then to malign and to disparage by all kinds of propaganda to turn the members away from leadership and get their stooges into power.

Is that true or untrue?

Mr. MARTIN. That is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct:

They especially want the financial secretaryship, because that is the key to the union.

Is that correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, relative to that matter, I would not say that that is a special activity, but it is true that their policy is to get control of the various offices of the union, or the various offices of the entire organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this true or untrue:

As I said here before and in Washington, D. C., Meserick of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights boasted that they had taken \$7,000 out of the auto-union locals here for the Communist Party; that is, in the city of Detroit.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that that statement is exactly correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of it is?

Mr. MARTIN. I mean that there were boastings by the Communist Party that they had taken funds from the local unions is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that yourself?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That part of the statement you say is absolutely true?

Mr. MARTIN. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this true or untrue:

The moment any labor union, or the moment a representative of the church has dared to bring these facts out, immediately we have been branded as "red-baiters," until in the labor movement today, and I say it without fear of contradiction, three-quarters of the labor leaders are afraid to say anything about the Communists and their activities.

Is that true or untrue?

Mr. MARTIN. It is absolutely true that the method of protecting themselves against exposures has been the use of the cry of "red-baiting."

The CHAIRMAN. Then this statement I have read you is a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the matter of the implement which they use to protect themselves, it is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, when you use the word "relative," that is what you are talking about. It says:

The moment any labor union, or the moment a representative of the church has dared to bring these facts out, immediately we have been branded as "red-baiters," until in the labor movement today, and I say it without fear of contradiction, three-quarters of the labor leaders are afraid to say anything about the Communists and their activities.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I said three-quarters; I know a great many are. I know the Communist Party uses the implement of raising the cry of "red-baiting" the moment any exposure of Communist activities is carried on.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct, speaking of labor leaders, whether there are three-quarters or a great many:

They have not the moral, or the intestinal fortitude to stand up and say what are the facts.

Is that correct?



Mr. MARTIN. As to a great many of them it is true.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true of a great many labor leaders?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; and also of a lot of other people.

Mr. STARNES. And some of the people in political life do not have the intestinal fortitude to stand up against that menace.

Mr. MARTIN. Of course, and, vice versa, a lot of them are using it as a means of enhancing their position.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, some Communists are using the Nazi movement and the Fascist movement as a smoke-screen for their activities, whereas the same thing is true of people in the Nazi movement and the Fascist movement who use the Communists as a smoke-screen for their activities.

Mr. MARTIN. In political life——

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; and in political life you have the same thing true. You have some people who may be afraid to expose it, and you have other people who seek to expose them for political purposes, to their advantage.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this true or untrue?

I have a report from a Communist meeting in which they say, "We must put out 2,000 pamphlets in which we make out Homer Martin as a "red-baiter." That is the program they have carried out in local and international unions.

Is that true?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is absolutely correct, is it?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

I have here a list of the Communist Party leaders in the auto industry.

Did you have that list?

Mr. MARTIN. I did not get that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement is this:

I have here a list of the Communist Party leaders in the auto industry.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. You also have heard some of them use the "red-baiting" cry to further their political fortunes on the other side of the fence, too, in all fairness, have you not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct; it is on both sides of the fence?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I think that is admitted.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement or not?

I want to stop long enough to say this: I don't want to be involved in another fight now. I don't want to attack the C. I. O. itself. I think it is a mistake to attack the C. I. O. as such because, in my opinion, industrial unionism is the only effective method of organizing the workers in the mass-production industry. We cannot assume a role of attacking industrial unionism because it is correct and, secondly, because it has caught the imagination of the workers. We must not be put in the position of opposing industrial unions.

That is a correct statement, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement?

However, what I do say is this: That there has been an attempt, an intelligent, knowing attempt, on the part of certain people within the C. I. O. to turn the whole C. I. O. over to the Communist Party.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that is correct about every labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. This statement is correct, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you add further to it that it is correct in reference to any other movement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this statement correct:

I say that without any exaggeration. Organizers have been appointed for no other reason than that they were Communists.

Is that true?

Mr. MARTIN. I did not get that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the statement:

I say that without any exaggeration. Organizers have been appointed for no other reason than that they were Communists.

Mr. MARTIN. I think it is correct that wherever the Communist Party got influence, they used their influence to appoint organizers of their own political philosophy.

The CHAIRMAN. So you say that statement is a correct statement—the statement that I have read?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement or not:

I can point to our own set-up in Michigan where the power and light strike took place. Organizers appointed there were men from Fisher Body No. 1. They were appointed as representatives of the C. I. O. by John Brophy. Both of them were known and recognized in Flint. They were not effective in our union because they were recognized as Communists. They did not build our union. And among all the organizers in Flint, Brophy chose the Communists to put them on the pay roll of the C. I. O.

Is that a correct statement or not?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I made that statement; I do not remember that that is a correct statement.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember that it is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of it is correct, if the whole is not?

Mr. MARTIN. It is a correct statement that certain of these people are Communist Party members and active in the Communist movement, but relative to the other matter, I certainly am not going to say—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Were they put on as organizers?

Mr. MARTIN. They were.

Mr. STARNES. They were?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement or did you not make it?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I made that statement or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not say you did not make that statement in an address delivered Wednesday, August 17, 1933, at the Shrine of the Little Flower?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say the statement is a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I say that the statement relative to their being appointed is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And the statement that they were Communists is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. That is all that matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement or an incorrect one: Is that correct?

I can tell you about Wisconsin. The whole set-up in Wisconsin is communistic and our unions won't join.

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Not "relative." Is the statement that I have just read true, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not sure, in the first place, that I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking if you made it. I am asking if the statement is correct.

Mr. MARTIN. I would say that to say the whole situation is communistic, is not correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what is correct, then?

Mr. MARTIN. It is correct that they have influence there, they have position there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that dominant?

Mr. MARTIN. Fairly dominant; yes.

Mr. STARNES. And your unions have not gone in there?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. For the reason that the Communist influence is fairly dominant in that area?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct; and I would like to add that that situation is being cleared up.

Mr. STARNES. Good.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement or not:

I instructed them not to join and I told Mr. Brophy the same thing over the telephone. "Take it from under the rule of Michelson and our people will join," I said.

Did you make that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. What statement did you make?

Mr. MARTIN. I made the statement that I had instructed our people not to join under the set-up.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say if they took it out from under the rule of Michelson then your people would join?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that I said that. I said that when the situation was cleared up, to our satisfaction, then they would be instructed to join.

Mr. STARNES. And the way to clear that situation up to your satisfaction was to remove from the position of dominance Communist leaders in the labor movement in the State of Wisconsin; is that right?

Mr. MARTIN. The way to clear it up was to put it on the basis of representation, as it should be; let the local unions come in according to their membership and they elect their officers accordingly. And that had not been done.

Mr. STARNES. They could not do that under the Communist control under which they had been operating?



Mr. MARTIN. They could not do it the way it was set up. Whether or not the Communists had anything to do with the situation, the fact still remained that it was not set up correctly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement or not?

The men who were appointed to direct the union in Wisconsin were known members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MARTIN. Some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Then would you say this statement is correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. It is incorrect as far as all of them are concerned. Some of them were.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage were?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know, but some of them were.

Mr. STARNES. A considerable percentage, though?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say considerable or not considerable. I would say some of them were.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement:

Michelson, who is a member of the Newspaper Guild and a known Communist, was picked by Brophy to head the C. I. O. in Wisconsin.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you say you did or did not make it?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think I did.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Michelson?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know what position he holds.

Mr. STARNES. Well, is he a Communist?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I do not know that.

Mr. STARNES. Is he reputed to be?

Mr. MARTIN. He is reputed to be; yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is what we want to know.

The CHAIRMAN. So you will not say whether you did or did not make that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you say whether the statement is correct as made, regardless whether you made it or not? Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. All of it is not true; no.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of it is true?

Mr. MARTIN. It is true, as stated, that the Communists have responsibility there; that some of them are members of the Communist Party or are alleged to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Did Brophy appoint Michelson?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether he did or not.

Mr. STARNES. He did hold a position as organizer in the movement in Wisconsin?

Mr. MARTIN. I understand he was some sort of an officer there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement or not:

It is not an accident that John Brophy went to the west coast and appointed Harry Bridges. That was no accident. Brophy knew what Bridges was. Bridges can deny that he is a Communist from now to doomsday, and I will not believe him. That is characteristic of them all down the line. Harry Bridges will not work with the officers of our unions. We know from first-hand information in our own unions in the U. A. W. A. that he will not work with our officers who are elected by the members, but will go around in a

circuitous manner and work with the Communists in the local unions. Bridges did his work and, to quote Scripture, "By their works ye shall know them"—not by what they say.

Did you make that statement or not?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I made that statement or not, but that statement is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement or not?

In the U. A. W. A. we have the officers fighting me and I have had to fight John Brophy as well as the stooges for the Communist Party in the U. A. W. A.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I made that statement or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You will not say whether you made it or whether you did not make it?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a true statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Not as a matter of record or a matter of fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have no proof that that is true?

Mr. MARTIN. No; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement or not?

Brophy has surrounded John L. Lewis with Communists. I told John Lewis that in his own office. I said: "The trouble is that you are surrounded with Communists." And then he asked me: "Who do you think they are?" I told him.

Did you make that statement or not?

Mr. MARTIN. I made a statement that, like others in the labor movement, he had Communists in the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You made the statement that you told Mr. Lewis that; is that right?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you told him who they were?

Mr. MARTIN. I told him some of them that I thought were. And incidentally, most of them have been removed.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us the names of the ones you told him were and the ones you say have been removed?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I would rather not do that.

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot tell us the ones who were removed?

Mr. MARTIN. I would rather not do that. I will furnish you with that information.

Mr. STARNES. Will you furnish it to us in executive session?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement; did you make this statement?

Just recently in an executive board meeting of the Non-Partisan League they named two known Communists to run, one for State senator and the other for State representative. John Zaromba is one of them and Stanley Novack is the other. Both of these men are known Communist Party members and yet they are expecting the U. A. W. A. will supply money to elect them to the State legislature. I will contribute all I can to defeat them.

Did you make that statement or not?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I made that statement or not, but that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a correct statement, but you will not say whether you made it or not?

Mr. STARNES. He says it is true; that is sufficient.

Mr. MARTIN. It is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement?—

I say to you that, in my opinion, the Communists would study for the priesthood in order to put over their propaganda.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I made that statement or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a true statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that they would use any sort of Trojan-horse tactics.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that is a true statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it is hard for me to imagine that they would go through the laborious torture of studying for the priesthood, but they would do most any other thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that that is correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. As a general statement that they utilize all means to carry out their propaganda, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But this particular statement is incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this statement or not, in the same address?—

We won't need anybody to get the Communists out. We will get rid of them if there are Communists working in any line in the U. A. W. A. The U. A. W. A. isn't going to be used by them.

Mr. MARTIN. I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You made that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether I made it there; I do not know whether I made it in that speech or not, but I have made it and still make it.

Mr. STARNES. For the sake of the record, Mr. Martin, and in order to clarify the entire situation, the excerpts which the chairman of the committee has read to you and concerning which he has asked you whether they were correct, or whether you made them, are statements you are purported to have made in addresses on July 28, 1938, at 8 p. m. at the Shrine of the Little Flower; and on August 17, 1938, at the Shrine of the Little Flower. These statements the chairman has read are statements purported to have been made by you. And you say as to those, in each instance, that it is correct, substantially correct, or, if you did not say it, that the facts as stated are true. That is a correct statement, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, relative to the statements—

Mr. STARNES. As they dealt with communism.

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the statements that are made that were read to me, what I answered was correct. I do not know that I made all those statements; and I do not know that all the statements there are correct. In some instances I said they were not correct. But in those instances where I said they were correct, they were correct.

Mr. STARNES. And statements of fact; they are your statements to this committee with reference to that particular phase of un-American activities, is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to those things that I said were correct.



Mr. STARNES. That is what I say. I do not want you to be put in the position of saying something that you did not say. At the same time, we do not want any evasion because, as we understand it, you have been a stalwart fighter against un-American and subversive activities in the ranks of labor, of whatever form and character.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And you fight communism just as strongly as you would nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And your statement before this committee is that as president of one of the greatest unions in this country, you have found communism rearing its head, in positions of leadership, some of them in organizing positions, some of them as secretaries, in locals of your union; but that you have endeavored to stamp them out in every instance as quickly as you could?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; we proceeded to knock their heads off where we could.

Mr. STARNES. I wanted to get that straight so that there could not be any equivocation or evasion about it.

The CHAIRMAN. And you believe that every good American will do everything in his power to expose and combat communism, fascism, and nazi-ism?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And those who do undertake to do that are going to be branded by various names, are they not? You have found that to be true in your own case?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Personally you found that to be true yourself, is not that true?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You yourself have been branded as a "red baiter" because of your activity in an attempt to help organize labor in this country to set its own ranks in order and cast out any un-American or subversive influence; is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. They have called you reactionary, have they not?

Mr. MARTIN. Everything.

The CHAIRMAN. They have even said that you were exposing communism for political purposes, have they not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. They said you were exposing it in order to advance yourself for selfish purposes, is not that a fact?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not give you credit for being sincere in trying to help the labor movement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And your motives have at all times been to advance the cause of the laboring people?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So that we say that anyone who engages in the exposure of, or in combating subversive activities, is going to be branded by all sorts of names and accused of doing it for political purposes; is not that the fact?

Mr. MARTIN. Of course, there is a correct way and a wrong way of doing it?

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the question of whether the way is correct or incorrect is a matter of judgment, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. A matter of opinion.

Mr. MARTIN. Certainly a matter of dealing with the question as a matter of knowledge of their effect—

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, when you talk about a matter of knowledge, you admit yourself that in your testimony with reference to Nazi activities and Fascist activities, that is largely based on hearsay, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would not think the committee was acting right if they denied you the right to make that statement, would you?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not condemn the committee for having afforded you an opportunity to say what you believe with regard to nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. MARTIN. I think the committee might do well to examine carefully some of the witnesses relative to whether they speak with any knowledge or whether they have any facts to back up their statements. Some of the "screwballs" that have testified up here are not any asset to the committee in their fight against un-American activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Name one.

Mr. MARTIN. Ralph Knox, Judge Gadola.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the committee should deny to an American citizen the opportunity to appear before the forum and state under oath what the facts are?

Mr. MARTIN. I think there ought to be an effort to find out whether or not the facts are substantially correct, that are testified to.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not assuming that that effort has not been made?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You are merely saying that it ought to be made?

Mr. MARTIN. Except that some of the testimony evidently was not correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not say that with reference to your own testimony, would you?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not that statement apply with reference to every other witness who testified?

Mr. MARTIN. Not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. There may be witnesses who would have the same opinion of your testimony that you have of theirs; is not that a fair statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you have found, in your own experience, that when you are undertaking to rid the labor movement of Communists and exposing them, they have attributed all sorts of ulterior motives to you; is not that the fact?

Mr. MARTIN. Surely.

Mr. STARNES. I think we have covered the labor field pretty well. Let me ask you a few questions outside of the labor field.

Do you know anything about communistic activities in the churches of this country? You are a church man; you are a minister.

Mr. MARTIN. I know something about their activities.

Mr. STARNES. What is their real attitude toward the church?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. What are their activities in the church; what have they been thus far; for what purposes do they get in there?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, as far as I have been able to conclude, they have used it like they have used every other organization where they have a chance to further their own interest.

Mr. STARNES. And what is the interest that they seek to further in the church, in trade unions or other organizations? What is it?

Mr. MARTIN. It is the same as that of the fascists and the nazis.

Mr. STARNES. And what is that?

Mr. MARTIN. Namely, to advance the theory of dictatorship and the overthrow of democratic government and democratic procedures.

Mr. STARNES. That is what we want you to say.

Mr. MARTIN. The institution of dictatorship in one way or another.

Mr. STARNES. That is what we want you to come down to bedrock on. Have you noticed any activities on the part of Communists in our schools and colleges?

Mr. MARTIN. No; not very much.

Mr. STARNES. Not very much?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Where have you noted any at all?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that I have any instances at all where that is true. I know it is very easy, and very often done, when a professor or a student or a teacher undertakes to deal factually, uninformed people—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Accuse them of trying to propagandize?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And you have to draw a fairly fine line of distinction between factual presentation and propaganda?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And it is very easy to shade from one to the other?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I think we all recognize that fact.

Now, do you know anything about communistic activities which have the political picture or the so-called united front in this country? We have had a great deal of testimony to that effect by college men, by newspapermen, and by labor leaders.

Mr. MARTIN. I think they will use any political party that they can use. I think that they used the Democratic Party or the Republican Party or any other party just as they use the labor movement for their interest. I think they have.

Mr. STARNES. They have worked within the ranks of both of the major parties, in your judgment?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And have also worked within the ranks of some of the abortive third parties that have arisen in the last few years?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; they use them all where they can.



Mr. STARNES. Anywhere they can find a foothold?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about their activities in relief circles, or with people on relief, any organizational efforts that they have made there?

Mr. MARTIN. My observation is that whatever efforts they have made they have not gotten very far with.

Mr. STARNES. But they have made an effort to organize relief workers?

Mr. MARTIN. Well—

Mr. STARNES. Do you not think that they consider the field of unemployment a fruitful field for their labors?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I do not know whether they consider them so or not. My observation has been that it has not been; that perhaps the unemployed are as foreign, if not more foreign, to the inroads to these subversive elements than any other group. That is my observation.

Mr. STARNES. Let us get back to the communistic activity in the church. Just what have you noted in that connection? And you certainly should speak with some degree of authority on that, as well as on labor questions, because you are a member of the cloth.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I do not know very much about it.

Mr. STARNES. The truth of the business is, insofar as your personal knowledge is concerned, about any of the facts you have testified to this morning, your first-hand rendering of facts, that you have come into juxtaposition or into conflict—I will put it that way—with un-American and subversive activities in the trade-union movements more than you have in any other section, because that happens to be your professional field at this time?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That is a correct statement of fact, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. It was one of the first objectives of the Communist Party at least in the United States of America, to get into the trade-union movement; that is a matter of history and record, is not that true?

Mr. MARTIN. One of the objectives, surely.

Mr. STARNES. I will say that that is one of the first that they had.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I do not know whether it was one of the first or not. But I think they are just as interested and the Nazis and the Fascists are just as interested in getting in charge of the Democratic Party or the Republican Party as they are of the labor movement, in my opinion.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Martin, you have in Detroit, in addition to the Communists, a sort of a unity group, have you not, composed of Socialists, revolutionary Socialists, and what not?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, not necessarily. It is a matter of the relative position. As far as the so-called unity group in our organization is concerned, there are just as many people there that were not Communists as were.

Mr. MOSIER. What I am trying to develop is whether or not that group works with the Communists or is dominated by the Communists.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, the Communists sort of dominate them, there is no question about that.

Mr. MOSIER. The Communists dominate them?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. And did they succeed to any appreciable extent in wielding influence over them?

Mr. MARTIN. For quite a while they dominated it; yes.

Mr. MOSIER. And they wielded it on other groups about the same.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You have had to take disciplinary action against some officials of the union on account of communistic activities.

Mr. MARTIN. I think I answered a question relative to that matter.

Mr. STARNES. We did not press you on that, but that is the fact, and it is a matter of record.

Mr. MARTIN. I answered that question too, relative to that matter.

Mr. STARNES. You said it was already a matter of public record.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. It is a matter of public record and public knowledge that you had done so.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The strategy of the Communists in seeking to infiltrate the labor movement is, first, to join the union, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. They join like everybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. The first thing they do is to join the union?

Mr. MARTIN. They are workers in industry whom the employers hire, and they join the unions.

The CHAIRMAN. After they become members of the union, they seek to secure strategic positions.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. May I point out this: I do not think you would contend that the hiring of a Communist by an employer would be sufficient excuse for the labor union to take the Communist in. I do not think that you would contend that because somebody else has committed the sin of employing them, it would be a sufficient excuse for organized labor to take to its bosom those Communist people. You would not do that because some racketeering industrial leader has employed Communists in his plant.

Mr. MARTIN. I certainly would not say that. However, as long as the party is recognized by the laws of this country, and as long as we are living in a democracy, I would not say that an economic chance for existence should be taken away from them, nor the right to belong to a labor union.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you should take the economic subsistence away from him, but the question is whether he should belong to a labor union. We would not take away his means of living because he did not happen to belong to a labor organization. I would oppose with my last breath any attempt to take away his means of subsistence.

Mr. MARTIN. I think the only conflict comes in when this or any other group undertakes to dominate an organization that is organized for other purposes than that to which they would turn it. There is no excuse for an organization which openly espouses the cause of democracy to do that, because this is a democratic government. There is no reason nor sense to have the organization directed into

another course. That is dishonesty, and it is hurtful to the whole cause of organized labor.

Mr. STARNES. Have you noticed any aliens who are Communists at work in the Detroit area?

Mr. MARTIN. I think they are pretty well Americanized.

Mr. STARNES. You do have a considerable alien population in that area.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; we have foreign groups in Detroit—Polish, Italian, and other minority groups.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say, as a matter of general repute, or do you have reliable leads to the effect that alien Fascists were at work among the Italian foreign group in Detroit?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say the same thing as to the Nazi group?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have some Russians in Detroit?

Mr. MARTIN. Very few.

Mr. STARNES. You have a Polish group?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Italian, Polish, and other groups.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; most of them are good Americans.

Mr. STARNES. Have you found aliens that were interested in communism?

Mr. MARTIN. I presume they are, but their activities are not outstanding at all. In fact, we find many Fascist groups.

Mr. STARNES. Has Harry Bridges been in that area at all?

Mr. MARTIN. Not that I have heard of.

Mr. STARNES. You know that Harry Bridges is an alien Communist?

Mr. MARTIN. I understand he is reported to be.

Mr. STARNES. It is a matter of record that he is. There is no dispute about it.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee took a recess until 2 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Martin, reading from this speech of August 17, 1938, I will ask you if this is correct or incorrect:

I have a report made by Prof. Hillman M. Bishop, of New York University, on the League Against War and Fascism, now the League for Peace and Democracy. If you turn to page 22 of that report you will find what the Communists have to say about their program:

"We must complete a whole solar system of organizations and solar committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our party.

"We must learn to set up and work through a whole series of mass organizations and in this way also develop our party work. Our chief error is our failure to understand the role and to systematically utilize mass organization as transmission belts to the broad masses of nonparty workers."

That is the Communist Party's policy.

That is a very interesting report. It is urgently important that you get this report and read it. It can be ordered from the Rand Book Shop, 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

Is that correct or incorrect?



Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember the quotation. I know the publication, but I do not remember the exact quotation. I know there is such a record as that, but I do not know the exact quotation.

The CHAIRMAN. Omitting the quotation, you say that you do not know whether it is a correct quotation, would you say that the rest of the language is correct? I will read the rest of the language.

I have a report made by Prof. Hillman M. Bishop, of New York University, on the League Against War and Fascism, now the League for Peace and Democracy. If you turn to page 22 of that report you will find what the Communists have to say about their program.

Now, skipping the quotation, we come to this language:

That is the Communist Party's policy.

That is a very interesting report. It is urgently important that you get this report and read it. It can be ordered from the Rand Book Shop, 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement:

It is no accident that in Kansas City, Mo., that in other places in this country, in St. Louis, that known Communists have been appointed by Brophy to represent the C. I. O. In Anderson, Ind., and throughout Indiana, John Brophy went out of his way not to appoint men who had built the U. A. W. A. He goes out and picks some little two-by-four who has never done anything but worked for the Communist Party and appoints him to represent the C. I. O.

Is that statement correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember having made a statement of that nature.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. I doubt seriously that it is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that it is incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that any portion of it is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that this portion of it is correct:

In Kansas City, Mo., and in other places in this country, in St. Louis, that known Communists have been appointed by Brophy to represent the C. I. O.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not have any knowledge as to whether that is true or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in a position to say whether it is true or not?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that in Anderson, Ind., and throughout Indiana, Communists were appointed in the U. A. W. A.?

Mr. MARTIN. Not in the U. A. W. A.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they appointed in the C. I. O.?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not definitely certain about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this statement correct or incorrect:

I don't know what the philosophy of the C. P. O. is, but I know it is more socialistic than communistic. Furthermore, for years they have been one of the greatest enemies of the Communist Party. They have been fighting them tooth and nail. They were helpers with Dubinsky in getting rid of communism. I know when they say that Francis Henson is a member of the C. P. O. that is not true. I know that is not true. Henson came from work with the Y. M. C. A., and his standing in the Protestant churches is very high. I am saying that I

know he is not a member of any group anywhere. The alleged evidence they have, they have concealed very carefully. They will not let it be brought out into the light of day.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct; that is the fact. I do not know that I said it.

The CHAIRMAN. Reading now from the speech of July 28, 1938, at 8 o'clock p. m., I will ask you if this statement is correct, or incorrect, the statement being on page 11:

On the one hand, the General Motors contract was a terrible thing, according to the Communist. The Chrysler contract, however, was a great contract, a wonderful contract, because some of their people had negotiated it. And yet the Chrysler contract has many clauses, that a person who knows contracts knows that they are not nearly as good as those within the General Motors contract.

They knew it also, but the point was to discredit those who would not bow to the dictates of the Communist Party, and to laud their own people as great negotiators, who put over a great agreement. I want to point out that method by which they attack and seek to discredit all those that do not go along with them, and at the same time they hope by that to get their own people within the leadership of the union.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read this statement at the bottom of page 11, and ask you if it is correct or incorrect:

Now, there are some reasons why—I might go on and explain this, but I want to say there are some good reasons why—the Communist Party in the next year will try even more desperately than in the past, to take charge of the labor movement. This has to do with some international politics, but I want to express it to you now.

The reason is that they hope to use the labor movement to put pressure upon whatever national government is in power, to line the National Government up with their so-called collective-security program. That is obvious from our conversations and the people that they have among them, that we know where they are going.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. I am of the opinion that it is an exactly correct statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You say it is a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I read now from page 12:

Furthermore, this is important—that wherever the Communist Party has gotten charge of a local union, they have dissipated its treasury and have destroyed the union itself in one way or another. If they cannot control it completely for their advantage, then they destroy it, and often they destroy it anyway. Sometimes, I think, not merely because they want to destroy the union, in the sense of destroying it, but they want to use it, and by their activities they destroy it.

It is, of course, my personal opinion they have no interest in building a labor movement or maintaining a labor movement, except insofar as they may use the name and the prestige to carry out their ends.

In Tarrytown, N. Y., we had a local union. I think the local treasury was \$14,000, and a membership of around 3,000. Communist Party members were elected by devious campaigns to the leadership. In less than 6 months the \$14,000 was gone, gone, and we had 80 paid-up members.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not certain as to the exact numbers, but, relatively, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by the word "relatively"?

Mr. MARTIN. I mean that as far as the exact number or the treasury is concerned, I am not certain that it is correct. The figures are relatively correct. They are correct in percentages.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, that statement is correct, except that you are not certain whether the figure "\$14,000" of money in the treasury, and the number of "80" paid-up memberships are correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But it was around that number?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would say that it is approximately correct, and that the balance of the statement is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read from page 13, and will ask if this statement is correct or incorrect:

I could go on and on and give you union after union to prove what I have said concerning the destruction of unions at the hands of the Communist Party.

Is that statement correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; that statement is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read from page 15, and will ask you if this is a correct statement, or is it incorrect?

Let me give you an illustration. Addes, on Sunday night at our last convention—and I am saying this by way of this: There are some people who have an idea that they can convert Communists. I have tried it for 2 years. There were certain people I thought perhaps a little communistic, I thought I could be fair with them, honest with them, honest and open and aboveboard with them, converse with them, and perhaps they would be honest and clean. Immediately after, at the Milwaukee convention, Mr. Addes got on a platform and said, "Oh, we must have harmony in the organization," and some of you perhaps remember the pictures that were made when we all stood there with our hands clasped.

Carl Trasher, of Flint, Mich., has made an affidavit to this effect, that on Monday morning, the first thing before he started back, he went into Mr. Addes' office and Mr. Addes told him, apologized to him, for making the statement the night before, but he said: "I had to make them; we would have been discredited, because the great majority was with Martin; but you go back with your local union and work, as a good soldier, and by the next convention we will be in charge."

He just made that statement the night before the next morning starting out on the new year. It doesn't make any difference what his profession may be. When Stalin tells him to do the other thing, he will do it. That is our experience in the labor movement.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the activities, policies, and program of the Communist Party, it is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any part of it that is not correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not certain as to the statement concerning Addes. I have no statement on that.

The CHAIRMAN. With that exception, the balance of the statement is absolutely correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I continue the reading:

And the hope of some people that they are going to be able to convert Communists—well, there may be a few that might be converted, but if they get converted they are not Communists very long.



Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

And anybody that goes opposed to the Stalin dictatorship—the orders from New York, which in turn come from Stalin—just doesn't stay in the party.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. That is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

There is no such thing as dealing up aboveboard on top of the table with Communists. At least, that is our experience in the labor movement. There is no way of doing it. We have tried with everything we know how, and we have tried honestly.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; it is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated this morning something to the effect that since you believed the Communist Party was a legal party, there is not justification for excluding Communists from the unions.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You still hold to that opinion?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do believe that the Communist Party is under the dictation of Stalin's foreign government?

Mr. MARTIN. I know it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe that a political organization under the dictatorship of a foreign government should be permitted to exist in the United States of America?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I do not know that I am qualified to make a statement concerning that. It is the law of the land.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the law should be changed so as to exclude a party under a foreign government?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not propose to start a crusade to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you this question: Do you think that any Communists who, according to your statement, receives orders from Stalin, a foreign dictator, should be permitted in labor unions in the United States?

Mr. MARTIN. I think I answered it by saying as long as it is the law of the country, and the country accepts it, and there is a ballot in the States—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You think they should be permitted to stay in the unions?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they should be permitted to hold offices in the unions?

Mr. MARTIN. It is my personal opinion that, in reality, with the Communist Party under the direction of Dictator Stalin, it has no place in the labor movement, or in the offices in the labor movement. I mean as far as the right to hold those positions is concerned. But as long as it is the law, and as long as we are in a democracy, follow democratic practices, and that sort of thing, then I have no other choice. We have to go along with the law.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you wish to draw a distinction between the right of a Communist to be a member of the union and his right to hold a position in the union. Is that right.

Mr. MARTIN. I would make a differentiation there.

The CHAIRMAN. In the one case of membership, you think that as long as the Communist Party is a legal party, the members should be permitted to enter labor unions, but on the condition that they should not be permitted to hold offices in the unions?

Mr. MARTIN. I certainly would not vote for their election.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read this statement from page 16, and ask you if it is correct or incorrect:

Did the Communists have anything to do with the unauthorized strikes? Yes. They not only had to do with them, but they organized them. They organized them and executed them. One of the fellows fired just recently by the General Motors and a Negro by the name of Keys, a Communist member, went from department to department ordering a sit down, and told them if they didn't sit down he would knock them down. In practically every key department, where there was a Communist Party member, that fellow was influential in effecting the unauthorized strike.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not sure that the statement is correct. I know that the Communists have participated in many unauthorized strikes, and that they were active in this. I also know that stool pigeons interested in wrecking the unions were not Communists or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement is:

Did the Communists have anything to do with the unauthorized strikes? Yes. They not only had to do with them, but they organized them. They organized them and executed them.

Is that statement correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Not all of it is true.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of the unauthorized strikes would you say the Communists organized and executed?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not want to make a statement as to the percentage.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say a majority of them?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say a majority. But I would say some of them, or a great many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. "A great many" is the language you wish to employ?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many unauthorized strikes came to your knowledge?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say this statement is correct:

One of the fellows fired just recently by General Motors and a Negro by the name of Keys, a Communist member, went from department to department ordering a sit down, and told them if they didn't sit down he would knock them down. In practically every key department, where there was a Communist Party member, that fellow was influential in effecting the unauthorized strike.

Mr. MARTIN. In that particular instance, I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That statement is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; so far as that particular instance is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say in "that particular instance," do you mean the instance when the Negro by the name of Keys went from department to department, ordering a sit down?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the last sentence—

In practically every key department, where there was a Communist Party member, that fellow was influential in effecting the unauthorized strike.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; that statement has to do with that particular instance.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read this statement, which follows:

At the same moment this thing was going on, Ed Hall, in the International office, was using the International phones and the International money to order workers to sit down in violation of the contract.

Is that statement correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement further reads:

We have affidavits for those things. Not hearsay, not my word, but affidavits made by workers.

Is that statement correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read the following paragraph:

John Murphy, whom some of you may know, recently of Pontiac, now working for the international union up in Saginaw, was ordered by Ed Hall over the phone, when John Murphy called up and asked what to do, Ed Hall didn't say follow out the grievance procedure, he didn't say call the management, he didn't say bring in the international president. He said, "Shut"—and I will not use the word he said—"the plant down, tie it up." Frank Toucy the same way in New York and others. We had 345 unauthorized strikes.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not certain whether that is correct or not so far as the number is concerned. The direct statement is true. Further, it is a matter of record. What I have to say as to that is a matter of evidence. Whatever I said about it is a matter of testimony. I am not sure that is exactly correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember the exact evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that Ed Hall did use the telephone and say what to do? Would you say that John Murphy was ordered what to do by Ed Hall over the phone when John Murphy called up and asked what to do? Is this part of the statement true:

Ed Hall didn't say follow out the grievance procedure, he didn't say call the management, he didn't say bring in the international president. He said, "Shut"—and I will not use the word he said—"the plant down, tie it up."

Would you say that actually occurred?

Mr. MARTIN. To be exact about it, I do not say as to the relationship, but as to the general situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Ed Hall a Communist?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say so.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he reputed to be a Communist?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever said he was a Communist?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is John Murphy?

Mr. MARTIN. A representative of the international union.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. MARTIN. Not by a lot.



The CHAIRMAN. You will not say this is not a correct statement, and will not say it is.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether it is correct or not?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you about this statement:

I doubt seriously that there was a single one of those unauthorized strikes in General Motors that the Communists didn't play an important part in, and certainly a lot of them, while provoked by the management were provoked by international representatives and international officers.

Is that a correct statement or not?

Mr. MARTIN. I think it is relatively correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of it is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I think I make it clear when I say that undoubtedly some of them were.

The CHAIRMAN. The language is this:

I doubt seriously that there was a single one of those unauthorized strikes in General Motors that the Communists didn't play an important part in.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that I made that statement. I doubt if it is correct. I doubt that it is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of it is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. As I said awhile ago, I think that many of them were.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read from page 17, as follows:

The unauthorized strikes, in practically every instance, we found the Communists tied up with them.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. We found them tied up with them in many instances.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you want to qualify that by saying, "In many instances"?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement continues—

The fact is I don't know where—of a single one where they weren't involved in it somewhere.

Mr. MARTIN. I doubt if that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read further:

In the Pontiac strike, the disastrous Pontiac strike, when that unauthorized strike happened, they had Communists from New York City up there, recognized Communists from New York City.

Is that statement true or not true?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not certain whether that is correct or not. I know it is correct that there were Communists there from the outside.

The CHAIRMAN. You know there were Communists on the outside in this strike?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know whether they came from New York City or not?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this statement correct:

They brought every Communist they could get from Detroit up there to encourage and further that strike.

Mr. MARTIN. I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Reading further—

That is when the sit-downs were inside the plant, and they notified me if I went in there they would kill me.

Is that statement true?

Mr. MARTIN. It was the general gossip of the situation that anybody who went in there would be put out of the way.

The CHAIRMAN. And that included you.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the reason you made the statement.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement continues—

They had their blackjacks all ready, and when I walked in they were going to kill me.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that that is a correct statement, but I do know that they did have them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see them when you walked in?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they make any effort to hit you?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement continues—

Of course, I found that Communists are usually the most cowardly rats on earth, I don't mind telling you.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement continues—

They just won't face men. They didn't hit me, and I walked in absolutely unarmed and when I got in there I found about three or four Communists placed around in strategic places and they would fire one question after another at me, and they kept that whole group of people all tied up and worked up until men were crying like babies.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement continues—

Of course, I didn't mince words—I didn't pull my gloves off when I went after them, and the entire group, all except three or four of those Communists voted unanimously to walk out with me. They wanted leadership; they didn't know what to do. These people led them out on a limb, and the limb had been sawed off, and a number of people had been fired.

Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I read further from page 18:

That destroyed the labor movement, and the Communists know it destroyed the labor movement, and if they can't control it and run it to suit themselves, they will destroy it in every instance, at least that is our experience, and it is my personal opinion that the labor movement itself is diametrically opposed to the theory of communism.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I did not just understand. I understood the statement was that that destroys; is that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is, it is correct that communism destroys the labor movement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct; that that kind of tactics destroys the labor movement, and that communism is diametrically opposed to the aims and objects of the labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I read further:

That, if the workers of the country have a labor movement that can protect them, and give them a right to say something about their wages and working conditions, give them a greater security and a better standard of living, that in itself will stave off the danger of dictatorship from any direction, whether it is communism or anything else. And that the Communists are not really interested in building a strong labor movement, rather they are fundamentally interested, and their fundamental thoughts are either to use or dissipate the labor movement, if they could use the labor movement, as a free propaganda agency for their theories. They can certainly use the funds, and they have done it.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I read further from page 19:

Hundreds of our local unions have been bled by these vipers, these blood-suckers of the American worker.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that there are hundreds of them. I do not know that that is correct; but there have been many.

The CHAIRMAN. You would say that it is correct that there have been many of the local unions that have been bled by these "vipers, these bloodsuckers of the American worker?" Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you if this is a correct statement:

Moceri boasted to a friend of mine, and he didn't know he was a friend of mine, that the Communist Party had taken \$67,000 out of the city of Detroit from the automobile workers' union in 6 months.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not remember that incident, and do not know whether that is correct or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not say whether it is correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember making that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not say you did not make it?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say I did not make it, but I do not remember making it, and I do not know that it is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Reading further:

If they could use a labor movement, as a means of funds for the propaganda, they would keep a labor movement, but it will be for the benefit of the workers, and they are not interested in getting good contracts, wherever the Communist Party has been able to negotiate contracts. I can give you illustration after illustration.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Reading further:

John Anderson, one time candidate on the Communist Party ticket for Governor of Michigan was in charge of Tool and Die. Some time ago he negotiated a contract by which he settled for a 48-hour week, which is unheard of any place else. We didn't sign that kind of a contract, and I can show you by the whole program, and I can go on and on to show that they are not



interested in building the labor movement. They are only interested in using it as they can use it, and they are the greatest enemies of the labor movement in America today, and among the greatest enemies of democracy.

Is that a correct statement, or is it incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say that they are the greatest. I would say they are among the greatest.

The CHAIRMAN. With that qualification, is the statement correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I read further:

And I say quite frankly, misunderstood or not misunderstood, I am going to fight them with every thing I have. They are not going to control the U. A. W. A.; they are not going to use it as an implement to voice their dangerous philosophy and their dangerous theories and their dangerous activities upon the workers of the country, if I can prevent it.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is exactly correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the statement you made?

Mr. MARTIN. And I make it now.

The CHAIRMAN. We continue on:

I think we can. I could go on and deal with other labor movements. I can point out to you where certain men within the labor movement have appointed Communist organizers straight down the line.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether that is correct or not.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of it is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I think I have indicated that it is my belief that some of it is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, take this particular statement:

I can point out to you where certain men within the labor movement have appointed Communist organizers straight down the line.

How much of that is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I think there is a good deal of it correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you say "certain men."

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

I can point out to you where certain men within the labor movement have appointed Communist organizers straight down the line.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. And that is the whole labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. And is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

I am not guessing, I know their names, I know who they are.

Is that correct or incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are going to furnish the committee with the names of these men who are Communists, didn't you say this morning?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I will do that.

The CHAIRMAN. You will furnish the names of those who are connected with the Communist movement, as well as the Fascist?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

I am not guessing; I know their names, I know who they are.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

I sat in John Lewis' office and I told him just like I am telling you, that there are certain men within the C. I. O. that are nothing but stooges for the Communist Party, and if they are allowed to, they will destroy the C. I. O. just like they have sought to destroy the U. A. W. A.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct. As I said this morning, since that time they have been removed.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to give us the names of any of the men who have been removed, except confidentially?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You will give us the names of those who have been removed?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And also the names of those who were in the beginning?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing) :

John Lewis is not to blame for it. John Lewis is not the one responsible for it.

Did you make that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

But some of those close to him are.

Did you make that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know whether I made that statement or not. I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

And I say for your own confidential information you needn't worry about John Lewis coming into the U. A. W. A., he won't come in. I know he won't come in, and if he does, if he should, it wouldn't make a bit of difference to me.

Is that a correct statement or is it incorrect?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't think that has anything to do with the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I agree with that. I withdraw the question.

This, however, is a pertinent thing:

Nobody is going to turn the U. A. W. A. over to the Communist Party under any consideration.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Absolutely

The CHAIRMAN. And you made that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; many times.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

I know that in saying these things you may think that I am in the midst of a factional fight and I have a lot of bitterness. No; I am not bitter, because I don't think there is anything "red" about the Communist Party, as far as that is concerned, if you want to get down to colors. I don't think there is anything red about them. I think they are just as black as Hitler.

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. I continue:

I don't think there is any difference. As far as black or red or anything about it, I mean there is no difference in the color, as far as that is concerned, but I am not raising a "red scare" and I am not telling you that everybody is a Communist. I just don't want to be understood as saying that.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

I know where they are from 2 years' experience. I know where they are in the C. I. O. and I know where they are in the U. A. W. A., and as far as the U. A. W. A. is concerned, they are going out.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. As far as the U. A. W. A. is concerned; yes. I know where they are in the entire labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. So the statement, then, is correct, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made the statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

And we may be very bad fellows, and it may seem like we are just terrible factionalists and all that sort of thing, but we know whereof we speak, and it is not a matter of "red" scare or anything about it.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Definitely the Communist Party has gotten its implements into practically every organization in this country.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, that is relatively true. I do not know whether it is practically every organization, but many organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. You now qualify it by saying "many organizations." In other words, you qualify it to read this way:

Definitely the Communist Party has gotten its implements into many organizations in this country?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the balance of the statement right:

Including the Catholic Church.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether that is correct or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You would rather not say that that is a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

That is perhaps a startling statement, but when certain people stand up to me and say, "I am a good Catholic," when I know they have their hands con-



pletely in the hands of the Communist Party and Stalin, I insist that the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church of this country are no exception.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I certainly say that whenever a man professes that he is a good Catholic, or a good Protestant, or a good Christian, and holds to the philosophy of communism, that he is not making a correct statement.

The CHAIRMAN. But that is not the question I am asking you. Here is the statement:

That is perhaps a startling statement, but when certain people stand up to me and say, "I am a good Catholic," when I know they have their hands completely in the hands of the Communist Party and Stalin, I insist that the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church of this country are no exception."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that the churches, like other organizations, are invaded by these various elements interested in the aggrandizement of themselves and of their political philosophies.

The CHAIRMAN. Then this statement is correct, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say that it is exactly correct, but on the whole, it is.

The CHAIRMAN. All right [reading]:

When anybody has an idea, in my opinion, that you can convert it is a mistake. That is my opinion and my experience in the labor movement.

Mr. MARTIN. I doubt that that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I will continue reading:

Take it for what it is worth. I say simply this: In the U. A. W. A. we have decided this, that it is much better to handle a man-eating tiger before he gets to be a full-grown tiger; it is much better to take care of a tiger while he is a cub. He got pretty well grown up in our organization, but we are taking care of him. He is a cancer and you can't compromise with a cancer too long because at some time the doctor will announce it is too late.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

We propose to have the operation while there is still hope and there is still the possibility of building a strong, clean, democratic, responsible labor movement, dedicated to the workers and the welfare of this country, and to that we pledge all we have.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, Mr. Martin, you made both of these speeches, did you not?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not sure that I made those speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. You recall the incidents, do you not?

Mr. MARTIN. I made some speeches; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the Shrine of the Little Flower?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I addressed some five or six hundred priests there.

The CHAIRMAN. One of those speeches was made on August 17, 1938?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And the other on July 28, 1938?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And these statements that I have read, with the exception of the ones that you qualified, are your statements, are they not?

Mr. MARTIN. So far as I know. I am not certain that those are my statements, but those that I have stated are correct, they are correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are your statements, the ones that you said were correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified this morning with reference to Nazi and Fascist activities. Will you tell this committee how much of your testimony on Nazi and Fascist activities is personal testimony, that you know—matters that you are testifying about that you actually know—and what part of it was absolutely hearsay?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I know most of it to be true, personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Personally?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that you witnessed these things yourself?

Mr. MARTIN. Some of them; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not say this morning that most of this information was gained from reports of others—what people told you?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct. That is, I said some of it, as I remember it. But a good part of it I know personally to be true.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know it to be true?

Mr. MARTIN. Because I have witnessed it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yourself?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, can you tell this committee—have you any way of telling this committee—whether there are 50 people in the Nazi movement in and around Detroit, or a thousand? Could you give us any estimate of the number in the movement?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I don't know any more than I know how many Communists there are.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never been in the meetings of any of them?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You form your judgment based upon what people have come to you and told you; is that not a fact?

Mr. MARTIN. And what I have witnessed.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true, but the most of it is what people have told you?

Mr. MARTIN. Some of it. Some of it is what I have witnessed myself.

The CHAIRMAN. And the people who told you were reliable people; is that a fact?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And therefore you feel that the testimony based on what these people have told you was proper testimony?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the name of any Fascist or Nazi organization in Detroit, or in Michigan, that is now active? In De-

troit or in Michigan? I want the name of any Nazi or Fascist organization that you know about yourself.

Mr. MARTIN. The bund.

The CHAIRMAN. The German-American Bund?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any others?

Mr. MARTIN. The Sons of Little Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. What else?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know of any just offhand—any others.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you have named two. Do you know who is the leader or the fuhrer of the bund post in Michigan?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any of the officers in the bund post?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where they have their headquarters?

Mr. MARTIN. I have that as a matter of record. I cannot give it just now.

The CHAIRMAN. You will give that to the committee, will you not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not know how many members they have? Of course you have testified to that.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about their activities, other than what you have said?

Mr. MARTIN. Not other than what I have testified to.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever witnessed any of their parades?

Mr. MARTIN. I have witnessed—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I mean the bund.

Mr. MARTIN. No; I don't think I have, personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear any of them make any public addresses?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever read any of the pamphlets or literature issued by any of them?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I have read some of the speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have those speeches or literature?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give them to the committee?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Now, outside of reading the speeches and literature, you know nothing further about those movements—about the bund movement?

Mr. MARTIN. Other than what I have testified to.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what part of it—about the bund—do you actually know, as a matter of fact, yourself?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I know of their meetings, where they meet, and what they said at their meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know, if you never attended any meetings, or never saw any?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I have the records of the meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point I am getting at; that, after all, your testimony is based upon what somebody told you?

Mr. MARTIN. Not all of it; some of it.



The CHAIRMAN. If you never heard them speak, how do you know what they said?

Mr. MARTIN. I did not say I never heard one of them speak.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I misunderstood you. You have heard them speak?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you hear speak?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know offhand.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember whom you heard speak?

Mr. MARTIN. No. I have records of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Those records were brought to you by somebody else?

Mr. MARTIN. Some of them; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that part of your testimony is based on what somebody told you?

Mr. MARTIN. Not all of it; no.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of it is based upon what you actually know?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know. I would have to go through the records and find out what I testified to.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are not in a position to tell us what part of it you actually saw or heard?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let us pass on to the Sons of Little Italy. Where is that organization in Michigan?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know where the headquarters are?

Mr. MARTIN. No; without the records I do not the exact location.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who any of the officers are in the organization?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know who the head of it is, or any of the officers?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what they stand for in their program?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I know what their literature says.

The CHAIRMAN. The literature that you have?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it that the literature says? We have had some evidence on this in the record. Can you tell us what any of the literature says with reference to the Sons of Little Italy?

Mr. MARTIN. I cannot offhand; no.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall it?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you furnish that to us, too?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever attend any meetings of the Sons of Little Italy?

Mr. MARTIN. Not any regular meetings of them; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what kind of meetings, if they were not regular?

Mr. MARTIN. I have been at meetings where some of their representatives or purported representatives spoke.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they were the representatives?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know definitely, but it was reported.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear their speeches?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they say that made you believe that they were preaching fascism?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, they were defending Mussolini and his tactics—the war of aggression on Ethiopia.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, their speeches indicated sympathy for the Fascist regime in Italy?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those representatives did you hear speak?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us the name of a single one?

Mr. MARTIN. I have them in the records.

The CHAIRMAN. You will submit them to us?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many speeches did you hear?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of those speeches, did you witness or hear any of the activities of the Sons of Italy, of your own knowledge?

Mr. MARTIN. Not of necessity; no.

The CHAIRMAN. So that your information with reference to the Sons of Italy is largely based upon reports that have been brought to you from someone else?

Mr. MARTIN. Reliable sources.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. Of course you are the one who passes upon whether or not they are reliable. That is a matter of judgment upon your part.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I can give it to the committee, if the committee is interested, and they might pass on it.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, when you say that the witness is reliable, that merely means that you, as a matter of judgment, think he is reliable, does it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. One person might think he is a reliable witness, and another person might think he is unreliable. It all depends upon whose ox is gored, does it not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is entirely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, outside of the Sons of Italy and the bund, you have no concrete evidence that you can present to this committee with reference to Nazi and Fascist activity in the United States?

Mr. MARTIN. Not at the moment; no.

The CHAIRMAN. But if you should find any such evidence, you will be glad to give it to the committee?

Mr. MARTIN. I will, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with reference to communistic activity, is it or is it not a fact that most of your information on communistic activity is based upon reports brought to you by your lieutenants—or, I will say, instead of lieutenants, people who have brought to you reports of their activities?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of it did you gain from actual experience, actual contact, and witnessing with your ears and eyes?

Mr. MARTIN. A large amount of it?

The CHAIRMAN. So that what you have testified and what you have said is correct here is based, not upon hearsay, but upon definite knowledge that the statements are true?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had wide facilities to keep in contact with the Communist activities in and around your area?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I have had very good facilities.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, many people have from time to time reported these activities to you?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you checked up these reports to see if they were absolutely true?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that when you made these statements they were not made lightly, but were made upon a very careful investigation upon your part; is that not true?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are going to furnish this committee with the names of all the Communists that you have discovered, both in the labor movement and out of the labor movement, and anywhere around Michigan or anywhere else, that you can give us?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate that very much indeed. And you are going to do the same thing with reference to fascism and nazi-ism?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are also going to furnish the names of the Communists that were ejected from the labor movement, as showing the amount of progress made in ridding the labor movement of the Communists; is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; I will be glad to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, from your statements which you have said to be correct, you have painted a picture here that indicates that the Communists had made strong inroads in the labor movement; is that not a fact?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say that they have made strong inroads. That is a relative proposition. Communists are few in number.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is that your statements that you have made, and which you have said are correct, tell the correct story with reference to the extent of communistic activities; is not that true?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions by other members of the committee?

(There were no questions.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee stands adjourned until Saturday morning at 10:30.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned until Saturday, December 3, 1935, at 10:30 a. m.)





# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee reconvened at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman of the committee) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mrs. Woodward, will you rise and raise your right hand?

## STATEMENT OF MRS. ELLEN S. WOODWARD, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. The witness this morning is Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward. Mr. Alsberg and Mrs. Hallie Flanagan wrote to the committee that they wanted to be heard, but, as I understand the arrangements, Mrs. Woodward is going to bring to us the testimony in refutation of the testimony and evidence that we heard with reference to communism in the Federal Writers Project and in the Federal Theaters Project. Is that correct?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am here, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, because I am the responsible official in charge of this complete division.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, is it your intention to put Mrs. Flanagan on the stand at a later date?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have no further intention other than to read my statements and answer the charges which have been made against people who are under my jurisdiction.

The CHAIRMAN. May I make this statement, Mrs. Woodward: I think the record will show that when we heard these witnesses we repeatedly admonished them not to bring anything into the record except as it pertained to communistic activities.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the statement was made many times that Mr. Starnes was chairman of a subcommittee that heard all of the testimony with reference to the Federal Theater, was it not?

Mr. STARNES. Federal Writers.

The CHAIRMAN. The Federal Writers Project in New York, and he limited that testimony to communistic activities.

It is manifest that this committee has not jurisdiction over the question of whether or not the Federal Writers Project or the Fed-

eral Theater Project has been efficiently managed, or whether it has performed useful services. Naturally, when Congress created it, as it created the W. P. A., it became the agency of this Government and was duly authorized, and its value is assumed.

What the committee is primarily interested in are the specific charges that have been made, copies of which you have. You have, in fact, all of the testimony on the subject with the exception of three witnesses who appeared in executive session; and with reference to those witnesses, you have all the statements of those witnesses that were released to the public. You were furnished with each one of those, weren't you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. I have the press releases.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, according to the wire which the members of the committee received from you, we were told that Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg were also to be here.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the original arrangement. In fact, I have letters from Mr. Alsberg and Mrs. Flanagan requesting the opportunity to be heard. But I believe it was Friday we were notified by Mrs. Woodward that she would appear as the responsible head of the entire organization.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right, Mr. Chairman. But you are overlooking the fact that I wrote you also requesting an opportunity to appear.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure you did.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; as the responsible official in charge of this complete division.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. You wrote and Mr. Alsberg wrote and Mrs. Flanagan wrote, also.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. I have all of the correspondence right here.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, based on the testimony before the Patents Committee, and after reading that testimony of both Mrs. Woodward and Mrs. Flanagan, there is some doubt in my mind as to whether Mrs. Woodward is the proper party to refute the charges that have been made about the Federal Writers' Project.

The CHAIRMAN. We have got to give her an opportunity to show that fact.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I would not like to take your time to quote your own eloquent statement when you opened the hearing before this committee, but if it is necessary—

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about that, Mrs. Woodward. You are going to be heard.

Mr. STARNES. You are going to be given an opportunity to be heard as much as you want to.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I believe she should be heard. I also believe that Mrs. Flanagan should be heard, and I would like to move at this time that Mrs. Flanagan be called as a witness.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee—

The CHAIRMAN. We can consider that in executive session.

Mr. THOMAS. We usually don't consider those things in executive session. I don't see any reason why the committee cannot decide right now that Mrs. Flanagan should be called. I think Mrs. Flanagan is the proper party to be called. Charges have been made about



Mrs. Flanagan's connection with the Federal Theaters Project, and I think that she should be called.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us defer that. We want to accord Mrs. Woodward—

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to have my motion acted on.

Mr. STARNES. I move that we table the gentleman's motion.

The CHAIRMAN. All in favor of tabling Mr. Thomas' motion say "Aye." Those opposed "No." The motion is tabled.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I want to make it very clear that Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg and many others connected with the project both here and in New York City would be very glad to answer any questions that the committee would like to ask them. It is not a question of their not wishing to appear. It is a question of my decision as the responsible official in charge of these projects. It is my decision, and I rest upon that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Woodward, we want to accord you as full latitude as possible. It is only right that we should do so, because we have granted considerable latitude in this hearing to witnesses on the other side.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to be fair. At the same time we want to request you to confine your remarks as much as possible in answer to the specific charges with reference to communistic activities.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And to have you indicate to us, when you make statements, which statements are based upon your own actual knowledge, and which statements are based upon reports that have come to you from other officials, so that we may have in our minds the difference between your own knowledge and the knowledge of others as reported to you.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I expect to meet any requirements, Mr. Chairman, of your committee. I want to say right here that you had a subcommittee sitting in New York City, did you not?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You were not present, were you?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. Are you accepting their report?

The CHAIRMAN. We have no report on it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. Well, you have broadcasted testimony that was given to that particular committee. In other words, you cannot be present at everything, can you?

The CHAIRMAN. No. That is true.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. And I can't either.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not entering into any question about that. I merely say that if we can have some indication at convenient points of what is the result of reports brought to you by others—

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And what you know to be a fact, it would aid the committee very much, because, manifestly, as we have said, while we have heard hearsay testimony and opinion evidence, as we have a right to do, and as all committees that ever investigated any subject in this House have likewise done; nevertheless, we cannot form our findings upon hearsay evidence and opinions. When we come to

predicate our findings we must be governed by direct evidence and the very best testimony that we have in the record.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right, Mr. Chairman. I will tell you—

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you proceed.

Mrs. WOODWARD. What I know is to the extent that any administrator who has supervision over projects national in scope can know. In other words, we select the best people we can and that we can find. We supervise them as closely as possible, and we stand by their work.

I would like to say in the beginning that in talking with your chairman on Friday it was agreed that I should be allowed to make a statement before your committee, and that also I should then be permitted to answer the specific charges that you had preferred against the people who are under my jurisdiction. I stated very clearly to the chairman at that time—

Mr. STARNES. May I interrupt, Mr. Chairman? I want to make one thing clear. This committee is making no charges, and that statement is incorrect. It has made no charges. You can say, "charges that witnesses have made before us," Mrs. Woodward, and you will be correct.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I beg your pardon, Mr. Starnes. I will correct that statement.

Mr. STARNES. We are not in the role of prosecutors here. Nor are we making any charges. We are merely investigating. With that correction go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. But I also—

The CHAIRMAN. In your preliminary statement do you give what your position is?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your official position?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I ask that it be read in order to give the background.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is only fair. You will be permitted to make your statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Thank you.

I am Ellen S. Woodward, Assistant Administrator of the Works Progress Administration.

I am very glad to be able at last to present before your committee the truth concerning charges which have been brought against the Federal Theater Project and the Federal Writers' Project. I have here a brief statement which I should like to read before taking up a detailed analysis of the charges, and I request your permission to read this statement without interruption.

I have been connected, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, with the work-relief program since September 1933. As director of women's projects, I organized and directed the work program for unemployed women in the 48 States. In July 1936 I was appointed assistant administrator in charge of the newly created Division of Women's and Professional Projects, which includes the Federal Arts Projects. Of the total number of more than 3,000,000 needy men and women employed on the whole W. P. A. program, approximately half a million are now at work under this division.

Workers in this division are engaged on thousands of worth-while public projects. They are, for example, bringing library services, nursing services, and household training to needy communities; making available a new supply of books in Braille; producing garments for the destitute; carrying out valuable historical and scientific research; making real property appraisals, tax-delinquency surveys, and rendering other similar assistance to local governmental units, and providing hot lunches for undernourished school children. They are also carrying the arts into many communities culturally starved.

MR. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I don't like to break in on Mrs. Woodward—

MRS. WOODWARD. Just a minute.

THE CHAIRMAN. I don't either, but I don't think this has anything to do with un-American activities.

MR. STARNES. Let me make a statement. We have accorded great latitude to other witnesses, and I want to be fair here.

THE CHAIRMAN. Of course, this has nothing to do with un-American activities. Nevertheless, Mrs. Woodward is the responsible Government head. We have accorded latitude to other witnesses. Some of them have talked about some things that didn't have anything to do with un-American activities. So let us be fair with her.

MR. THOMAS. But when they did talk about them, they were shut off.

MRS. WOODWARD. All right.

There are five Federal arts projects: the Federal Art Project, the Federal Music Project, the Federal Theater Project, the Federal Writers Project, and the Historical Records Survey—each directed by a national director, and by a State director in the States where the projects operate. At the beginning of this month a little over 4,000 persons were employed on the Federal Writers' Project, and approximately 9,000 on the Federal Theater Project throughout the entire country.

Like all other W. P. A. projects, the Federal arts projects are built on the existing skills of those who were in need and have been certified to W. P. A. by the local and State relief agencies of the communities where they live, and not by us. Thus, the Federal Theater Project, in New York City, for example, was built from the unemployed actors and theatrical workers referred to the project by the home relief bureau of the municipality of New York, and certified to the project as being in need of relief.

In selecting the type of project to which the worker was assigned, consideration was given to his training and experience, and an effort was made to assign him to the type of work which he could handle most effectively, and which would preserve and develop his skill. In other words, local relief agencies are responsible for determining which persons in their communities are eligible for relief, and this administration is responsible for determining the qualifications of these people for jobs available on our projects.

No test of political affiliation can, under the law, be applied in the employment of these people from the relief rolls. This is a matter in which we have no discretion whatsoever; we must follow the wishes of Congress as expressed in the various emergency relief acts. The act of 1938 specifically prohibits "discrimination on account of race, religion, political affiliations, or membership in a labor organi-



zation." The 1937, 1936, and 1935 relief acts contained an identical or similar provision.

I will now put in the record the Relief Act of 1938.

(The exhibit was filed with the committee.)

I shall now take up the Federal Theater Project and the Federal Writers Project. Here are the facts concerning the Federal Theater Project: The Federal Theater has, in 3 years, produced 924 plays. The charge "communistic propaganda" cannot honestly be leveled at them. The witnesses, not one of whom could be qualified as an expert on the drama, made that charge specifically against only 26 of these plays.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there at that point may I interrupt?

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say that the witnesses are not qualified experts on the drama don't you think that most any of us would be qualified to read a play or any article and determine whether or not it is communistic without being a qualified dramatic expert?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I don't think any—

The CHAIRMAN. I mean anyone who is acquainted with what communism is. Don't you think such a person would be qualified without being a dramatic critic?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. I don't think so. That is a question of opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. We are going to a considerable extent there, because frankly your statement is just an opinion of your own, is it not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I expect to endeavor to prove that, Mr. Starnes.

The witnesses that made that charge made it specifically against only 26 of those plays or less than 3 percent. The leading drama critics of America have consistently recognized these plays as outstanding contributions to the American theater. Presently I shall quote their opinions on each of the plays mentioned by the witnesses before this committee.

The organizations which have purchased theater party tickets form the great majority of the audiences. These audiences, far from being communistic, are a real cross section of typical American life.

Examination of the experience record, background, and personal history of every one of Federal Theater's executives reduces to absurdity the inference that these executives are un-American or subversive.

Examination of the rules and regulations governing the operation of the project clearly demonstrates that the Federal Theater is not dominated by any outside group but, on the contrary, functions in a businesslike manner in accordance with the law and officially established procedures.

The principal witness, testifying about the Federal Theater project, whose testimony took as much time as all the other witnesses combined, was never an employee of the Federal Theater project and moreover has so little theatrical experience that she could not possibly qualify for employment on the project. This witness, Hazel Huffman, represents herself as the secretary of a so-called committee of unemployed theatrical professionals.

Now, the Actors' Equity Association, the recognized organization of actors of the American stage, has on numerous occasions repudi-

ated Miss Huffman and recently, in its official magazine warned members against any association whatsoever with her so-called committee in an article entitled "Warning to H. Huffman & Co.: Keep out."

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt here?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It was my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that I was to read my statement without interruption.

The CHAIRMAN. Let her read her statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Am I correct?

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right.

In the past 3 years 27,000,000 people have attended performances of the Federal Theater project. More than 30 percent of these people had never before seen living actors on the stage.

This great audience has been entertained by a project which draws 95 percent of its workers from the relief rolls, many of them long out of work and in despair until this opportunity once more to practice their profession was provided them by the Federal Government. In carrying out this program, the Federal Theater Project has rehabilitated these artists and reestablished their skills to such an extent that more than 2,000 have been returned to private industry, and not a few of these have since become stars of the current stage or cinema.

A number of them are: Here is Gloria Dickson, a California girl, who was playing in stock. She was very much in need. She later joined the Federal Theater. While she was working for us and doing such good work, she was picked up by the Warner Bros. scouts, and she now has a long-time contract to be starred.

Then Oscar O'Shea—I take it that you are interested in knowing about our getting people off the relief rolls back into private industry?

The CHAIRMAN. Of course we are interested in it, and yet that is not the question under consideration. But go right ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I want to tell you all about these things.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Then there was Oscar O'Shea, an old-time stock actor. He came with the Federal Theater project, and now has a long contract with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

There is John Housemann, a producer of plays, who was with the Federal Theater. You recall him in *Dr. Faustus* and *Macbeth*. He is now with the Mercury Theater.

Then Grant Richards. He was with a California stock company. Later he was with the Federal Theater. He now leads in Republic Pictures.

Then there is Stephen Courtley, who played obscure roles in various New York plays. He has starred with the Federal Theater as Abraham Lincoln, and he is now on Broadway in *Fabulous Invalid*.

There is Hugh Sothorn, and old character actor in stock companies for a long time. He was in great need, and he came with the Federal Theater and made a reputation there for himself, and he now has a long-time contract with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

At the head of this enterprise is Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, director of the Federal Theater project. Mrs. Flanagan was a director and

producer of plays, as well as a dramatist and a professor of drama at Vassar College. She also taught at Harvard and at Grinnell, and it was largely her work at those colleges that won her a Guggenheim Fellowship for the study of drama, the first such fellowship ever awarded a woman. As a result of that study, covering 14 months' observation of the modern theater throughout Europe, she published, in 1928, a book entitled "Shifting Scenes." In the words of the New York Times, the book is "the most intelligible and best-proportioned account of the contemporary European theater now available in English."

Mrs. Flanagan was widely known not only for her writings on the theater, but for the originality of her methods and the vitality of her productions as director of the Experimental Theater at Vassar College. Her work as a producer was so favorably regarded that some of the world's most celebrated dramatists, including T. S. Eliot and Luigi Pirandello, were glad to entrust the premieres of their newest plays to her hands.

That, in brief, is Mrs. Flanagan's background before she was appointed national director of the Federal Theater Project. The New York Times' scholarly critic, Brooks Atkinson, wrote as follows on May 2, 1937, concerning Mrs. Flanagan's direction of the project. I quote:

By good fortune the Federal Theater was put in the hands of Hallie Flanagan, a remarkable woman who understood the human emergency of the moment and also had a plan for a country-wide people's theater that was eminently well suited to an organization supported by Government funds \* \* \* Although she has been violently criticized by both conservatives and radicals, she has never been criticized by anyone who understood the problems as thoroughly as she has, or who is her equal for hard work, intellectual honesty, and vision.

Archibald MacLeish, the celebrated poet and an editor of *Fortune* magazine, wrote in that periodical in May 1937:

From any point of view save that of the old line box office critics, to whom nothing is theater unless it has Broadway stars and Broadway varnish, the Federal Theater Project is a roaring success. Federal Theater productions lack the virtuosity of Broadway. They present no prima donnas but they have very generally a sincerity and direct dramatic force which the over-lacquered Broadway shows equally generally lack.

More recently Burns Mantle, dean of the American theater critics, whose annual Ten Best Plays of the Year is practically the world almanac of the theater, said in the New York Daily News:

It was in the first week of November 1935, that a determined Hallie Flanagan first hung out the sign of the project on the deserted building of the United States Bank and invited the cooperation of all those interested in getting idle actors back to work.

As a producing unit, the Federal Theater has won the respect of its competitors in the commercial theater and the admiration of its critics in the art field. Which, for an enterprise organized primarily as a relief project, is a record.

Three years of relief work plus *Murder in the Cathedral*, *Power*, *Dr. Faustus*, *The Emperor's New Clothes*, *Prologue to Glory*, *Haiti*, *Processional*, *On the Rocks*, \* \* \* *One Third of a Nation* \* \* \*, and *Big Blow*, in addition to several hundred minor dramatic, operatic, vaudeville, marionette, and circus entertainments, staged and shown to many millions of persons, otherwise denied this important form of relaxation, furnishes a record of achievement that bulks large in the amusement and social services of any man's country.



I have just quoted what Burns Mantle, dean of the American theater critics, said in the New York Daily News.

I have here also, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, the personal history statements of Hallie Flanagan, if anyone wishes to examine them or to know anything about her records here. Do you want me to read them into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. THOMAS. I think that Mrs. Hallie Flanagan is a very important part of the Federal Theater Project, and a lot of criticism has been directed against her. I think it should be in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. No. I don't see where that should be put in unless it should arise later.

Just proceed with your statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. This is exhibit 2, if anyone should care at any time to examine it.

(The exhibit referred to was filed with the committee.)

Here are the facts concerning the Federal Writers Project:

Mr. Henry G. Alsberg, director of the Federal Writers Project, has a distinguished record as writer, editor, and foreign correspondent. For several years he was one of the editors of the New York Evening Post, and in the foreign field he served such papers as the New York Times and the New York World. Both Mr. Alsberg's background and the wide acclaim that books issued under his direction have received belie the charge that he has sought to shape material for propaganda purposes.

The Federal Writers Project gives work to about 4,000 needy writers, research workers, and clerical help from the relief rolls throughout the country. They have been employed in every State to write and edit a series of books which will form the most comprehensive guide to the United States ever undertaken. The State guides, plus a large number of city and local guides, with pamphlets describing recreational areas and towns by land and water, will provide a graphic picture of the physical resources, industry, agriculture, and social life of the country. The task, besides being the first attempt to picture American life in its entirety, is the largest and most comprehensive editorial enterprise ever carried out on this continent. The first fruits of their work, 152 books of the American Guide series and their byproducts, rest before you now, and we are proud of these books. I insist that these books be placed in the record as exhibits in order that the committee and others interested may examine them in detail.

Now, these books are underwritten——

The CHAIRMAN. Are they already printed? Are you referring to these here?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. I am talking about those that have been approved and been published. These are the records. You see, nothing is a record until it is approved and published.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just asking this for information. The ones that we don't have are the ones that have not, of course, been printed?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now referring to the guide books?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. I am talking about the published works of the Federal Writers Project.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that include the guides?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is what I am talking about—the guides.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. That is all I wanted to know.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Local, State, city, and so forth.

Now, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, these books are underwritten, or sponsored, by many of the Nation's outstanding public officials. These sponsors not only assume financial obligations in publishing the books, but also assume the responsibility for the text, and their names appear on the title page. Among the sponsors are 6 Governors, 1 lieutenant governor, 6 secretaries of state, 34 State departments, 17 mayors and city managers, 33 chambers of commerce, 10 colleges and universities, and 29 State and local historical societies. Among the miscellaneous groups that have sponsored books are 2 American Legion posts and the military department of the State of Kentucky.

I have several of the letters from sponsors approving these publications which I would like to read.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, are you including in this display of books the book entitled "American Stuff?"

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. I am not. I have just been talking about the people who underwrite and sponsor these books.

Now, I have several of the letters from sponsors approving these publications, which I would like to read.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose you set them out in the record. They will all be put in the record and be made a part of it.

Mr. MOSIER. What do you mean by "people underwriting books?"

Mrs. WOODWARD. What do I mean by an underwriter?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I mean that frequently they provide funds, you see; advance funds for the publication.

Mr. MOSIER. You mean private individuals?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir. I gave you the list of public officials and others, responsible people, either public officials or people in nonprofit organizations.

Mr. MOSIER. By "underwriting" do you mean furnishing money for the publication, or do you mean recommending the books? I just want to understand what you mean by "underwriting."

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. Thank you, Mr. Mosier. I will be glad—

Mr. MOSIER. One who is underwriting a bond issue has to furnish the money for it. I don't know what you mean by underwriting a book.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is exactly what happened in many of our States—that they did provide money for the publication of the books, and they were reimbursed as the publications were sold.

I will give you an illustration of this—

Mr. STARNES. What becomes of the excess profit, if any, on that particular book—the profit after the publication?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have one question at a time, gentlemen.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes, may I say—

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't answered Mr. Mosier's question. Let us have one question at a time.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Mosier, I would like to refer to the record on this.

For instance, in Arizona the State guide there is sponsored by the Arizona State Teachers College, in Arkansas it is sponsored by the secretary of State, in California by the State librarian, in Colorado by the State Mining Commission, in Florida by the State Department of Public Instruction, and in Georgia by the State Board of Education.

Mr. MOSIER. That, I think, is enough without encumbering the record any further.

Let me ask you this: You say a lot of them are sponsored. What do you mean by "sponsored?" Does that mean the same as "under-written?"

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. It means an underwriter.

In other words, the publisher requires certain funds to be put up before any book can be published. In one of the States that I am quite familiar with they provided \$7,500, in other words, for the publication of the guide. Then that money——

Mr. MOSIER. Let us trace this through. Your organization wrote the guide? Is that it? Furnished the copy?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I didn't hear that.

Mr. MOSIER. Just let me trace this procedure through. As I understand it, your organization wrote the guide?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. They furnished the copy for the guide?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Then somebody sometimes comes along and says, "I want that guide published?"

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And they put up some money to have it published?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, do they sell the guide or do they give it away, or what?

Mrs. WOODWARD. They may do either one. They are the sponsors. They are the official sponsors. We have nothing to do with the money at that point at all, Mr. Mosier. You see, that is a contract between the sponsor and the publisher.

Mr. MOSIER. I see.

Mrs. WOODWARD. What we do is to give work to needy writers.

The CHAIRMAN. And the writers furnish the materials?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is prepared in the State offices?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And supervised by the Washington office?

Mrs. WOODWARD. And we act as the author. You see, we are the authors.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that you supervise it and have ultimate control over it in the Washington office. It comes from the sponsor to the Washington office?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do the official publishing and whatever is necessary?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it goes to the sponsor, whoever he is?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. And after the sponsor has given its approval, then it comes back again, and goes to the publisher. It



goes back and forth to the publisher, the galley proofs, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. From the time that you surrender the material, from that time on it passes out of your control and becomes the property of the sponsor?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You mean after the book is published?

The CHAIRMAN. After you have submitted your material to the sponsor. You have got to submit that to someone after you are finally through with it. Do you—

Mrs. WOODWARD. We give it to the publisher after the sponsor has approved it and after we have approved it.

The CHAIRMAN. After you have given it to the publisher, your responsibility and your right to control ceases, and it becomes the property of the sponsor under the contract?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. The sponsor then says what happens to it.

The CHAIRMAN. And he can do as he wishes with it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What proportion of your books have been published in that way, and what ones have been published entirely from Government funds?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We have only had two publications that have been published by the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Entirely by the Government?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Entirely by the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. What are those two publications?

Mrs. WOODWARD. The Washington City and Capitol, I want to get the name exactly right.

The CHAIRMAN. I am familiar with that. That is this big book?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is the large volume; yes. And the Inter-coastal Waterways.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the two which you published?

Mrs. WOODWARD. They are the two.

The CHAIRMAN. As to all of the others are the total expenses of publication borne by the sponsors, or are there contributions in some of them on the part of your department?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. We make no contributions, no financial contribution, at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Then with the exception of the two—

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The expense of publication of the others has been borne entirely by the sponsors?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. That is a contract between the sponsor and the publisher.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Now, do you have a record of how many the sponsors have financed, and how many of your publications have been financed by sponsors?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. We have the records.

Mr. STARNES. I am not exactly clear, Mr. Chairman, on one phase of this. May I ask some questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Are you through, Mr. Mosier?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; I am through.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. It is not correct to say that no part of the cost of producing those guide books and other publications is met by the Federal Government, because you do pay the writers, don't you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir; we do.

Mr. STARNES. With your funds?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We do. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. After it is produced, then you spend time editing or whatever you call it, before you finally get through with it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All of that is met by the Federal Government?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, going further, other organizations than State organizations or teachers colleges or municipalities have sponsored some of these works, haven't they, Mrs. Woodward?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You have had private nonprofit so-called organizations to sponsor publications sometimes, have you not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Has the University Guild sponsored any of them?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No.

Mr. STARNES. Or any organizations under the sponsorship of the University Guild or allied with them?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. We have no such publications.

Mr. STARNES. What about this book called "American Stuff," that Mr. Morris Ernst edited?

If the gentleman to your right is going to testify, we want him under oath and will put him on the stand.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No.

Mr. STARNES. To be frank, we would like to know who they are as a matter of record. That has always been done.

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is Mr. Mauntz, of the Federal Theaters Project, and this is Mr. McMillan, of the Federal Writers Project.

Mr. STARNES. I am quite willing for them to help you, but I wanted to have that in the record.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Have you any objection, Mr. Chairman or Mr. Starnes, to their helping me? If so, I will be glad to have them withdraw.

The CHAIRMAN. No objection at all.

Mr. STARNES. I have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't see any reason why they should not help you. You are adopting the statements of these gentlemen, are you not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I can answer your question. If you wish anyone to withdraw, I will be very glad to have them do so.

Mr. STARNES. There is not even any intimation of that. There is not the slightest suggestion that they should go. They are quite welcome to stay here as long as they like.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Thank you very much, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, let us get down to business.

The man who wrote this book, American Stuff, is connected with your organization?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. He is my national director of the Federal Theaters Project.

Mr. STARNES. This was sponsored by the Guilds Committee for Federal Writers, which consists of Franklin P. Adams, Bruce Bliven, Morris L. Ernst, Lewis Gannett, and Margaret Marshall. Is that correct?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. I have that book before me.

Mr. STARNES. This is one of the groups, we might say, private, nonprofit groups, that published some of the works that were produced by the writers on the Federal Writers Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Just like other people over the country, Mr. Starnes, are interested in trying to help people on the music project to become self-sustaining. They are trying to rehabilitate them. This is one nonprofit organization which incorporated itself in order to be able to assist the writers, and they were responsible for the publication of American Stuff.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Alsberg and other employees of the Federal Government, of the writers projects throughout the country, contributed this material for American Stuff? That is what I am trying to find out.

Mrs. WOODWARD. They contributed the work which was done off project time, which they had a perfect right to do.

Mr. STARNES. They did contribute the material?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; that is true.

Mr. STARNES. For American Stuff, and the material in there is the product of the writers on the Federal writers' project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is true.

Mr. STARNES. That was sponsored by Mr. Alsberg and this nonprofit group?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And other publications have been published like that and along the same manner and along the same line? That is what I am driving at, because I want to make myself clear. You have given us only a list of sponsors in either teachers colleges or municipalities or some State officials. I just want to make it clear that that same sponsorship was undertaken and carried by private groups and individuals for nonprofit purposes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, it is a different proposition entirely to that, Mr. Starnes, because American Stuff includes writings by unemployed writers who are on the Federal project, and who did this writing off project time. But Mr. Ernst and his committee in their desire to help them used the United States machinery to put this book out and to make it possible for some writers to go back to the needy people.

In other words, we feel it has a rehabilitating effect to a writer if he can get some of his work accepted by the nonprofit organizations and by people on the outside, just as we feel so delighted when one of our outstanding musicians on the Federal Music Project is asked to appear on some outside program for private time, because to the extent that their good work is known, to that extent they are more apt to be employed in private industry.

Mr. STARNES. Did you read the book American Stuff?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I wonder, Mr. Starnes, would you let me finish my statement?



Mr. STARNES. While we are on this is the only reason I asked it. I have no objection to your finishing your statement, but I want to come back to this particular thing.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. I have a discussion of this later in my statement when I present the charges and so forth. If that does not meet it, I will be very glad if you insist upon my answering it, or I can answer all of this right now.

Mr. STARNES. All right. We might get it all out of the way.

Did Mr. Heywood Broun or any other group sponsor some other publications of the Federal Writers Project?

Mr. STARNES. You are not able to testify to that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Not that very thing. I can find out and I will include it in the record if you wish.

Mr. STARNES. I wish you would, because I think you will find that they did.

We would like to know what arrangements you have with these sponsors or groups to publish these, from a financial standpoint. What is to become of the money that they get out of it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is all included in my further statement. If it does not satisfactorily answer your question, then you can ask me further questions.

Mr. STARNES. I would be glad to.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Mosier asked you a question before you had read the book *American Stuff*. I don't think you have answered that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have read certain articles in it. I have not read the complete book.

Mr. STARNES. Did you read *Ethics of Living Jim Crow*, in this book?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. I want to read an excerpt, and I will give you the pages. If you have a strong constitution, I am just going to use the words of the book, because it is——

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I say, Mr. Starnes——

Mr. STARNES. I regret very much to do this——

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you permit me to say this just at this time: That that is not pertinent material, particularly in view of the fact that it was not and is not a publication of the Federal Writers' project. It is a publication on which I think they discussed——

Mr. STARNES. This is a book which has been testified to not only by yourself, but by other witnesses, that the material was furnished by the writers on relief and on the Writers Project.

You say, "not on project time." However, there is sworn testimony by people who sat by others who helped edit, and so forth, who said that it was. That is a matter in dispute, and we are not passing on that. But the Federal Government was paying men and women on relief to produce this material; and it is sponsored by Mr. Henry G. Alsberg in your organization. It gives a foreword by Ernst and others.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You make a statement that it is sponsored by Mr. Henry G. Alsberg——

Mr. STARNES. I said that it has a foreword by him as being sponsored by Mr. Ernst and others.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I just want to get that.

Mr. STARNES. And Mr. Alsberg must have read the material whether you did or not and he must have approved it, or he would not have permitted his name to have been used in connection with it.

Here is one statement, reading from page 42:

I was puzzled. Maybe he just doesn't want to help me, I thought. I went to Pease.

"Say, are you crazy, you black ——?" Pease asked me, his gray eyes growing hard.

Another excerpt is on page 43:

From then on they changed toward me. They said good morning no more. When I was a bit slow in performing some duty, I was called a lazy black —— of a ——.

On page 44 I read from the same book, *American Stuff*, from the same article *Ethics of Living Jim Crow*:

Didn't yuh call 'im Pease? If yuh say yuh didn't I'll rip yo' gut string loose with this—

an unspeakable word in there—

bar, you black granny dodger. Yuh can't call a white man a lie 'n git away with it, you black —— of a ——.

I will supply that word for the stenographer, because I don't like to use such a word.

The CHAIRMAN. You have got enough of that. That is the most filthy thing I have ever seen.

Mr. STARNES. I just want to know what you find rehabilitating in stuff like that. There are some other excerpts where the language is more vile than that. What do you find rehabilitating about that, Mrs. Woodward?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I should like to——

Mr. STARNES. Do you find anything rehabilitating in that, I ask you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. In the statement that you have read? No.

Mr. STARNES. In the excerpts that I have read. Do you find anything rehabilitating in them?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. I do not. I think that it is filthy and disgusting, and I think you do.

Mr. STARNES. I should like to read this. *American Stuff* was not produced on project time and was not published by the Works Progress Administration, as Henry G. Alsberg, the national director, said in the foreword to *American Stuff*:

Our workshop, the Federal Writers' Project, has produced as yet no one publication national in scope devoted to work of a purely creative character. All manuscripts produced on project time become Government property. Quite naturally, very few of our writers care to risk a possible best seller as a contribution to the United States Treasury. Finally, as a desperate remedy the national director of the project called for contributions of off-time work to be published in and when a sponsor willing to gamble on an anthology could be found.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the fact is that the Viking Press assumed full responsibility for the publication of the book, paying for all of its printing and distribution costs. It turned out to be a good publishing venture. The Viking Press has sold over 2,000 copies of the book, and lost no money on it, which is an unusual thing in the case of an anthology.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it has met with more success than other books that were published by the——

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would like to say that——

The CHAIRMAN. May I read in order that the record may identify it. It says:

Copyright 1937 by the Guild committee for Federal Writers' Publications, Inc., in August 1937. Sponsored by the Guild committee for Federal Writers' Publications, Inc. Frank P. Adams, Bruce Bliven, Morris L. Ernst, Lewis Gannett, Margaret Marshall.

Then also in the foreword Mr. Alsberg says:

In this book the reader will find comparatively little to remind him of the classics, little echo of the higher aestheticism or the delicate attenuations of emotion. This is the American scene to the life, very often as it appears from the roadside ditch, the poverty-stricken tenement or shack, the relief station. The style is sometimes crude, the technique often perhaps inexpert or diffuse; but there is sincerity in it, a solid passionate feeling for the life of the less prosperous millions.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, will you please repeat what Mr. Alsberg's position is with the Writers' Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. He is national director.

Mr. THOMAS. He is national director?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Of the Federal Writers' Project.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you think it is proper or was proper——

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am sorry. Will you let me complete my statement?

Mr. THOMAS. For him to lend his name to the foreword of this American Stuff.

Mrs. WOODWARD. To lend his name to the foreword?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I think that Mr. Alsberg's idea was to be of as much help as he possibly could.

The CHAIRMAN. That was not any of yours anyway?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It was not.

But, Mr. Thomas, if you don't object, I should like to continue to read my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. I want to read the statement——

The CHAIRMAN. Let us first decide. Gentlemen, is it your wish that this statement be read without asking any questions? We have had a custom here that all statements have to be submitted in advance, but we have made an exception in this case, because she is the responsible Government head, and she has a statement here. Let us decide the question.

Mr. THOMAS. I thought we decided that before; but every time I ask a question, the witness wants to proceed.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let us let her make her complete statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Then it is understood. Go right ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Is that definitely determined? If it is, I will proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. You prefer it that way, don't you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. I thought it was understood that it was to be that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.



Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. I read you, or attempted to read you, several of the letters from sponsors approving those publications, and you preferred that they be included in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you furnish them as exhibits.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

These books have received the acclaim of noted art and literary critics. Lewis Mumford has this to say about the books:

These books are the greatest contribution to American patriotism in our times.

Are you all set now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We are all set.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. I will go ahead then.

I have a large number of reviews of these books with me, a few of which I would also like to read, and I request that they be printed in the record. This is exhibit 5.

(The documents referred to were filed with the committee.)

I am going to read here an article in the Washington Evening Star of April 7, 1937, concerning Washington: City and Capital.

Herbert Putnam, Librarian of the Library of Congress, who received one of the first issued copies, pronounced the historical review of Washington could not have been improved upon.

John Drury, of the Chicago Daily News, said:

One feels, after glancing through these books, that the New Deal experiment of aiding writers is a success. No fair-minded person could deny the practical value of these volumes as well as the first-rate quality of their workmanship.

This is a statement from a book review by Lewis Gannett in the New York Herald Tribune of September 14, 1938:

They were unemployed, these authors, who, under the Federal Writers' Project of the W. P. A., found work in the preparation of this book. But unemployment did not warp their vision. They saw New York clearly, and they saw it whole.

This is an article by Lewis Mumford:

Of all the good uses of adversity, one of the best has been the conception and execution of a series of American Guide Books; the first attempt, on a comprehensive scale, to make the country itself worthily known to Americans. Within a surprisingly short time, considering the many special problems that must have arisen, this work was organized and has been partly brought to completion, and the best of the new guides that are so far available, those for Massachusetts, Vermont, and the city of Washington, give one a great thrill of pride; pride in the country they describe and in the capacity and the devotion and the fine anonymous collaboration that has gone into this work. These guide books are the finest contribution to American patriotism that has been made in our generation; let that be the answer to the weaklings who are afraid to admit that American justice may miscarry or that the slums of Boston may be somewhat this side of Utopia.

And this is from a book review by Kenneth B. Murdock in the New England Quarterly, March 1938:

The W. P. A. has done a great service in supplying Massachusetts with a volume that approaches the high standard long ago set by many similar works covering the British Isles and most of the continent. And comparisons aside, few, no matter how familiar with this State, can make use of Massachusetts: A guide to its places and its people without enriched knowledge and appreciation.

This is from a book review by Phil Stong in the Saturday Review of Literature, September 17, 1938, concerning Iowa; a Guide to the Hawkeye State. He says—

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose those others are like statements. We have heard a good many of them; and the rest of them, I imagine, are about the same way.

Mrs. WOODWARD. They are all pretty good.

The CHAIRMAN. I am satisfied that they are or you would not read them. Pardon me, go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Numerous historical and other scholars have followed the work of the project and have praised its work. Typical of their opinions is one that we received recently from R. W. G. Vail, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. He said:

If the forthcoming volumes to be published by the Federal Writers' Project can live up to the almost uniform excellence of those already published, the existence of the project will be amply indicated. And Americans will know much more of the history of their country.

I have a great many letters from scholars and writers with me. I should like to read just a few of them. These will be exhibit 6.

(The document referred to was filed with the committee.)

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is from a letter written by Dixon Ryan Fox, president of the Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., and president of the New York State Historical Association, under date of January 26, 1938:

I feel I must write you a note to congratulate the Federal Writers' Project in general on the excellent quality and appearance of the History and Guide just published for Rochester and Monroe Counties, N. Y. I doubt very much if a corps of high-paid scholars and writers could have done much better with it.

This is from Dr. Merle Curti, professor of history, Columbia University, September 15, 1937:

I'm, of course, pleased that some social vision got into such a book; and I have read enough of it to see what a high standard has been kept up throughout. It is a splendid thing to have done, and you are to be congratulated. Sometime I want to talk with you about what we might call a democratic and an American historiography for our times.

In a letter to Mr. Hopkins from Mrs. George D. Hutchinson, 2184 Field Avenue, Detroit, Mich., July 8, 1938—I would like to have your attention—

The CHAIRMAN. We are listening.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I want you to hear this.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. WOODWARD (reading):

MY DEAR MR. HOPKINS: This is a voluntary appreciation of your W. P. A. State guide books. The only reason it is either unusual or valuable is because it comes from a family of the opposition politics. It was forced from us by our admiration of the work in all its implications. We liked your letter and Mr. Alsberg's preface on Connecticut, from which both my husband and I sprang and to which we long to return. Your tribute to the State's contribution to American public life and to the "rugged individualism" pleased us, too.

We like all the New England volumes, and these works on the whole United States have needed doing for many years. And that is one thing that no one could have undertaken successfully without Government cooperation.

So thank you very much from a family of grim and uncompromising Republicans.

Very truly yours,

HELEN T. HUTCHINSON.

This is a letter from R. W. G. Vail, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. I think I have read you a part of this already in my testimony, and I probably had better give you another.

This letter is written by Mr. Brooks on September 18, 1938—Van Wyck Brooks:

The New York Panorama is superb, and I can't wait for volume II. It is grand to see that the country in general is waking up to the work you are doing. As one who has watched it from the beginning, I can't tell you how grateful I am to you. Every college in the country should give you a Ph. D. Of all the impossibly difficult jobs, this one has been carried out with a skill, taste, and judgment that seem to me astounding. The reviewer was certainly right who said the other day that the American Guide series will still be going strong when most of our current books are dead and forgotten.

Do you care to hear any more?

The CHAIRMAN. You can offer them as exhibits if you want to.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have one here from John Erskine and from many other people who are qualified to speak.

Although the Federal Writers Project has performed one of the largest research jobs ever undertaken in America, the 7,000,000 words in these volumes have been read by voluntary consultants who also are experts in their own field. At present Gov. Henry Horner, of Illinois, is acting as a consultant on the Illinois Guide, and is himself writing a short essay on Abraham Lincoln for this guide. William Allen White has read much of the Kansas Guide manuscript. Approximately 10,000 persons have already acted as consultants on our projects. I submit a list which includes only a small part of this large group of men and women who have helped us, and request that you print this also in your record.

That will be exhibit No. 7.

(The exhibit referred to was filed with the committee.)

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do you care for me to read them, or do you prefer to just have them placed in the record?

Mr. STARNES. I suspect that you would find it much less tiring if you place them in the record as exhibits.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right, Mr. Starnes.

They all have a bearing on the subject. They are all proving that we are not carrying on un-American activities.

The Federal Writers Project has not discriminated against any employees for their political affiliations. In fact, to impose any test of political affiliation would be, as you know, a violation of the law.

The conduct of the Federal Writers' Project has never been influenced in any way by any political group. Most of the charges of discrimination arose out of testimony given by Mr. Edward P. Banta.

To illustrate the attitude of Mr. Banta in such matters, I cite an instance where on October 5 of this year he spoke at a meeting in a hotel in New York City, and when he failed to find a report of his speech in the New York Journal-American the following day, he proceeded to write to the publisher. The publisher was William Randolph Hearst, Jr. He wrote in the following language: I quote—

Then last Friday a reporter from the Journal-American and a photographer covered a luncheon meeting of the American Patriots at the Hotel Iroquois on West Forty-fourth Street, where I was scheduled to speak on communism, obtaining an interest story.

As usual I looked for some reference in the sports final of the same date, September 30, and was surprised to find no mention of the meeting.

Thinking that it was held out on account of world war news I tried the early edition on October 1 and was again disappointed; I then phoned the editorial department about 10 a. m., October 1, and was finally put in touch



with someone who informed me that it was in the sports final of the 30th ultimo. Thinking I might have overlooked I purchased from one of the delivery wagon drivers another sports final, complete, only to be disappointed again, and again I phoned 210 South Street and was advised it was there and that a clipping would be mailed to me, but it not only never arrived, but inquiries now bring evasion which indicates that the editor had evidently marked it in O. K., and that Communist influence in the make-up had either deliberately lifted out or purposely omitted it.

Mr. Banta, I want to make clear, was writing this to Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have the original letter with you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I have.

Mr. STARNES. Do you want to produce it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You may attach the original letter to your testimony as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have to do it now.

Mr. THOMAS. I don't think she mentioned the date of the letter.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. There were two letters on this. Let me get the exact one. I have two letters here from Mr. Banta.

Mr. STARNES. To whom were those letters addressed?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is one to Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr., publisher, 834 Forty-second Street, New York City.

DEAR MR. HEARST—

Mr. THOMAS. And the date of that one?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I can give you that in just a minute. I just want to be sure I am quoting from the right letter. I have plenty of them here.

Mr. STARNES. Did Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr., furnish you with those letters?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. At your request?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No.

Mr. STARNES. Voluntarily?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, Mr. Starnes. We had had some correspondence with Mr. Hearst, and he sent these letters.

I want to be sure. I have two letters from William Randolph Hearst, Jr. This one is dated October 5, 1938.

All right, I will continue. I am making this a part of the record.

In Mr. Banta's mind the Hearst papers are also controlled by Communists.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me interrupt right there. Do you think that that is a fair conclusion?

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you see, you want us to be fair with you. We have even let you read statements. We are letting you go on here, trusting in your fairness. Don't you think it is incumbent upon you to manifest the same thing?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do you object to it?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no. There is no objection if you feel that that is what you want to do.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am wanting to do whatever you and any member of the committee wish.

The CHAIRMAN. No. We will leave that up to you.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand that that is merely an opinion of the witness, because it was a matter of opinion.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I quoted from Mr. Banta's letter to Mr. William Randolph Hearst. I have proof right here of all that I have said about that. So it seems to me that that would make us know that Mr. Banta——

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Really, now, Mr. Dies, you have heard Mr. Banta. Some of you have heard him. You know he is a sick man. You probably already know that he was in the hospital. These facts with reference to Mr. Banta's physical and mental condition and his record on the project and other activities are shown in exhibits to the brief which I shall file in support of my evidence.

Mr. STARNES. And Mr. Harry Hopkins has been in the hospital, too, hasn't he?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. But it was for no mental difficulty.

Mr. STARNES. That might be a matter of opinion.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I happen to have a letter, Mr. Starnes, which I didn't intend to introduce unless the distinguished members of the committee wished it introduced, because in my opinion Mr. Banta is a sick man; and I hesitate to even leave with you as an exhibit that letter from the Vanderbilt clinic. But since you have raised the point of that, that other people can be in the hospital, and you have mentioned my chief, Mr. Hopkins, as having been in the hospital, because I mentioned Mr. Banta being a sick man, I think probably the committee would be interested in having this letter read from the Vanderbilt clinic.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know about that condition when you hired him on the project as one of the members?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think it was after he was employed.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he sick, Mrs. Woodward, when he received the book signed by some 106 admitted Communists? Was he sick at that time, on March 2, 1938?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I cannot say about that.

Mr. MOSIER. His sickness had nothing to do with their signing the book, did it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am sure I know nothing about that whatsoever.

Mr. MOSIER. We want to tell you a little about it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right.

Mr. MOSIER. If you don't know, because it is something that probably you ought to know.

Mr. STARNES. It is my understanding about Mrs. Woodward that she doesn't know anything about it.

Mr. MOSIER. One signed, "To a Revolution" and "To a Friend Bolshevik," "Signing up for a good comrade," and so forth. Mr. Banta's sickness certainly had nothing to do with being presented with that book and all those people signing it, did it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think not. I should not think so.

Mr. MOSIER. You would not think so?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I should not think that that had anything to do.

Mr. STARNES. His sickness had nothing to do with your employing him on your project 4 or 5 years. You had him on, paying him with Federal funds. You had him employed on that project 4 or 5 years.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All that I do know is that the facts with reference to Mr. Banta's physical and mental condition with regard to

my project and other activities are shown in exhibits to the brief which I shall place in support of my evidence.

Does the committee wish me to read the letter from the Vanderbilt clinic?

Mr. STARNES. You can put that in with the other exhibits.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You don't wish me to read it?

Mr. STARNES. You can read it if you want to, since you have such a keen desire. You may read it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir. I have not. In fact, I would not do anybody the disservice knowingly. I am only doing those things that I feel are absolutely necessary in defense of the people under my jurisdiction.

I shall make this, then, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, a part of the record. It is a letter from the Vanderbilt clinic which makes certain statements about Mr. Banta's physical and mental condition. I didn't expect to bring that into the record at all, but I shall do so.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the date of that letter?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is July 7, 1937.

Mr. MOSIER. He was employed at that time on your project, was he not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. He was.

I shall make this, then, a part of the record with your permission.

The CHAIRMAN. Is mental deficiency any ground for disqualifying a person on this Writers Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, you have charged—

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. I don't mean that in an unfair sense. What I mean is, you have charged one of your own employees with being mentally deranged. That is the effect of it, isn't it—that his mental condition is bad—isn't it? That is what you are charging him with? That is the effect of your testimony—that Mr. Banta is insane or mentally deranged?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am only going by the record of the Vanderbilt clinic.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, that is the effect of it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know of my own knowledge whether he is crazy or not. I only know about his actions, which look to me to be very questionable.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the fact that he testified—that would not probably be one of the grounds, would it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Is there any continuity in his letter to Mr. Hearst?

The CHAIRMAN. But you have made here a grave charge against a man as being mentally deranged.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, Mr. Chairman. May I ask that we state it in this way: That I did not intend to introduce into the record this letter from the Vanderbilt clinic. I simply mentioned here that he was a sick man. Then you—

The CHAIRMAN. No. You say "mental condition." Let us be absolutely fair about this. You mean to leave the implication that this man was on the date that that letter was written mentally deranged?



Mrs. WOODWARD. I don't know whether he was on the day that letter was written or not. I only have their word for it, that he was in their clinic, and he was treated for a certain mental condition.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, what is your purpose in introducing this letter?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not intend to introduce it, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Then why did you bring it along with you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I brought all of my exhibits along because I had no idea what questions would be raised.

Mr. THOMAS. You didn't bring all your files with you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I beg your pardon?

Mr. THOMAS. You certainly didn't bring all your files with you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I brought quite a number. I thought there would be enough reading for the committee for some time. And since we are to be disbanded very soon, if you wish anything further, our files have been open to you since the beginning of your hearings, and we will continue to keep them open to you.

Mr. THOMAS. It is not a matter of chance that you brought this particular letter with you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. A matter of chance?

Mr. THOMAS. Of chance.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I brought it on the chance that you might ask for it.

Mr. MOSIER. Let us have the letter read into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Now, then, you had this information from the clinic telling you that one of the employees there was mentally deranged. Yet you continued to employ such a man on an important Government project, the Writers' Project. Now, what I want to know is this: What is your policy in regard to the employment of persons who are mentally deranged? Isn't that a fair question?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I think that is a fair question, Mr. Chairman.

He was greatly in need according to his own statement and according to the records at the Home Relief Bureau of the municipality of New York. Therefore, we wanted to aid him if we possibly could. He was in the mentally handicapped section of the hospital.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that the people who wrote this "American Stuff" were somewhat mentally handicapped, anybody that would bring such filth in a publication of this kind?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Chairman, I don't think that that is a question that should be brought in at this particular time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Pardon me.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It has nothing to do with Mr. Banta.

Mr. STARNES. He was on the project since 1934.

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I proceed?

Mr. THOMAS. Wasn't he the librarian in New York for this project, or at least one of the librarians?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; he did some work in the library there.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that section where he was placed mentally deranged?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Physically.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to be absolutely fair with Mrs. Woodward. But here you have made a statement that this man is mentally deranged. Naturally I think we are entitled to know if you employ people on the Writers' Project and keep them there after you have had knowledge of their mental derangement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, I said that he had been treated for a mental disorder at the Vanderbilt Clinic according to their statement; and I only brought that out after you had insisted upon it because I have merely the letter, just as I have other letters here that I don't know whether you want introduced or not. I had no idea——

The CHAIRMAN. You may just introduce any letters that you want. Let us don't have any implications that we don't want you to submit full proof, even though it goes far afield from the question of communism.

But the point is this: You said "mental condition." Do you mean that you consider this man incompetent to testify before a committee? Is that what you mean?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I think he was not qualified.

The CHAIRMAN. On account of his mental condition?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, on account of his lack of qualifications technically.

The CHAIRMAN. But you thought these people were sufficiently qualified, didn't you, to employ them?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We didn't put him in a policy-making job. We didn't put him in any high position. You must realize, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that we are dealing with thousands upon thousands of people who are pretty well licked by this depression.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not arguing that. We don't question that. But the point is that you have made that intimation. You have used the words "mental condition." Now, do you mean that you consider this man mentally unfit to tell about his experiences and actual facts that he knew to be true on the Federal Writers' Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I think that any testimony of his under the circumstances, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, should be very carefully checked after a person has been treated for some kind of mental disorder. Now, I think any fair person would say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think we should receive documentary proof wherein some 106 employees out of 300 on your project signed their original names attesting membership and belief in communism? Do you think that that type of testimony should be received from Mr. Banta?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do I think that that should be received by Mr. Banta?

The CHAIRMAN. From Mr. Banta.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do I think you should receive that fact from him?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I don't see how you could expect me to answer that question, because I don't quite understand what you are trying to get at.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get at is this: I am asking you this question: You say this man in your opinion was not qualified to testify, or that his testimony should be received with——

Mrs. WOODWARD. Should be checked.

The CHAIRMAN. Should be checked?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Should be checked by going to the files and by talking with the responsible officials, none of which was done.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that is the best way to check it, when the witness is presented with a book by Earl Browder signed by 106 of the 300 employees? Don't you think that is a very definite check upon the accuracy of the witness' statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I don't think because their names are in that book means definitely that they were Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think so when it was presented under the following heading: "Presented to Comrade Edwin Banta by the members of the Federal Workers' Unit No. 365, Communist Party of the United States of America in recognition of his devotion to and untiring efforts in behalf of our party and communism"? You don't think that when they sign their names as comrades, 106 out of 300 of the employees, that that could be taken as evidence of the highest quality to support the testimony of a witness who appeared before us?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think it is all right for you to make that a part of your record, Mr. Chairman. But I also think that I have a right to say to you that under the law we cannot inquire into the political affiliations of the people that receive benefits under this act.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. But you have made the definite charge, the statement here, that this man, something about his mental condition. That is the reason I was asking you these questions. Go ahead.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know definitely if it is the policy on the part of the witness to keep in her employ over a number of years, anyway for 4 years, a man whom she knows to be mentally deranged, whom she thinks, let us say, is mentally deranged, and is not competent to testify before a committee.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes, I didn't intend to say this either; but since——

Mr. STARNES. Without any qualifications that is a question that can be answered yes or no very easily. Do you think that it is proper for you to criticize the committee indirectly for accepting testimony of this man because you think he is mentally deranged when you have had him employed on your project since 1934?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes, I cannot give you——

Mr. STARNES. You can answer my question.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Let me say this to Mr. Starnes and the members of the committee: That we separated him from the project because we felt that his work was ineffective and that he was not able to do a job comparable to what we should expect. The case, though, was reviewed and reviewed; and afterward they decided that they would put him back on the project and give him another chance; and he was put back on the project.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I am making was that you made a statement to the committee that it was the duty of the committee to check



a witness of that character. What I am trying to point out is this: I want to see if you agree with me that when a witness such as that comes to the committee with the highest form of evidence that any court should accept, the evidence of 106 out of 300 employees on the project——

Mrs. WOODWARD. Not 300.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the testimony before this committee——approximately 300. And 106 were Communists that were willing to sign their names on Earl Browder's book to Mr. Banta. Don't you think that that is a sufficient check as to the man's accuracy? Can you conceive of any other way that we can check it more perfectly than that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You have had a lot of men who have appeared before your committee——

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about this man.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am telling you that the fact that they signed that book then, signifying that they were Communists, does not mean that they are Communists today, does it?

The CHAIRMAN. Nor does it mean that they were the only Communists in this. There may have been many others that were Communists that didn't sign? Isn't that a fact?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is true.

Mr. MOSIER. Would the fact that you have a report there in 1937 saying that Banta was mentally incompetent at that time be definite proof that he was not competent to testify before this committee when he did testify a month or so ago?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I didn't say that it was. I only say that to fair-minded people I think it would raise a question in your mind as to whether you should accept testimony of that person.

Mr. STARNES. I want to say this for your information that every member of the Writers' Project who have never been, so far as we are aware, mentally or physically ill, testified in direct corroboration of what Mr. Banta testified to about this matter. In other words, Mr. DaSola testified in corroboration of Mr. Banta's testimony, that he did recruit Mr. Banta as a member of the Communist Party while they were both working on your Federal Writers' Project in New York City. Are you prepared to deny that and say that that is untrue?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I am not prepared to deny that. But——

Mr. STARNES. That is absolute corroboration.

I have another example, Mrs. Woodward. When Mr. Banta gave his testimony he said that your writers came in there in the morning and signed in at 9 or 10 o'clock and reported out at 5 or 6 in the afternoon, or 4 or 5, whichever it was. We corroborated that by your own records, as well as by the testimony of DaSola and other competent witnesses. In other words, as to every statement that he testified to here, Mrs. Woodward, we have corroborating evidence by other people on that project right along the same lines.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. DaSola also testified, did he not, that he was a Communist at that time, and he was no longer?

Mr. STARNES. That he was disillusioned and disgusted with it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. What proof have you that the other people have not been disillusioned and are now not Communists?

Mr. STARNES. But we have people who have testified——

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you let me go on?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; but you admit that there is testimony in this record that no one can refute or deny that there have been confessed Communists on the project at one time or another?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Or, Mr. Starnes——

Mr. STARNES. Just answer that question. You cannot deny that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Practically all of us——

Mr. STARNES. Just answer the question, Mrs. Woodward. You cannot deny that, can you? You are not prepared to deny that fact, are you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That there are Communists on the project?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is true. I am not prepared to deny it.

Mr. STARNES. I should say this about you in all fairness: Not a single witness who has ever appeared against you has said aught against you personally or your administration. I want to say this for your benefit.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, they complimented you.

Mr. STARNES. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the witness who have appeared in executive session complimented you as a thoroughly real American citizen. Now, that ought to be stated also so as not to give the impression that there has been any attack made upon you or upon your administration or anything like that.

Mr. STARNES. We want you to know that there has been no attack made against you, nor against Mr. Hopkins along that score.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But you are implying that there was something mentally ill about Mr. Hopkins because he had been to a hospital a week or so.

Mr. STARNES. No. What we don't like is that you are defending Communists on the project or denying the fact that there have been some there, when we have positive proof of the fact that there are. The best way to do it is to either get rid of them if they are employed there, isn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Surely. I will say this, Mr. Starnes: That under the law——

Mr. STARNES. I know what the law is, because I helped to make it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you kindly listen for just a minute?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But under the law most of these people that you are talking about were people from the relief rolls that have not——

Mr. STARNES. Well, we have testimony to the contrary of that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, all of the people that were listed on that, so far as I know, were people who come to us from the relief rolls. Six or seven of them became supervisors later.

But I want to say this about it: Under the law these people are the ones that come within that section of benefiting from the act, where we are prohibited from making an inquiry into their political affiliations.

Now, as Members of Congress, whenever you get ready to change that law, we will follow any law that you enact. But that is the law insofar as I understand it, and I am operating under the law.

Mr. STARNES. We could have been able to confine this to a very short hearing if you had been able to testify here under oath from your own personal knowledge that there were no Communists and no Communist activities carried on. We would like to ask about that in detail later.

But I just want to say in fairness to you, as I said a moment ago, that we have heard nothing but complimentary remarks about you. And, as far as defending the W. P. A. is concerned, if you will read the Congressional Record, you will find that the members of this committee got up on the floor of the House and praised it for good work in this country.

So we want you to get your mind rid of any idea that this is an attack on your work at all. The people who testified here are anxious to see your projects carried on. Those who testified that there were Communists on the projects were anxious that they be cleaned out and put in such condition that the work could be carried on.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes, it might be pertinent to remark at this time that I would not knowingly put into any administrative position any Communist.

Mr. STARNES. Well, I am happy to hear you say that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am not infallible. I cannot know everything that goes on on every program. And under the law we are prohibited from inquiring into the political affiliations of any of our workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course, six of these men later became supervisors on the project.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. They came to them through the relief rolls.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When was Mr. Banta separated from the staff?

Mrs. WOODWARD. He is still on the project now. But I made the note that he was dismissed at one time, and we put him back.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When was that, when he was dismissed?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I don't know that date, but we will make it a part of the record.

Mr. DEMPSEY. This letter that you have from the clinic—when did you obtain that? Recently, or did you have that for some time?

The CHAIRMAN. Read the letter in full. Go ahead and answer Mr. Dempsey's question.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Let me answer Mr. Dempsey.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When did you obtain that letter? I assume it was not at the time that the man was in the clinic? It was sometime after that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This was on July 7, 1937, that the Vanderbilt clinic wrote to our assistant director in New York City with reference to Mr. Banta.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was that letter written to the Works Progress Administration?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. It was directed to one of our officials in charge of New York City, because Mr. Banta was on that project in New York City.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is Mr. Banta on the project now?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; he is.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What class of work is he doing? What character of work?



Mrs. WOODWARD. We have had to put him on a number of different things, because he is very difficult, Congressman, to deal with. We have tried our dead-level best to continue to cooperate with him by giving him work which he could do, and safeguard him. He seemed to think that he needed to be safeguarded.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is he a certified relief worker or is he a supervisor?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I believe that he now works in the library there. I think that is the last thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to read that statement, and it will be in the record.

I think also that it should be cleared up that there is no intimation made here that Mr. Hopkins is mentally sick right now because he went to a hospital. Mr. Starnes' mention of that grew out of your statement or suggestion that because this man was in a hospital was some reason why he should not testify. I am sure Mr. Starnes—

Mrs. WOODWARD. You have full opportunity to have any of the records of Mr. Hopkins—

The CHAIRMAN. The pertinency of that remark was that it is no more right to say that Mr. Banta was disqualified to testify because he was in a hospital in 1937 than it would be to say that Mr. Hopkins was disqualified. That was his point.

Mr. STARNES. That was the whole point. So, if you have anything about Banta, bring it in.

The CHAIRMAN. Read that statement from the clinic. We want that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You want my file? I have my record here.

The CHAIRMAN. You have mentioned it, and I think in fairness it ought to go in.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will have to spell out some of these words, because I am not well up on medical terms.

This is written to Mr. Donald Thompson, Assistant Director, W. P. A., 235 East Forty-second Street, New York City, under date of July 7, 1937, "Re Edwin Banta, 215 East Seventeenth Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Mr. Edwin Banta has asked us to communicate with you in regard to the medical data in his case. The following is a copy of the medical abstract:

Edwin Banta has been admitted to this hospital on two occasions, one, February 1, 1933, and February 16, 1933. The diagnosis—

Now, I am just going to sell out some of these things, because—

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD (reading):

Diagnosis: Arteriosclerotic heart disease; chronic bursitis of the subdeltoid bursa, infectious.

2. On August 6, 1933, to August 31, 1933. Diagnosis: Acute colitis; general arteriosclerosis.

This is a heart disease.

At the time of his last visit the physical findings are as follows:

History: Second admission of a 63-year-old man, this time with frequent bowel movements with blood and mucus for 2 days, after having arthritis. Mother died with smallpox. Patient was in the Navy.

The best I can read that is "Had G. C. several times 40 years ago with stricture"—suppose I let your secretary read this.

The CHAIRMAN. Read us anything in there that has to do with mental condition. Of course, these other things are what many people have.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think maybe I will let—

The CHAIRMAN. Read that portion that you say justifies your statement about his mental condition.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. I think it would be very well to have your secretary read that. He may be better able to read these terms than I am. But I will read it:

On April 29, 1935, psychiatry made this notation in his chart: "This patient was accepted for treatment 2 years ago, but never came back for treatment. At the time a tentative diagnosis of a paranoid condition was made. It was recognized at the time that this might only be a temporary state. Case closed to this department."

Our last contact has been since March 1937, for generalized urticaria, which has been treated since this time through treatment in the dermatology clinic.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is there anything in there about his mental condition?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It speaks here of a diagnosis of a paranoid condition.

The CHAIRMAN. I know. But here you have made a grave charge under oath that this man's mental condition is such. You are casting insinuations upon this witness. We want you to show us something in here that justifies your sworn statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Don't you think that when the Vanderbilt Clinic says that a diagnosis of a paranoid condition was made, that that is something?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you could make a diagnosis of a person's paranoid condition and not pronounce him insane. The clinic does not pronounce it either good or bad. It just says that it made that diagnosis.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It says it was recognized at the time that this might only be a temporary state.

The CHAIRMAN. But they don't say that as a result of the examination they find anything wrong with his mental condition.

Mrs. WOODWARD. When they say that it might be only temporary, I thought that meant that they did find a paranoid condition at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. But there is nothing that says that they found—

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that you let the letter go in for what it is worth.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is what "diagnosis" means, in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. But a diagnosis is just an opinion that the patient is in that mental condition. But go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But it says that it was recognized then that this might only be a temporary state. A temporary diagnosis of a paranoid condition was made.

The CHAIRMAN. Upon that you felt justified in making this statement against Mr. Banta? You felt justified in that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I felt justified in mentioning the fact that he had been a sick man. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't say "a sick man." You said "physical and mental condition."

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. That diagnosis was made in 1933, was it not, Mrs. Woodward?

Mrs. WOODWARD. 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Was it requested by Mr. Banta?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That was in 1937.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, no; that is the date of his last visit. The diagnosis was made in 1933.

Mrs. WOODWARD. April 29, 1935, and then it went on to say that 2 years before the diagnosis was made:

On April 29, 1935, psychiatry made the notation in his chart: "This patient was accepted for treatment 2 years ago."

Mr. THOMAS. That was 1933.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir. That means that he was accepted for treatment in 1933, although the statement is being made in 1935.

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. And at the time a tentative diagnosis of a paranoid condition was made.

Mr. THOMAS. There wasn't anything said about it being tentative.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. I am reading exactly what they have. "It was recognized"—now, please note this—"It was recognized at the time that this might only be a temporary state." But it was a state, wasn't it? "Case closed to this department."

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I may be wrong; but I just would like to have it clear that when a doctor says that it is his diagnosis that a man has a paranoid condition, that is not any pronouncement that would justify anybody to say that his mental condition was bad, and to use that as a reason to discredit his testimony when it was made long after he was discharged from the hospital, some years later. That is the point that we are raising. What justification can you possibly have for making that statement, as you did, about a witness when the only evidence that you had about Mr. Banta was the report made more than a year or so before the witness testified, and this doctor nowhere pronounces the patient mentally deficient.

All right. The letter speaks for itself.

Mrs. WOODWARD. When a person makes a statement or testifies as Mr. Banta did I feel that, because of his physical condition, that you certainly owe it to the Government to check back and find out about the man who is giving the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think when your project employs a man that they would not employ a crazy man?

Mrs. WOODWARD. At any rate it was this letter that prevented me putting him off our project. He was just on our project for the physically hindered.

Mr. MOSIER. I would like to bring out one point on the letter that you just read from the clinic. I want to bring out that the letter starts off with the statement that the letter is written at Mr. Banta's request. That is true, isn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is what the letter states.

Mr. MOSIER. This is the letter that you spoke of that Mr. Banta wrote to some Hearst newspaper?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.



Mr. MOSIER. Wherein would you say that there is any proof in that letter that this man was mentally incompetent?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I do not think the statement was very coherent.

Mr. MOSIER. Very what?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think it was very clear.

Mr. MOSIER. It seems to me eminently clear. He made a speech out there some place and they either did not print it or they cut out any reference to communism, something that has happened to every member of this committee with the newspapers.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Mosier, I could put in the record several letters that have been received, that were received from Mr. Banta that they were not at all clear, and which showed, in my opinion, a highly nervous condition.

Mr. MOSIER. I know, but you are submitting this letter. This is the one I want to direct your attention to. You have not submitted any other letters, but this letter here seems to me eminently clear.

Mrs. WOODWARD. The letter that he wrote Mr. Hearst?

Mr. MOSIER. The letter to the effect that he went and made a speech some place on communism and the paper did not print any story about his speech.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, do you think that just the average person would be raising that much Cain about not getting into the press?

Mr. MOSIER. If you knew as much about communism as this committee does, yes; most assuredly.

The CHAIRMAN. But, did I understand you to say that after you received this letter you reinstated Mr. Banta?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have not the date, Mr. Chairman, of the reinstatement, but I do say that his case was reviewed a number of times because his work was not up to the level of many of the other people who were doing similar types of work, but after we had received a number of different letters, and after people had appeared in his behalf, we just did everything we possibly could to feel right about putting him back on the project because he was desperately in need.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words the letter played some part in your decision to reinstate him?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I would say so.

Mr. STARNES. Did the Writers' Alliance ever take his case up?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; Mr. Starnes, I do not know whether they did or not.

Mr. STARNES. You knew, of course, he was a member of the Workers' Alliance and Communist Party?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am not well acquainted with the Communist Party, so I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. No; not at all, but I asked you if you knew, because he testified that he was a member of both, because he produced his membership card in both, and he was at one time a collector of dues for the Workers' Alliance.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is his statement. That is perfectly all right for him to make his statement.

Mr. STARNES. You are not prepared to deny that and say that it is not true?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I cannot say who is or who is not a Communist, because I am not a Communist. I do not have any access to any of the records, and, under the law, I am prohibited from making inquiry into the political affiliations of these people who benefit under this act.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you say you got this letter from Mr. Hearst? Did you call him up and ask, or how did you get this letter?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; we did not call him up.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get this letter?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I can't recall exactly the details of that, Mr. Chairman, but there has been some little correspondence going back and forth from Mr. Hearst to our office.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when you got this letter, after he testified before the committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not recall, Mr. Chairman, but I will look it up.

The CHAIRMAN. But, it is very important. You ought to be able to recall that matter. Have you no record to show how you got this letter or when you got it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Surely. I have records in my office that will tell you exactly the date on which that was received. I will be very glad to furnish that to your committee. Will you make a note of that, please.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now, then, the persons, the workers against whom Mr. Banta made charges, supervisors as well as rank and file, came to the Federal Writers Project certified for relief by the home relief bureau of the municipality of New York. This means that the municipality of New York had passed on their qualifications for need before these workers came to us. Our duty was to see that they qualified as writers, and this was done by Mr. Harry Shaw, who up until recently was director of the Federal Writers Project at New York City. He is a well-known writer and a professor in the English department at New York University. After an employee is assigned on the project the quality of his work alone controls his continued employment and his promotion.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that true with reference to Mr. Banta?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I want to answer your question; is that true—

The CHAIRMAN. You say after an employee is assigned to the project the quality of his work alone controls his continued employment and his promotion. Now, you testified the quality of Mr. Banta's work was very poor, and you have introduced the clinic report. Now, would that statement apply to Mr. Banta's case?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; to my best knowledge, it would apply to any case.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Not one of the supervisors named by Mr. Banta came on the project as a supervisor; to the contrary, they all came from the relief rolls and were promoted at slow stages, almost without exception, for the efficiency of their work, and one of the seven supervisors Mr. Banta named no longer holds supervisory rank. The records of the remaining six supervisors show that they not only rose from relief status but were promoted gradually without having skipped a single ranking on the way up.

Mr. STARNES. All right, seven of those persons that Mr. Banta named have been supervisors at one time or the other on the project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. He was correct, and knew what he was doing when he testified to that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. One of the seven supervisors no longer holds supervisory rank.

Any person considering himself discriminated against has full recourse in appeal machinery. In the first place, he may appeal to Mr. Paul Edwards, my administrative officer on the fine arts projects there in New York City. If the person is not satisfied then he may appeal to the joint appeal board set up there in New York City. There is a further appeal from this joint appeal board to the Labor Division in the Works Progress Administration here in Washington.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, has Mr. Edwards recommended to you—

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Thomas, would you permit me to finish my statement as the chairman agreed—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). I have just one very short question.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Am I right or wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true, but I understand that you continued to attack this committee in a very vicious way, and when we come to that we want to ask you some questions. We did not require you to submit your statement in advance, although we required all the rest of them to do that very thing. Now, we are going to permit you to make your attack on this committee; be absolutely fair.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But, Mr. Chairman, I am not attacking the committee—

Mr. THOMAS. I am going to have the same opportunity to ask questions that the other members of the committee have had?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, you referred to the appeals board. Has Mr. Edwards, the administrator in New York City, made the recommendation to you that you should do away with the appeals board in New York City?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We are going to have a meeting with Mr. Edwards this week to discuss this whole machinery.

Mr. THOMAS. No; that does not answer the question. Has he made such a recommendation to you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. To do away with the appeals board?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I could not be sure of that, Mr. Thomas. I can look that up and put it in the record, if you wish it.

Mr. THOMAS. He had some conferences with you this year, or one not so long ago?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And during the conferences did he refer to the appeals board as overruling his rulings at different times, and didn't he suggest to you that you do away with the appeals board to bring about better efficiency in the Writers' Project in New York City?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Edwards has made numerous recommendations for reorganization, Mr. Thomas. However, I can't say whether that was one of the recommendations.



Mr. THOMAS. Have many of those recommendations of his been carried out, many of his recommendations to you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Edwards' recommendations—some of his recommendations have already been put into effect.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you look it up and see whether he made a recommendation to do away with the appeals board and let the committee know whether he did make such a recommendation, and what was done with regard to it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will be very glad to do that. May I complete my statement here?

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to ask you about what follows here; go ahead.

Mr. STARNES. Start at page number 13.

Mrs. WOODWARD. There is a further appeal from the joint appeal board to the Labor Division in the Works Progress Administration in Washington, which reports that they have had no such appeals from complainants on account of discrimination in the Writers' Project in New York City.

At the very time that Mr. Banta was giving his testimony in New York City, Lewis Gannett, the reviewer for the Herald Tribune, made the following statement about the most recent publication brought out by the New York City project, New York Panorama:

The city and the country can be proud that, putting men to work in crises, they produce such books as this. Proud that the men did the work, proud that the city inspired them.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same Lewis Gannett that was one of the sponsors for "American Stuff"; is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I suppose so; I am not conversant with it. Certainly the New York Herald Tribune is not controlled by any radical elements. To conclude these remarks on the Federal Writers' Project. I quote from a review in the New York Times:

For when we of this generation are all dust and ashes and forgotten \* \* \* the American Guide Series will be still very much in evidence. And not only in evidence but in use; \* \* \* it is certainly one of the most valuable series of books ever issued in the United States.

Your committee, Mr. Chairman, has been authorized by the House of Representatives to investigate un-American activities, and I want at this time to express my deep concern and also my disappointment over what I consider the very un-American way—

Mr. MOSIER. You are interpolating in that.

Mr. STARNES. Read your statement as you have it, please.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right.

Mr. STARNES. Stick to your text.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I must express my deep concern and disappointment over the very un-American way in which the committee has handled charges made against this project under my jurisdiction. At the very beginning of your investigation this administration, both in New York and in Washington, offered access to its files and the fullest cooperation of members of its staff. I am here now only because we have repeatedly insisted upon and demanded the opportunity to be heard, and to establish the falsity of testimony of previous witnesses. Your committee, instead of hearing all available witnesses chose to limit its inquiry to the testimony of a few

witnesses, most of whom were disqualified by their background to testify on the subject matter under investigation. I submit that this is hardly in keeping with the American tradition of fair play and unbiased investigation. I will now take up the specific charges in detail.

Now, this is on the Theater Project.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute; you have made a charge there.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have made no charge, Mr. Chairman; I have made a statement.

Mr. STARNES. You state very definitely in here that we have handled this committee in an un-American way, without any equivocation about it. If that is not a charge I do not know what a charge is.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us exactly why you think this was handled in un-American way relating to your project.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, don't you think that the Congress which you represent is interested in hearing both sides of the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know it to be a fact that this committee, from the very beginning, at numerous times, has stated publicly, and in the record, that any individual or organization involved in any charge would be accorded a full and fair opportunity to appear before the committee and disprove the facts. Do you not know that to be true?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have read your statement here, Mr. Chairman, but I know, however, that you have not called the people.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute——

Mrs. WOODWARD (interposing). The people, the official people, those who are officially responsible for this, and we have offered to come here, and I am here today because you permitted me to come and make my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us clear this up, because you want to be fair.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will be fair.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you admit what everybody knows to be a fact, that this committee has extended invitation after invitation to all persons and individuals who are involved in a charge to appear here and under oath deny it? Do you admit that or don't you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You have extended no invitation to me——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). There is no charge against you.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no charge against you, but is it not a fact?

Mrs. WOODWARD. But, Mr. Chairman, when there are charges against my work, then I am the responsible official who——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Now, is it not a further fact that this chairman wrote you and wrote Mr. Alsberg, and wrote Mrs. Hallie Flanagan that the committee would be delighted to hear you and would arrange for an opportunity to hear you; is that not the fact?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; but it is not a fact also——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Is it not a fact that you said that you were not ready, and we waited until you were prepared to appear before this committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Until we could read the testimony, and is it not also the fact that we asked for an opportunity to come here, that

you made no effort to get in touch with any of our officials in New York City?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that is accurate.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that statement, Mrs. Woodward?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You did not get in touch with heads of the project.

Mr. THOMAS. Did not get in touch with whom?

Mrs. WOODWARD. With me, or the heads of the project in New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not see how you can make a statement like that, because Mr. Paul Edwards, on two occasions came down to our office in the Federal Building in New York City.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You requested him to come down.

Mr. STARNES. And the executive sessions will show that he made a statement before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us clear this up for your benefit, because you do not want to be in the position of making statements that are not borne out by the testimony.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Certainly not.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me call your attention to the fact that not only did the chairman write you a letter, courteous and respectful in every respect, to say that you and all others will be accorded a full opportunity to appear, and even after that opportunity was accorded to you, after it was understood, and after Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg wrote the chairman that they wanted to appear and would appear, that for some reason that arrangement was canceled, and you wrote the Chair that you wished to testify alone. Now, isn't that a fact?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It is a fact I asked to testify alone.

The CHAIRMAN. So that after asking two of your chief officials to testify you have failed to take advantage of the opportunity.

Mrs. WOODWARD. They did not come——

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact after we had extended the opportunity saying we would be glad to hear you you did not come?

Mrs. WOODWARD. But, you never requested them; you only extended the opportunity after they requested it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that the clerk has called your office several times, and told you that we were anxious to hear you, and wasn't the arrangement made by Mr. Alsberg and Mrs. Flanagan to appear before the committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And that at the last moment, on Friday, you apprised the Chair that those two witnesses did not want to appear?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I did not advise you they did not want to appear.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are correct.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I said as the responsible official in charge of this field division that I expected to be the witness before your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And the others would not appear.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; the others would not appear.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. So that this committee has been so fair that after having accorded everybody the opportunity that wanted to appear, everybody in your department that said they wanted to ap-



pear in defense of these charges, then two of those refused to appear and take advantage of that offer.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It is certainly not the fault of those two.

The CHAIRMAN. It is certainly not the fault of the committee that they are not here.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; but it is my responsibility. I assumed that responsibility, and I am here.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you are the one that appears for them?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I appear for the whole division and for the administration.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you undertake to tell this committee that you are in a position to dispute what actually took place on the project in New York? How many times did you personally visit that project, or were you present there?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I visited New York a number of times.

Mr. MOSIER. We all have.

The CHAIRMAN. Not New York, but on that project.

Mrs. WOODWARD. On the Federal Writers' Project, the Federal Theater Project?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I could not say, Mr. Chairman, how much time——

Mr. THOMAS. Are you familiar in detail with the work in New York on the Federal Writers' Project and the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, as I said, Mr. Thomas, in the very beginning, that I am telling you what I know to the extent that any administrator could who has a Nation-wide program, and I repeat that we select the best people, the best qualified people that we can for this work. We supervise them as close as we can——

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask this first——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). No; let me ask this question: Will you, Mrs. Woodward, look at these two letters and say whether or not that is your signature on those two letters? Is the signature yours [indicating]?

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you have to answer. Is that your signature? Is that your signature?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think it is not.

Mr. THOMAS. You think it is not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. The reason I am saying that, Mr. Thomas, is because I want to be very sure whether it is or is not, Mr. Thomas. We have nothing at all to hold back, and you want me to be as sure as I can, do you not?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; that is right. Will you look at the second letter here and say whether or not that is your signature [indicating]?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This looks like my signature, but I am not sure that it is.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not true that those letters are written on the stationery of the Works Progress Administration here in Washington?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; these are the letterheads of the Works Progress Administration.

Mr. THOMAS. If you are not sure of the signatures, were those letters authorized by you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am sure I could not say——

Mr. THOMAS. Will you read those letters?

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right. Here is one to Mr. H. Huffman, 10 West Forty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. MOSIER. What date is that, please?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is July 20, 1937. [Reading:]

DEAR MR. HUFFMAN: The White House has referred your letter of June 23 concerning the Federal Theater Project in New York City to this Administration for reply. May I also at this time acknowledge your letter to Mr. Hopkins.

Since the administration of the Federal Theater Project in New York City is the responsibility of the local project officials, I can only suggest that you discuss your plan with the proper officials in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, read the next letter.

Mr. MOSIER. What was the signature to that letter, please?

Mrs. WOODWARD (reading):

Sincerely yours,

ELLEN S. WOODWARD,  
*Assistant Administrator.*

The CHAIRMAN. Read the next one.

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is under date of April 11, 1938. [Reading:]

MISS H. HUFFMAN,  
*22½ Sullivan Street, New York City.*

MY DEAR MISS HUFFMAN: This will acknowledge your telegram of April 5 in which you protested the transfer of certain individuals from Federal Project No. 1 to other Works Progress Administration white-collar projects.

Since this is a matter which is entirely under Mr. Edwards' jurisdiction, I have referred your telegram to him. I am sorry that I cannot grant your request for an appointment with me.

Sincerely yours,

ELLEN S. WOODWARD,  
*Assistant Director.*

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mrs. Woodward, here you have admitted that you cannot even testify to your own signatures, and yet you undertake to degrade witnesses who have appeared before this committee and make the charge that this committee has handled this matter in an un-American way.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now, Mr. Chairman, don't be unfair. I say this looks like my signature. I do not sign thousands of letters that go out, because thousands of letters go out——

The CHAIRMAN. If you cannot even tell your own signature, if you are not certain about that, wouldn't that give——

Mrs. WOODWARD (interposing). I can't give you the facts on this because I can't see the carbon copies; I can't tell whether this is a letter dictated by me.

The CHAIRMAN. You ought to be able to tell your own signature.

Mrs. WOODWARD. To the best of my knowledge neither one of them is my signature, and the second one is very much like I sign my name, but I think that is not my signature.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have said you are not certain; is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think that is my signature.

Mr. THOMAS. Then, to the best of your knowledge, did you authorize those statements to be sent by anyone in your employ?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Specifically, no; Mr. Thomas. I can't say whether I talked with them specifically or not——

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us some of your genuine signatures so that the committee can compare them?

Mr. THOMAS. The point I am trying to make, and the reason for introducing these letters is that if these letters were written by Mrs. Woodward, or authorized by Mrs. Woodward, then Mrs. Woodward has not the knowledge of the projects in New York that she led us to believe that she had in beginning her testimony here today. Furthermore, in view of that fact, I think it is very important that we call the heads of these projects, Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg, and that is one of the reasons why I think the committee wanted them here today.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Thomas, I have not had an opportunity to confer, since this discussion came up, with my responsible heads who have authority to act for me.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, now, before the Patents Committee when you and Mrs. Flanagan testified, Mrs. Flanagan made this statement:

Decision as to the allocation of funds, opening and closing of projects, employment and dismissal of personnel in key positions is vested in the national director and deputy director.

Now, who is national director of the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Hallie Flanagan.

Mr. THOMAS. And who is national director of the Federal Writers' Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Henry Alsberg.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not reasonable to think, then, that the committee should hear their testimony relative to these projects in view of this statement and in view of your statement to Miss Huffman?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Administrative duties are necessarily delegated to subordinates, Mr. Thomas, but the responsibility remains with the head of the division. Therefore I am only here because I wanted to come, because I asked for the opportunity to come, because I am head of the division.

Mr. THOMAS. You decided that Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg should not come. Do you not think they should come now in view of this situation and in view of their knowledge of these particular projects?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not think it is necessary for them to come. I do not think there is any reason for them to come, because I can answer your questions, because I have had reports, and I have had the investigations made, and the reports I have are based upon those investigations, and I stand by those reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all you really know about this, what other people told you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is what your subcommittee told you about the New York testimony. I delegate to them certain responsibility.

Mr. MOSIER. The testimony is in the record—

The CHAIRMAN. It is in the record under oath—it is part of the record. But, here is what I want to ask you: Is this the truth, here you say:

Since the administration of the Federal Theater Project in New York City is the responsibility of the local project officials, I can only suggest that you discuss your plan with the proper officials in New York City.



Does that express the facts that they have the last word on this, I mean, under the language I am reading? Is this correct or incorrect?

Since the administration of the Federal Theater Project in New York is the responsibility of the local project officials, I can only suggest that you discuss your plan with the proper officials in New York City.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Edwards is responsible to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Let me see it again.

The CHAIRMAN. Also hand her those signatures. I wish you could point out wherein there is any difference between those signatures.

Mrs. WOODWARD. There is nothing about this signature itself, because there are thousands of letters that come to my office. I can't sign them all.

Mr. STARNES. Do you authorize them? That is the point the committee is trying to find out, Mrs. Woodward, or do you authorize others down there to sign your signature to certain administrative details and orders?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think I do—

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall authorizing anybody to sign those letters? One you say you did, and one you do not know whether you did.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Will you ask your question again?

The CHAIRMAN. Is the letter—the last paragraph of the letter where you say that the responsibility rests in the local officials, which ever letter that is, I want you to say whether that is a correct statement or not.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would not say that the final responsibility rests with them.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I asked you is that statement correct? You can say whether it is correct or incorrect.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Chairman, it is whether you consider whether they are talking about the final responsibility or the responsibility which I have delegated to them.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean when you wrote the letter?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not write the letter. That is number one, and the language is this:

Since the administration of the Federal Theater Project in New York City is the responsibility of the local project officials, I can only suggest that you discuss your plan with the proper officials in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is that statement correct or incorrect?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I consider it incorrect.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, will you return the two letters, and the signatures, please.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Because I have final responsibility on all matters.

Mr. STARNES. The initial responsibility, however, is with the local officials always, of course?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Do you give them each initial responsibility on all administrative matters initially?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You mean to Mr. Edwards in New York City on New York City projects?

Mr. STARNES. Correct.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes: Mr. Edwards can take his responsibility because he is conversant with all of these rules and regulations and procedures.

Mr. STARNES. And that is final unless there is an appeal from his decision up to you; is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right, because he understands the policy in the administration.

Mr. STARNES. So, frankly, the only detailed knowledge that you have about any one particular proposition in New York City or elsewhere is something that is appealed by the workers from a ruling of your local administrator?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; that is not the case, Mr. Starnes, because I do have knowledge of many of the things that go on throughout the country that are not appealed to me at all. I have traveled throughout this country, and I have spent a great deal of time in New York City.

Mr. STARNES. I know, but you are begging the question. I mean about the details of any particular case. That is what I have reference to.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do know the details of some of the cases. I would not say all of the details.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know all the half million people under your department?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not pretend to.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you depend on your local administrators?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. I will assign certain duties to them and I trust them, but the final responsibility belongs to me.

The CHAIRMAN. You say:

Your committee, instead of hearing all available witnesses, chose to limit its inquiry to the testimony of a few witnesses.

What witnesses are you referring to, who else that the committee should have heard?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I consider that there were many witnesses in New York City. For instance, the head of the Theater Project there, and the head of the Writers' Project there.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard awhile ago that Mr. Edwards appeared. Who else besides Mr. Edwards would you consider should have appeared?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not know about Mr. Edwards appearing before what was considered a committee. Was that a meeting of the committee, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. It was an executive session of the committee in New York.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It was executive?

Mr. THOMAS. That is correct.

Mrs. WOODWARD. An executive session of this special committee?

Mr. THOMAS. That is correct.

Mrs. WOODWARD. In New York?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Can you give me the date of that testimony?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I can't.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you mind putting that in the record?

Mr. THOMAS. Do you want his testimony put in the record, too?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is just up to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mrs. Woodward, you say, "most of whom"—you are speaking about witnesses we heard—"most of whom were disqualified by their background to testify on the subject matter."

Mr. MOSIER. "On the subject matter under investigation."

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. Mr. Mosier, do not let him just ride me.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to ride you, but you have made some graves charges here.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now, Mr. Chairman, do not get that all in the record; don't you know I am not making any charges against you gentlemen?

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think it is a grave charge when you say the committee has handled affairs in an un-American manner? We have not made that charge against you or your administration.

Mrs. WOODWARD. My idea about fair play, especially on congressional investigations, is that you should ask them, that you should call right in the very beginning the responsible officials who know about the testimony that was given, and you ought to want them to come forward and give you their files and help.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, but when we have letters showing that those officials have said that the responsibility is on the local officials, and we know the local officials are the ones who know the facts, do you think we ought to get some administrative head who has very little personal knowledge of the matter?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think you should have come to me. If I had any responsible matters involving you in your district in Texas, I think I would come to you.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, I am mighty glad if you would, but here is the point I am asking you—

Mr. MOSIER (interposing). If he had let it run on for 2 or 3 years without paying any attention to it, it would be fair to assume that when you brought it to his attention he still would not pay any attention to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute, Mrs. Woodward. Here is what I am directing my inquiry to. You say, "most of whom were disqualified by their background to testify on the subject matter under investigation."

Do you think that witnesses employed on the project, that you yourself employed, were disqualified by their background to testify as to communistic activities that took place under their eyes?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I think they are not competent, perhaps, to testify as to the artistic side of this program.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not involved in the artistic side.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; but they made references to a great many things which have to do with the administration and the technical—

The CHAIRMAN. And the artistic phase of it—

Mrs. WOODWARD. The handling of these programs.

The CHAIRMAN. So you think we should have brought in people who are experts along artistic lines to pass on the artistic effect of the production; is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. What I think you should have done, and I am surprised that you did not do it, is originally get in touch with me:



and say, "I would like to have your files made available to me in New York City. I am investigating certain activities on your projects," and you would have immediately received from me a letter to be transmitted to your secretary or to anyone else you sent up there, your investigators, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Your files, if they had been submitted to us—  
Mrs. WOODWARD (interposing). Would you allow me to complete my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. We would have given you that, and we would have made available to you anything you asked for. Have I failed to hand over to you anything you have asked for yet?

The CHAIRMAN. But we are not accusing you of anything.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But have I failed to hand over to you anything—

The CHAIRMAN. No; not that I know of.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You can only judge what would happen by what has happened.

The CHAIRMAN. So, you say what we should have done is come to you and get your files?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I say if you wanted our files, you should have come to me for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Would your files have revealed any communistic activity, which was the subject matter under investigation?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think the files would have revealed probably the background of the people who were testifying before your committee, and you would probably have had a very much better idea whether they were competent to testify.

Mr. STARNES. I think that is a very interesting point, Mr. Chairman, and I think we ought to take advantage of Mrs. Woodward's suggestion.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is, we should get the files on the Federal Theater Project and Federal Writers Project in New York.

Mr. STARNES. We would be mighty glad to have all—

Mrs. WOODWARD (interposing). Have we ever failed to make available anything you have asked for?

Mr. THOMAS. Let us get those files now.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe several of the witnesses were supervisors on the project. Were witnesses you had put on the project disqualified on account of their background to testify as to communistic activities?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, you realize that these people, nearly all of them, came from relief rolls; about 48 people out of something like 500 were in supervisory or were in administrative duties there on this Writers Project in New York. I do not believe if you go down and get people from relief rolls who have not had as much experience as they should have had in the fields that they are working in, I do not believe that the testimony would be worth as much to you.

The CHAIRMAN. If their testimony is not competent, why do you let their products and the results of their work go into United States publications?

Mrs. WOODWARD. One of the reasons we edit both in the State and Washington office is that we want them to have the freedom to write

and make research and send in the stories as best they can, and then the reason we have editors here in the Washington office is to put the material into proper shape.

The CHAIRMAN. But you write the material substantially as it is, do you not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, Mr. Chairman, we do not; it is not always done, and it is a question of going back and forth and making decisions between the State and the national offices.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do accept much of the material as it is sent to you, do you not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; we do.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are enabled to say to this committee that witnesses who prepared this matter are competent to do so, and to let the American people have the material, but you do not think their background is such as to permit them to appear before the committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think Hazel Huffman has a background to permit her to pass on the work of the American theater.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think Mr. DeSolo has such a background?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think he has done some very competent work.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think anybody working on the project could tell about communistic literature being spread on the project, or of having meetings within the project? What has that to do with artistic judgment?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, if I remember the testimony correctly they were bringing in all kinds of things to try to prove their points. They really were making charges on administrative points, and on technical points, and I still say, Mr. Chairman, that I do not think Miss Huffman was a qualified person to pass on the activities of the Federal Theater Project.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just your opinion, isn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; it is my opinion, but my information on that is also included. This record of that was included in this brief which I had hoped you were going to allow me to present.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but you have made what I consider some grave charges here and we are entitled to know the foundation of it. Outside of Miss Huffman, among the witnesses who have testified before the committee, among your employees, are there any others that you consider do not have the background? Now, give us the name of another.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think Mr. Banta is qualified to pass on all of the things he passed on.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Outside of Mr. Banta, who else? Now, there are two, Miss Huffman and Mr. Banta.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have not a list of all of those people who have given testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

Mr. MOSIER. You really would say, Mrs. Woodward, that all of them are not competent?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not say that they are not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, give us the names of any other witnesses that you consider were disqualified. Now, can you do that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, let me think of their names. I read all of the testimony, and as I read it through, Mr. Dies, I thought at the

time that it was too bad to have that side of the question just presented by people who were not better qualified than they were to speak on those subjects.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, anyone working on that project outside of the officials would not be qualified to speak; is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. What is it?

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone working on that project, outside of the officials, would not be qualified, on account of their background, to testify before the committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That would depend on their background.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference between Mr. De Solo and the other witnesses who appeared here and who were working on the project? What is the difference between their status and the status of all of the other employees on the project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. De Solo probably had had more experience and a better background in his field of work than Mr. Banta. I have not that before me, but I can look it up.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have said here that most of these witnesses were disqualified, and you have only given two names. Now, we are entitled to know who the other people are that you say are disqualified.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Most of the testimony was by those two witnesses.

Mr. THOMAS. You have not read Mr. Verdi's testimony?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have read all of the testimony except a few pages of this last testimony given here in the Washington office before your committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you read Mr. Verdi's testimony?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Pardon me.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you read Mr. Verdi's testimony, V-e-r-d-i?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I have read the testimony.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say that he is not qualified to testify?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would have to look up Mr. Verdi's background to be satisfied, so far as Mr. Verdi is concerned.

Mr. THOMAS. And you have not looked up his background?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I have looked up the background of all of these people, Mr. Thomas. Wait a minute and let me turn to some of these things if you want to hear about the background of some of these people.

Mr. STARNES. Can you do it of your own personal knowledge, or do you have to refer to records that you have had provided for you by subordinates under you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). I am not going to have any equivocation. That calls for a "yes" or "no" answer. You cannot testify of your own personal knowledge about these matters?

Mrs. WOODWARD. About Mr. Verdi?

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know Mr. Verdi personally.

Mr. STARNES. You have had to rely on some report prepared by some subordinate?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Is that true?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right. I have had careful investigation made, and these reports.



Mr. STARNES. Now, what is there about un-American activities that takes somebody with an artistic background to understand what an un-American activity is?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That might be a matter of opinion, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. I think so myself, but I have never before heard the statement made by any person that a person must have an artistic background before he or she could discern what an un-American activity was. Will you please tell me what artistic background it is necessary for any American citizen to have to know what an un-American activity is; would you please answer the question?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes, I do not know what background they would have to have.

Mr. STARNES. Is it your contention that they have to have a college education to know what nazi-ism and fascism is?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No.

Mr. STARNES. Is it your contention that they have to have some theatrical background before they can recognize an un-American activity?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; but right there——

Mr. STARNES. Just answer my question. Is it necessary for them to have certain theatrical background before they can recognize an un-American activity? Yes or no.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; but I want to——

Mr. STARNES. Yes——

Mrs. WOODWARD. Wait a minute, I want——

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute. You can give your statement in a minute, but I want, for the record, an unequivocal answer, if I can get it. You said a moment ago you did not know anything about communism.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I said I did not know who the Communists are.

Mr. STARNES. Didn't you testify you didn't know anything about communism?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would not say I do not know anything about communism. I think you would have to be pretty uninformed not to have read anything about communism, but I say I do not know who the Communists are.

Mr. STARNES. You have excoriated the committee for not coming to you or to some other responsible officer, for not coming to you and getting information about communism on the projects, and at the same time you testified you did not know what communism was, and you had no connection with it, and did not know anything about it. How do you expect the committee, then, to get their information from you with reference to those matters?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not mean that I know nothing about communism, Mr. Starnes, because everybody who reads does——

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything at all about communistic activities carried on on either of these projects?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know of any communistic activities that are being carried on on these projects.

Mr. STARNES. Why are you qualified to make any statement or denial of the fact that there are communistic activities on the projects?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would consider proof here in these statements that no communistic activities are being carried on and that these charges are false.

Mr. STARNES. You are making statements based on reports furnished by your subordinates, not from your personal knowledge?

Mrs. WOODWARD. But you are——

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute—answer my question. You are making statements based on reports furnished by your subordinates?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. Many of these reports are only made after careful investigation.

Mr. STARNES. You are making the statement that you personally, of your own knowledge, personally do not know anything at all about communistic activities on either of these projects.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, the witness has said here in this statement here on page 14:

Your committee instead of hearing all available witnesses chose to limit this inquiry to the testimony of a few witnesses, most of whom were disqualified by their background to testify on the subject matter under investigation.

I submit that this witness, by her own testimony, proves conclusively that she comes within the category of being disqualified by her background to testify on the subject matter under investigation, and I, therefore, move you that the witness be excused from further testifying.

Mr. THOMAS. I second the motion.

Mr. STARNES. Let her say whatever she wants to.

The CHAIRMAN. No; don't do that.

Mr. THOMAS. I think we ought to call Mr. Alsberg and Mrs. Flanagan.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Woodward, can you give us the names of any witnesses that you consider qualified by their background to testify? Would you give us the names of any witnesses that would meet your approval, that could qualify on communism in the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Chairman, I thought I was qualified to speak on that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. And to refute these charges based upon careful investigation that we have made following the testimony given before your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me put it this way: Can you give us the name of any witness who can, on his own personal knowledge, under oath, tell us anything about communism in the Federal Theater Project or in the Federal Writers' Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, if it does not exist, how could they tell you about it?

The CHAIRMAN. You are assuming now that it does not exist.

Mr. THOMAS. Has Mr. Edwards ever said to you——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Wait a minute. Do you assume that it does not exist?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I know of no communistic activities that are being carried on in these projects.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you undertake to say that it is not being carried on, under your oath?



Mrs. WOODWARD. Why, Mr. Chairman, I do not know of any communistic activities that are being carried on.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you make that statement after we had shown you a book in which 106 of your employees signed themselves as Communists on that project? Would you then undertake to say that you do not believe there is communism on the Federal Writers Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Did you think the fact that they signed that book proves that they are Communists?

The CHAIRMAN. How else could you prove, when people, by their own signatures, following the foreword say:

Presented to Comrade Edwin Banta by members of the Federal Writers Unit No. 36S, Communist Party of the United States of America, in recognition of his devotion to, and untiring efforts in behalf of, our party and communism—

and they signed their names, their original signatures, which were never disputed? This was put in in New York. Would you say on any project out of 300, when 106 of them were willing to admit they were Communists, that there was no communism on the project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I know of no communistic activities that are being carried on on the project.

Mr. THOMAS. Isn't it true, Mrs. Woodward, that Mr. Edwards told you within the past 2 months that communistic activities exist on these two projects in New York City?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That communistic activities are being carried on?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Edwards has never told me that communistic activities are being carried on on the projects, because whenever I know that communistic activities are being carried on on the projects, then I step in and take action.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the occasions and the dates when you did that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Nobody has proved to me that any communistic activity was being carried on.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by saying that when you know of communistic activities you step in. Does that mean you have stepped in?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That means I will step in.

Mr. STARNES. You know Mr. Victor Ridder?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I know Victor Ridder.

Mr. STARNES. Did he ever bring any information to you of the fact that communistic activities were being carried on on those projects when he was administrator in New York?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not have the responsibility at that time, Mr. Starnes, to remember his telling me.

Mr. STARNES. How about Colonel Somervell?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; Colonel Somervell has never told me about communistic activities.

Mr. THOMAS. But hasn't Mr. Edwards within the past few months discussed with you this question?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Discussed with me?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Edwards has never told me that there were communistic activities being carried on on these projects.



MR. THOMAS. But in one of these recent conferences with him have you not discussed this question of communism with relation to these projects?

MRS. WOODWARD. I discussed with him this testimony that has been given before your committee.

MR. THOMAS. And did not Mr. Edwards tell you at that time that at least some of it was true?

MRS. WOODWARD. No; he did not.

MR. THOMAS. He denied it all?

MRS. WOODWARD. There was no denial of anything at all. We discussed the testimony offered, and he did not tell me that there were communistic activities going on on the project.

MR. THOMAS. Well, when you discussed it——

MRS. WOODWARD. Let me explain this, now, Mr. Thomas, and members of the committee, if I may, that I made a statement a few months ago that I would not knowingly put into an administrative position a Communist. That is clear, isn't it?

MR. THOMAS. Does that include supervisors?

MRS. WOODWARD. Yes, sir; supervisors, too; but on these projects, where we have thousands of relief people, under the law I am prohibited from investigating whether or not they are Communists, Republicans, or Democrats, Socialists, or what not, and if no communistic activities are being carried on while they are working for me on those projects I have no right, under your law, under the laws of this country, to dismiss them from the project.

MR. STARNES. But there is sworn testimony in here that communistic literature was distributed by members of your Federal Theater and Federal Writers Projects on project time, not once or twice, but many times.

MRS. WOODWARD. Well, even so——

MR. STARNES. There is sworn testimony in the record here, not refuted by anyone, that some of this literature was prepared on these projects by writers under your charge and distributed on the project. Now, are you willing to testify here under oath, of your own personal knowledge, that those statements are untrue? "Yes" or "No."

MRS. WOODWARD. No; I cannot testify on my own knowledge, Mr. Starnes, but I can——

MR. STARNES (interposing). And, Mrs. Woodward, there is also testimony in here, sworn testimony—by, so far as we know, reputable witnesses, and we have certainly checked their background to a certain extent, and we had some knowledge of which we were in possession ourselves—there is sworn testimony that you have supervisors on the projects up there, people on the Federal Theater and the Writers Project, who are Communists. Are you prepared to testify under oath, of your own personal knowledge, now—get that—that such is not the case, "Yes" or "No"?

MRS. WOODWARD. I can't testify to that; I have not inquired into their political affiliations.

MR. STARNES. That is not what I asked you. I asked you: Can you testify, under oath, that such is not the case?

MRS. WOODWARD. No; I can't testify that such is not the case.

MR. STARNES. We have sworn testimony, not hearsay, but experience of Workers' Alliance members to the effect that the Workers'

Alliance is the sole bargaining agency which you recognize; is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now, Mr. Starnes—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; that is not right.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recognize the Workers' Alliance as the bargaining agency for relief workers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We recognize any of them.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recognize the Workers' Alliance as the bargaining agency? is the question.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; as one of the unions.

Mr. STARNES. What other relief union do you have up there?

Mrs. WOODWARD. There are about 17 of them.

Mr. STARNES. What others do you recognize besides the Workers' Alliance?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have them in here, Mr. Starnes, if you will just give me a few minutes on that; but I wish you would let me go into this thing, about making charges that the Workers' Alliance dominates the project. Would you let me do that now?

Mr. STARNES. You will have full opportunity to go into anything you want to.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But I think it is not quite in keeping with the understanding I had with your chairman that this thing be handled in this way: I was to be permitted to make my statement and present my rebuttal, and I have not been allowed that privilege.

Mr. STARNES. You will be allowed that privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not entirely correct. I think the stenographic report will reveal it. You had my conversation taken down, and I had your statement taken down. The agreement was that this committee wanted to be absolutely fair with you; and you said, "Mr. Dies, I want to be absolutely fair with the committee," didn't you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Surely I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And we permitted you to come here with a statement, and in this statement you go out of your way, not only to charge witnesses but to charge this committee with an un-American attitude. Is that fair?

Mr. STARNES. Did you prepare that statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I had a part in the preparation of this statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Who assisted in the preparation of it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. A number of people on my staff.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCoy?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Alsberg?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Henry Alsberg, to my knowledge, did not do anything on the preparation of this.

The CHAIRMAN. Name the people who helped you prepare this statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I had a number of various people in my division, Mr. Chairman. I cannot under oath just say who did put this into final form. I made my own notes. We brought a number of these points up and discussed them. I can't tell you every single person.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the names of some of the people who were at the meeting.

Mrs. WOODWARD. My assistant, Miss Ann Cronin.

The CHAIRMAN. Your assistant, Miss Ann Cronin?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. My executive assistant in charge of the arts, Mr. Lawrence Morris; and Mr. Charles McMullen, of the Writers Project.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; Mr. McMullen.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think I am correct when I say Mr. Mauntz was there from the Theater Project.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mauntz?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else? Was Mr. Riddig there?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; Mr. Riddig was not there.

Mr. THOMAS. Was Mr. Edwards there?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; Mr. Edwards was at one of the meetings. He was not at all of the meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what you did when you prepared this statement was to take the reports submitted to you by people in the field, by investigators in the Theater Project and in the Writers Project.

Mrs. WOODWARD. By responsible people in charge of these two projects.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to tell this committee, under oath, that the people, or any of the people who made these reports upon which this testimony is predicated, are not Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you state that again?

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to state under oath, to state to this committee that the people who made the reports upon which you predicated your statement are not Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. To the best of my knowledge, they are not.

The CHAIRMAN. None of them are?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know they were not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. How do I know they were not?

The CHAIRMAN. You said in the beginning of your statement that you knew nothing about Communists, and you did not know who were Communists. Are you in a position to say that these people are—to the best of your knowledge—are not Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mrs. Flanagan was there, and I have her statement that she was not a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. That is the first time her name was brought in with reference to the statement or the preparation of it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. The reason I did not is there were many people, and we had a number of meetings, because I wanted to discuss with my people the testimony that had been given, and also the reports that had come to me following the investigations that had been made. So, I called meetings, and each of them came in and we discussed the whole thing, and their contributions were made from first one person and then the other. It is not possible for you really to simmer the thing down to say that Mrs. Flanagan wrote this line, or somebody else wrote it, Mr. Starnes; I can't do it.

The CHAIRMAN. But all of your testimony is based upon what somebody else said, not what you yourself know?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It is based on what I know personally and what has been reported to me from what I consider reliable sources.



The CHAIRMAN. How much is based upon reports, and how much is based upon what you actually know?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would have to go through it to be able to do that, to tell you exactly.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, did you discuss this statement of yours with Mr. Hopkins?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Did I discuss it with him?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Hopkins has been out of the city.

Mr. STARNES. Did you discuss it with Mr. Williams?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I have not.

Mr. STARNES. Have you consulted Mr. Williams personally at all in the preparation of your reply?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I have not.

Mr. STARNES. You have never discussed it with him?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Alsberg and Mrs. Flanagan are the two highest ranking officials that you have discussed it with?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. Miss Cronin would be the highest administrative person, probably. She is my administrative assistant, and Mr. Lawrence Morris is a responsible official, executive assistant in charge of the arts projects. I have had a number of people in and out on these conferences.

Mr. STARNES. Before you accepted the reports upon which you predicated much of this statement, did you investigate whether or not those that made the reports were Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Did I investigate whether they were Communists?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; before you based your statement upon their reports? In other words, here are 106 out of approximately 300 who were Communists. What we want to know is: From whom did these reports come, upon which you are predicating your statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. They came from responsible people.

Mr. STARNES. From officials you regard as responsible?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; indeed.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know whether they are Communists or not; is that the fact?

Mrs. WOODWARD. To the best of my knowledge, they are not.

Mr. STARNES. You said awhile ago you knew nothing about who are and who are not Communists.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mrs. Flanagan says there are no Communists, and Henry Alsberg says he has no Communists—

Mr. MOSIER. Just on that point, Mrs. Woodward. You are speaking about the weight of testimony all through your testimony, and what this committee should receive and what it should not receive. Would you think that this committee should be bound by the fact that somebody says to somebody else, "I am not a Communist"?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Should be bound by it?

Mr. MOSIER. Would that be conclusive proof to you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That they are not a Communist?

Mr. MOSIER. That they are not a Communist, because they say they are not a Communist?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I would not say that that was conclusive proof that they were not a Communist, but I would take the word of my responsible officials.

Mr. MOSIER. That is just your opinion as to the value of that statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. STARNES. Let us recess for lunch.

Mrs. WOODWARD. On the matter of this Communist business, Mr. Chairman, may I just say this in closing, that what we are concerned with chiefly is in doing a good job. That is what I am charged with under this administration, and seeing that the funds are spent properly, and in accordance with the acts of Congress and the regulations set up by Mr. Hopkins, and the Works Progress Administration. As long as a person does his job and is doing a good job, is there any reason for me going around and saying, "Are you a Communist?" Or, "Are you a Republican?" or "Are you a Democrat?"

The CHAIRMAN. If they are carrying on activities on the project, if they are holding meetings in project time, and disseminating literature and carrying on communistic activities, don't you think that is a matter of great concern to you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well——

The CHAIRMAN. I say if they are.

Mrs. WOODWARD. If they are, it is a matter of great concern to me.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I say.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have a book here, if I may be permitted to present it, to show——

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to be permitted to present anything you desire.

Mrs. WOODWARD. To show that I do not think those are the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. That is based upon what someone reported to you; whereas the witnesses who made the charges swore under oath of their own personal knowledge of what they saw, and what they heard, and what took place within their eyesight, within their vision range; whereas your testimony in refutation of it is largely based on what someone told you about the matter.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It is based entirely upon investigations made by responsible officials.

The CHAIRMAN. By others besides yourself.

Mr. STARNES. It was made by W. P. A. officials under your charge. That is who made the investigation.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. They are employees on the project who made the investigation?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Not all of them are employees on the projects.

Mr. STARNES. Some of them are?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And some of them investigators generally for the W. P. A.?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We also have some affidavits here, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have an opportunity to present everything you have.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. We will return in 1 hour.

(Thereupon, at 1:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:15 p. m. of the same day.)

## AFTER RECESS

(The hearing was resumed at 2:15 p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.)

## STATEMENT OF MRS. ELLEN S. WOODWARD—Resumed

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, I want to apologize to you and to the committee for being late.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I felt it important to check with my administrative officer, Mr. Paul Edwards, about a statement made by Mr. Thomas this morning. And so, you will forgive me, I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit right down. You had concluded page 14 and begun 15. By the way, I notice that this statement is prepared in apparently separate statements, from one on down, three separate statements. Does that mean that different people prepared each statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. What are you looking at? I do not know which one you are looking at.

The CHAIRMAN. I am looking, Mrs. Woodward, at the statement we have mimeographed copies of, and the first is numbered from 1 to 15, then it stops and it starts with 1 to 8 as the second, and then it stops.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Is the one 1 to 8 the Theater Project?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is the Theater Project, and then it starts again with 1 to 7.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you wait just a minute on me.

The CHAIRMAN. The point that I am asking about was this statement, one section was prepared by certain people in your office, and another section prepared by another group of people, and so forth?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I prepared each of these statements in consultation with officials who had connection with these various projects.

The CHAIRMAN. But, you would have one group for the Federal Theater Project, and they would prepare one statement, and then you would have another group to put on another phase of the project, is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I asked for certain facts concerning charges that had been made in the testimony presented before you, Mr. Chairman, and those facts were prepared for me.

The CHAIRMAN. Who prepared the first section, beginning on page 1, to the end of page 14?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Are you speaking of this first one [indicating]?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, a number of people worked on that, as I have stated to you this morning; the same people that I stated to you this morning worked on it.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mrs. WOODWARD. And there may have been several others. We had people in or out on it, because it is a very important thing to us where so many thousands of needy people are involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, do you not think that you are rather assuming a state of affairs that does not exist when you assume



that there is any attack made upon the merits of this undertaking, or upon any question of necessity or anything of that sort, when you talk about needy people involved? Do you not think that you broaden this thing beyond what the scope of it is?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Chairman, that is what I thought you had done, because to me, if any of the charges that have been made before this committee are true, I mean the testimony that you heard of other witnesses, if any part of it, it is such a tiny little thing that it might be compared to a flyspeck on a great big well-baked pie.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you regard Communistic activity, or would you say that would be a flyspeck on a big pie?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not say that there has been Communistic activity.

The CHAIRMAN. If there were—if those witnesses testified to a true state of facts—you would not undertake to say that is an unimportant matter.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I would not. I think it would be a very important matter. I have stated once, and I will state it again, that I would not knowingly employ in any administrative position a Communist.

Mr. THOMAS. Does that also include supervisors?

Mrs. WOODWARD. What is that, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. Does that also include supervisors?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Supervisors; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Then if it was stated by witnesses that some of the supervisors were Communists, are we led to believe if you found that to be true that you would then demote them from being supervisors?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would take the necessary action, whatever action I thought was fair and right under the law. I do not want people in supervisory, administrative positions, whose philosophies are not in keeping with our present form of Government. I think that is clear enough, isn't it?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, one of the witnesses who came before this committee, and I think it was Mr. Banta, testified that a majority of the supervisors on the Writers' Project were either members of the Communist Party or were sympathetic to the Communist cause, and then he named them. Now, have you looked into that testimony?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Pardon me?

Mr. THOMAS. Have you examined that testimony?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I have.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you checked to find out whether that statement is correct or not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have found out that it is correct insofar as six supervisors who are on the project. Insofar as to whether or not they are Communists, why I have no knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. What effort did you make to check up or find out whether this testimony is correct, as to their being Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Chairman, I got in touch not only with my national directors, but with my administrative officer in New York City. He is the principal one through whom I work. So I asked him insofar as it was possible to make an investigation of every charge that had been made.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell him to investigate whether these six supervisors were Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Did I tell him to do that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I told him to examine into the whole testimony, which included those charges.

The CHAIRMAN. And he reported to you that they were not Communists, is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; he did not report to me that they were not Communists. I made no such statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you if he reported to you whether they were or were not Communists.

Mrs. WOODWARD. He has reported to me whether they were or were not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the question, isn't it, the question of communism that we are interested in here?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, you and I may differ as to what is proof. Now, you think that it is proof that they are Communists because these names are on this book. Insofar as I am concerned, I do not feel that as an official that I can consider that final proof, and I will say to you that if you or the committee, or Mr. Banta, can give me—I believe Mr. Banta presented as part of his testimony his own card in the Communist Party, did he not?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now, if Mr. Banta or you or any member of your committee will give me the Communist cards of these people I will dismiss them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course, you realize that is the most difficult proof in the world to get, their Communist card. They are not going to surrender that. That is only one way of proving it. You can prove the case not only by the card, but also by witnesses who sat in Communist meetings with them, who know of their own personal knowledge, and who have attended Communist meetings and held themselves out as Communists.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, I will have to say of my own experience that I have set in a number of Republican meetings, but I am a Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course—

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you say that that made them Communists?

The CHAIRMAN. You believe, in other words, that when people frequent Communist meetings that that is no evidence of the fact that they are Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It is not conclusive proof, in my opinion.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mrs. Woodward, if they were members of the Communist Party, would that make them ineligible for relief in this country?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It would not. Under the law we have no right to discriminate against a legal party, but, as I said this morning, that whenever Congress wishes to enact a law that makes it mandatory that we do that, then we will observe that law. We are only operating under the present law.

The CHAIRMAN. You are operating under the present law, but you feel your responsibility to fire Communists who occupy supervisory positions?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I think that if any subversive activities are being carried on by one, anyone, whether they are

relief or nonrelief, and absolute proof can be furnished me, if I can be satisfied——

(The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But you would have to have their cards in the Communist Party to be satisfied?)

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think—if there were subversive activities going on and the responsible official came to me and told me this, I would take the necessary action.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not think the fact that they are signing their names under a statement that they are Communists, to the same effect, you do not think that that is satisfactory proof to entitle you to act?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Will you read what they said, and then I can judge more competently.

Mr. STARNES (reading):

Presented to Comrade Edwin Banta by members of the Federal Writers Unit No. 368, Communist Party of the United States of America, in recognition of his devotion and untiring efforts in behalf of our party and communism.

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I see that?

Mr. STARNES. Yes, indeed.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You know, I have had a copy made of the names.

Mr. STARNES. We have wanted you to see that for quite a while.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Pardon me, Mr. Starnes?

Mr. STARNES. We wanted you to see that. We would have been glad to have you see that long ago.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would have been glad to see it.

Mr. STARNES. You have the names of everybody in that book already?

Mr. WOODWARD. Yes; I asked for it, but it was not sent to me by the committee. Does this give the date, March 2, 1938?

Mr. STARNES. You do not undertake to say that those people whose names are signed in that book, autographed there, that they are not on the Writers Project, or have not been?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. They are, aren't they?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; 103 of the names were of people from the Writers Project.

Mr. STARNES. Some of them were supervisors, weren't they?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; six of them were supervisors.

Mr. STARNES. Six of them were supervisors?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; and there were six supervisors. One supervisor has been demoted because he was not efficient enough to be a supervisor.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not think that there is sufficient evidence there to convince you that they are Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I saw the names before; I did not see the other before.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you now think that that is sufficient evidence?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That was of March 2, 1938?

Mr. STARNES. It does not make any difference when it was. The question is do you realize that is sufficient evidence of the fact that those people were Communists, whatever time their names were autographed there?



Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, it says:

Presented to Comrade Edwin Banta by the members of the Federal Writers Unit No. 365—

Mr. STARNES. 36S, that is.

Mrs. WOODWARD (continuing):

36S, Communist Party of the United States of America, in recognition of his devotion to and untiring efforts in behalf of our party and—communism.

Mr. STARNES. Communism.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, if they say party and communism, if they mean by that the Communist Party, I should think that they were Communists then. Whether they are Communists now I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; so that that would not be sufficient evidence, you would not accept that as sufficient evidence that these people are Communists?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I should think it was satisfactory evidence on the date that it was signed; but I recall, Mr. Chairman, Mr. De Solo in his testimony before the committee stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party, but that he was no longer a member of the Communist Party, and what has happened to Mr. De Solo may have happened to other people. I want to be fair to these people as well as to myself and you.

The CHAIRMAN. We are satisfied of that.

Mr. STARNES. It is not—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. Now, if they had signed that statement yesterday still the same question would arise, you would not be able to say today that they are Communists. So, you would not accept that sort of testimony under any conditions, would you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would take this testimony, if it were signed on today, I would certainly have an investigation made, and I think on the basis of this, that after a proper investigation that would bring the answer, and when they answered, and said they were Communists, in supervisory positions, they would either be demoted, or would be dismissed.

The CHAIRMAN. But if they denied they were Communists, of course, you would not do anything about it? They would have to admit they were Communists, still members of the Communist Party, for you to take action, would they not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, that I would certainly look into all of their activities and find out whether any subversive activities were going on.

The CHAIRMAN. You realize, of course, that many Communists join the party under assumed names?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You realize that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have heard that through the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. You realize one of the things you encounter, and commonly known, is the fact that they deny their membership in the Communist Party? You realize that, don't you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think they always deny it.

The CHAIRMAN. Under your requirements it would be absolutely impossible to prove that anyone was a Communist.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You mean under the law?

The CHAIRMAN. No not under the law, but under your construction of the kind of proof you would require before you believed they were Communists. If you would not accept that kind of evidence, then it would be absolutely impossible for anyone to furnish you with the evidence you required in order to find that these people are Communists.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, I must say that I am having all of the investigations made that we know how to make, and all of our investigations are not completed yet. For instance, on this Nicholson matter that was brought up before, we checked our records over, and Mr. Paul Edwards had the records checked. In New York, you recall, that someone testified that this man Nicholson left and went over to New Jersey and was carrying on some subversive activities over there. Well, I thought it was a very serious charge, and so immediately I asked that an investigation be made. Mr. Edwards has gone through the records, and we are not satisfied. We have turned the matter into our division of investigation because we feel that it is a very serious thing, and we want to be sure, and we will take the necessary action when we have the facts.

Now, that is the way we try to handle all of these matters. I don't want you gentlemen to feel that we just go along thinking everything is pure and holy in a program where 3,600,000 people are employed. We are doing our best to supervise all of these people as closely as possible. We put the most experienced, and the best qualified people in the top jobs in the administrative jobs and, so far as we can in jobs of supervision. Then we believe in them, and we stand by their work. A good job is what we are after, because we feel that we have been charged by Congress with seeing that these people do a good job, and that the money is not misspent.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, you were on page 14, were you not, starting on page 14?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, we have completed page 14.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I think you are mistaken.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I was just ready to take up the theater.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; that is right. You are right, all right. Proceed, please, madam.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I requested that you hear me as a responsible official heading this division under Mr. Hopkins. You agreed to do that. You asked, Would there be one witness, or more witnesses? I told you there would be one witness, that I proposed to appear for the Administration this morning, and your committee has insinuated, or has charged me with not bringing with me the people who had more first-hand information than you think that I have.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no insinuation.

Mrs. WOODWARD. There was a reflection.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no reflection. You yourself admitted that much.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You have not heard the rest of my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me.

Mrs. WOODWARD. There was a reflection cast upon Hattie Flanagan and Henry Alsberg in that it was stated that they had asked to appear, and you had granted them the right to appear, and they were not here. Well, I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman, and members



of the committee, that while I would like the privilege of presenting this case, because, after all, whatever has happened reflects upon my administration of these projects, and I wish to testify, but I have with me this afternoon Hattie Flanagan and Henry Alsberg, and they are here in person, and if you, Mr. Thomas, or "Mr. Anybody Else" on the committee want to hear them they are here.

Mr. THOMAS. I think it is a very good idea to hear them, and I am in favor of hearing them even if we have to sit here all night.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, you had my request both in writing and over the telephone this morning, and you can do with it as you, in your judgment, see fit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to read this next statement on the theater, or have Mrs. Flanagan read it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is just up to the committee. I am in the hands of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. She collaborated with you in the preparation of it, and either one of you are prepared to read this statement. Do you want to read this statement yourself?

Mrs. WOODWARD. But, it seems to be the consensus of opinion of the committee that you think that I am not a competent person to testify for my division.

The CHAIRMAN. I have not made any such statement as that.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest that she go along and read that statement in toto, and then we will hear Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg, and "Mr. or Mrs. Anybody" as long as they want to come.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Thank you, Mr. Starnes.

I have shown you in a general way what the Federal Theater and the Federal Writers Project are and what they do. I have given the necessary background to properly evaluate both the Theater Project and the Writers' Project. Now, let us look at some of the specific charges that were made against the Federal Theater Project and see what they add up to.

The charge has been made before your committee that Mrs. Hattie Flanagan, National Director of the Federal Theater Project, is a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that charge has been made by anybody.

Mr. MOSIER. Who made it?

Mr. STARNES. Who made that statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Show us who made it. You see, this is important because you are now making a statement under oath, and we have got to get the foundation of your statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It will take just a few minutes to get that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. STARNES. Not another question or anything else, until we get the basis of that. Speaking personally as a member of this committee, that is the first time I have ever heard of it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. On page 777 of the hearings before your special committee.

Mr. STARNES. That is the full committee hearings right here in Washington.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You will find that in the testimony that was given by Miss Huffman. She says:



Then we have Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, the National Director of the Federal Theater Project. Mrs. Flanagan was known as far back as 1927 for her communistic sympathy, if not membership.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that what you based your statement on, communistic sympathy? You have said here that witness testified that she was a Communist.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That she was a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to find where she said that she was a member of the Communist Party. That said communistic sympathy.

Mrs. WOODWARD. "If not membership."

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone charge her with being a Communist?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, no; I do not believe I know of any statement where it says Hallie Flanagan is a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. You recognize the big difference between a communistic sympathizer and a Communist, do you not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I was just hoping that you would realize that, too, because the very things you have had offered before you and we have been talking about today, you have seemed to think that people were Communists whether we had their cards and knew that they were or not. Well, now, may I proceed. The personal history statement of Hallie Flanagan on file in the Works Progress Administration shows that she was born in Redfield, S. Dak.; that she received her education at Grinnell College, Radcliffe, and Harvard University; that she was for 10 years professor of English and director of Vassar Experimental Theater at Vassar College. Her references on her personal history statement were as follows. You do not mind if I offer a word or two of explanation, do you?

The CHAIRMAN. No; go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College; Dr. David Stevens, head of Rockefeller Foundation; Mr. Philip N. Youtz, director, Brooklyn Museum; Mr. Gilmore Brown, director, Pasadena Playhouse; and Mr. Henry Allen Moe, secretary, Guggenheim Foundation.

Mrs. Flanagan denies emphatically that she is now or ever has been a member of the Communist Party. As far as I know, from my own personal knowledge and from information which has come to my office, this is a true statement of fact.

Virtually every charge against the Federal Theater Project made by the witnesses and which comes within the scope of this committee, heads up under one of four general accusations. These accusations made directly or by inference are:

1. That the plays produced by the Federal Theater are either un-American or communistic, or subversive or propagandistic.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, let us clear that up; are you not mistaken that any such charge has been made as that? Is it not true and correct to say that some plays which were designated were branded as communistic or containing communistic propaganda, but that there was no charge that all of the plays of the Federal Theater Project were communistic plays?

Mr. WOODWARD. I did not intend to leave that impression, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say, "That the plays produced." You mean, then, some of the plays?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, the witness made a very broad statement, and I will change that, if I may, with the consent of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mrs. Woodward, I wonder if you do not want to change this with reference to Mrs. Flanagan being accused of being a Communist. Don't you want to change that to say accused of having communistic sympathies?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, inferences were made that she was a Communist.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The record does not show that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It says, "Communistic sympathy, if not membership." She infers that she has membership. I would infer that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; I do not agree with you on that at all.

Mr. THOMAS. I can't see very much difference between a person who is sympathetic to the communistic cause, and a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes; I see a great deal of difference. I wondered if you wanted that matter in there in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the first one.

Mrs. WOODWARD. We can quote the language if you prefer that. May I do that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will so instruct my secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Down here you say Mrs. Flanagan denies that she is now or ever has been a member of the Communist Party or is sympathetically inclined to the Communist Party. Do you want to cover that too?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I think my statement is quite clear.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have had No. 1.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have gotten down to No. 2.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. WOODWARD (reading):

2. That the audiences which attend Federal Theater plays are almost entirely composed of communistic or radical groups.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute, let us be correct on that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you show us any testimony to that effect? I think you are mistaken on that. As I recall no one made the charge that the audiences that attended these plays were almost entirely composed of communistic or radical groups.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think if you review Miss Huffman's statement, Mr. Chairman, that you will find that I am not mistaken there.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to find out, because you are as anxious as we are to get these charges correct.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to go off on the assumption that some charges have been made that have not been made.

Mr. STARNES. I think that the statement was made that large blocks of tickets were sold to radical organizations. I think that statement is probably in here, but I do not recall any statement that all of the audiences which attend these Federal Theater plays are composed almost entirely of communistic or radical persons. However, if you have the direct quotation, of course, that speaks for itself.



Mrs. WOODWARD. In my brief over here I take up the charges in detail, and I will also bring up then Miss Huffman's charge that she attended one that was not a Communist play, and that there was no audience at all, that she was the only person in the audience.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us find out about No. 2. Let us get that charge correct.

Mrs. WOODWARD (reading):

2. That the audiences which attend Federal Theater plays are almost entirely composed of communistic or radical groups.

3. That a majority of the project's executives are communistic.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us first clear up that second charge. Let us see if that is a fact; let us see if we can find anything that would justify that statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Here is one statement I would like to call your attention to on page 788.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to this matter?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, with reference to No. 2—no; let me see—it is with reference to the plays, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. No; let us stay on the question of No. 2, clear that up.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Where she says that propaganda plays have been the rule—

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. On page 803 of the hearings you will find—Mr. Thomas is probably familiar with this—on page 803 Miss Huffman's testimony is to this effect:

Yes, sir; and on another night there were seven. They played to no audiences. This was our opinion: We felt that the play was put on because they could not get any audience for anything except communistic plays. They sell block tickets to organizations, and the majority of these organizations which buy these block tickets are the Workers Alliance, and what we call the "Below Fourteenth Street" group—the Communist Party, various little locals, and that sort of thing, are perhaps the biggest purchasers of those block seats.

Mr. THOMAS. Whose testimony is that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is Miss Huffman's:

Mr. THOMAS. I think you have brought up an interesting point there as to how the Federal Theaters get their audiences.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that that is considerably different from the statement here, "That the audiences which attend Federal Theater plays are almost entirely composed of communistic or radical groups," because here she says perhaps the biggest purchasers of those block seats are the Communistic Party?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, we sell our tickets—

The CHAIRMAN. She makes no statement that the audiences are either directly or indirectly, that the audiences which attend are radicals. You see you cover a broad statement, make a sweeping declaration when you say "That the audiences which attend the Federal Theater plays are almost entirely composed of communistic or radical groups."

Now, she does not say that. What she says is that "We felt that the play was put on because they could not get any audience for anything except communistic plays. They sell block tickets to organizations, and the majority of these organizations, which buy these



block tickets, are the Workers Alliance, and what we call the 'Below Fourteenth Street' group—the Communist Party, various little locals, and that sort of thing, are perhaps the biggest purchasers of those block seats."

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; she is saying that all of the unions and all of these people, including the Workers Alliance, are radical groups.

The CHAIRMAN. She did not say they were radical groups.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am just answering what was said, referring to the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. You make a broad, sweeping declaration that is not backed up by a reading of the testimony of the witness.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, I beg your pardon, but I said just this, that "These accusations made directly or by inference are." I think I have a right to proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right, No. 3, that a majority of the project's executives are communistic.

That the entire operation of the project is dominated by the Workers Alliance, the Supervisors Council, and the City Projects Council, all of which are alleged to be subsidiaries of or front organizations for the Communist Party.

Now, all of the plays produced by the Federal Theater Project are passed upon and approved by the Federal Theater Policy Board. The persons who form the artistic policy of the Federal Theater Project are as follows:

It is headed up by my national director, Hattie Flanagan, and then our deputy national director, J. Howard Miller; executive assistant, Howard C. Schnitzer; regional director for the East, George Gerwing; regional director for the South, Joseph Lentz; regional director for the Midwest, John McGee; regional director for the West, Ole Ness; regional director for southern California, James Ullman; director for New York City, George Kondolf, director of the National Service Bureau; director of the Radio Division, Evan Roberts.

The personal history sheet establishing the high qualifications of each of these directors is a matter of record, if you want them, all of them.

Your principal witness, Miss Huffman—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Now, right there, why would you say she was our principal witness?

Mrs. WOODWARD. She gave more testimony, and she took up more of your time.

The CHAIRMAN. You base that fact, that she was our principal witness on the length of the testimony and the time taken up?

Mrs. WOODWARD. And I think the charges that are made.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Your principal witness, Miss Huffman, spent a great deal of time attempting to prove certain of these 26 to be propagandistic, and several other witnesses spoke at considerable length on the other plays of the 26 to the same purpose. I do not know what qualifications as drama experts these witnesses may have presented to you in private hearings. Nothing appears in the printed record of their testimony and certainly nothing appears in the employment applications of those who were Federal Theater

Project employees to indicate that they had any qualifications whatsoever as drama critics.

In my opinion the statement that the plays are propagandistic has absolutely no foundation of fact. The Federal Theater has produced a total of 924 plays to date throughout the United States. Of these plays, 135 have been major productions in New York City. A witness listed 26 of these plays as communistic. It is submitted that the entire 135 plays produced in New York City alone should be considered.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, do you not think this may be the proper time to go into some of the plays?

The CHAIRMAN. Let her finish, please.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I should like to discuss the 26 plays which were considered propaganda plays in order of their mention by the witness.

Now, then, I want to discuss those plays. Now, "Professor Mamlock" was one of the plays brought up by Miss Huffman. I am going to show up these plays that were supposed to be propaganda plays.

Miss Huffman says, "A high-caliber hit, unmasking ugly fascism." That was in your hearings, volume 1, page 784. Now, Mr. Dawson says, and I quote from him:

They also had a play called "Professor Mamlock," which played the Daly's Theater, Sixty-third Street, New York. This particular play dealt with a Jewish-German doctor who had been ousted from Germany, and it was built up to show that there was a building up a class, a racial hatred by the people. That is what this play dealt with. In other words, it catered particularly to the Hebrews, to show how Germany was dealing, as we read in the press at the present time, with the annihilation of the Jewish people. It made them conscious of it. That was the idea of the play.

Mr. STARNES. What are you reading from? That is not your statement.

The CHAIRMAN. She is taking up each play now aside from the statement.

Mr. STARNES. That is included in your brief?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; this is in my brief. I am referring to the brief on various things, Mr. Starnes, where I feel I must go into more detail.

The CHAIRMAN. You are referring now to Miss Huffman's testimony or Mr. Dawson's?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Dawson's. Right after quoting that I quote from the——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). You say that is not a propaganda play, "Professor Mamlock"?

The CHAIRMAN. You quoted from the testimony of Miss Huffman first, and then from whom?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Dawson.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you also going to quote from the Daily Worker dated Saturday, November 18, 1938, which carries a report on that play, or are you going to quote from the Daily Worker?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I am going to quote from the papers that we consider more charitable——

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mrs. Woodward, tell us who Mr. Dawson is.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Leo A. Dawson, quoting from his testimony, volume 1, page 935.

Now, then, Henry Senber, a critic of the New York Morning Telegraph has this to say. "Professor Mamlock" tells the story of a former Brooklyn fighter of Hindenberg, who finds national socialism and communism equally repulsive to his ideas of German liberty. Unable to cooperate with the Nazi regime or to follow his Communist son, the doctor solves his dilemma by committing suicide.

Now, then, I would like to quote from Mr. Burns Mantle, a critic of the New York Daily News:

Only two of the Federal Theater productions that I have seen have approached the artistic merit and the general excellence of direction this sample of the Jewish projects competence. The actors are definitely professional in training and in their handling of the play.

Mr. THOMAS. On that play that you just mentioned, "Professor Mamlock," I have here a copy of the Daily Worker, New York, Saturday, November 19, 1938, and under the heading of the "World of the Screen," there is an article on the play "Professor Mamlock." I am not going to read this whole article. This is a Communist paper praising the play in great detail, but I do want to read you one sentence:

The large percentage of the nightly audiences at the Cameo have never before witnessed a Soviet screen play.

Tell me in a few words where this play was written, whether the play was shown in Soviet Russia, and by whom in Russia?

Mrs. WOODWARD. What the Daily Worker says is not at all binding insofar as I am concerned.

Mr. THOMAS. I see.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Are you talking about the movie or are you talking about the play I am talking about?

Mr. THOMAS. I am talking about the movie on the play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is entirely different, Mr. Congressman. I am talking about the play.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all right; who wrote the play, who wrote the play; let us find out a little bit about this particular play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Dr. Wolf.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is he?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have his full name here—Friedrich.

Mr. THOMAS. Dr. Friedrich Wolf?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right; Friedrich Wolf, a German doctor.

Mr. THOMAS. Either the play or the movie was shown to a great extent in Russia; isn't that true?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I could not hear that.

Mr. THOMAS. I say, either the play was, or the movie was, shown to a great extent in Soviet Russia.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know anything about the movie. I have nothing to do with it, and if you are reading about the movie there, that is something I do not know anything about.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, the movie is based on the play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It is a different script entirely.

Mr. THOMAS. It is a different script entirely?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. Have you seen the play?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I have not seen the play, but I am trying to find out from you what the connection is between this play and the movie, and what the connection is between the production in this country



and the production in Soviet Russia. The play started over there, didn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know where the first production was to my own knowledge, but I just say this, Mr. Congressman: That they are two different scripts. We are not responsible for that script that you are talking about.

Mr. THOMAS. I do know, though, and you know this, too, that any script or any play, any drama or movie that is praised to the extent that this is praised by the Daily Worker in New York is pretty close to propaganda.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Congressman, they changed the script for the movie, probably. I simply cannot express an opinion on a thing I know nothing in the world about. I do not consider that that should be put to me because it does not belong to us at all. We are not responsible for the writing of a script.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever heard that Friedrich Wolf was probably the best known Communist writer in existence today?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I have never heard that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have his record, anything about his background or record?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not have it here. I can get his record for you.

Mr. STARNES. It would be rather interesting if you got it. We ought to have it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. The next one now that Miss Huffman talked about was Power. Now, Burns Mantle, a critic of the New York Daily News, had this to say about the play Power:

\* \* \* an interesting and carefully documented exposure of what has happened to electricity since it first was discovered and harnessed for use by man.

Then, John Anderson in the New York Evening Journal said:

\* \* \* the Government theater makes a lively and steadily entertaining job of a show with an economy of means not always connected with other Government activities.

Then John Agate in the Times, London, England, says:

\* \* \* nothing in England to match it \* \* \* easily the highest cultural force in America, actual and potential \* \* \*.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that speaking of this play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Pardon me?

Mr. MOSIER. Was the London Times speaking of this play when they said it was the highest intellectual force in America?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; they were talking about the play Power.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you say wrote that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. John Agate.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Agate, A-g-a-t-e.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about his background or anything about him personally?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, he is considered a very respectable critic, and I should not think that the London Times, a paper with such a fine—

The CHAIRMAN. I am just asking you if you yourself know anything about this man's background.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason we are interested is because this Friedrich Wolf, whose play you are talking about, the information we have is that he is a well-known Communist playwright. If that is the fact that has an important bearing on the case. That is the reason I am asking you with reference to this gentleman.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. Mrs. Flanagan will be able to give us some light on that, I presume.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mrs. Flanagan, any time you want to ask her, is ready and willing, and is very eager to be called, but I insisted in appearing for my Division.

Mr. STARNES. Mrs. Woodward, please do not beg the question. Here is the proposition, that the committee has what it considers absolute, positive, and definite proof of the fact that Dr. Friedrich Wolf is a German Communist playwright. This is one of his productions, and it is, certainly in the nature of things, propagandistic, if he is writing it for that purpose, and there has been no dispute that it was for that purpose. What we are after is the background of these authors of these plays the Federal Theater Project is putting on. My information is Catarro is the best known of the out-and-out recognized Communist Party plays. That is the reason it is very important to know if some of these men are Communist playwrights, and we would like to know it if they are.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think we judge what we do by the performance of our people and the work we turn out, Mr. Chairman. Perhaps we should look into all of those things, but I must say insofar as I am concerned I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. You do have a board to pass on these plays, do you not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; but we pass upon the play itself, whether it is a good drama, and there was nothing subversive about this play, there was nothing communistic about the play, and so I have had no reason to try to check on these people.

Now, then, I would like to refer to Miss Huffman's testimony on The Sun and I. She says:

\* \* \* a story of the struggle of Joseph and his brethren against the capitalistic system.

Edgar Price, critic of the New York Brooklyn Citizen, has this to say:

From the Biblical parable of Joseph and his brethren, Barrie and Leona Stavis have distilled some tenets of economic wisdom, added shots of Shavian and Gilbertian kidding, and set out to show you that the dream of a planned economy is not new—that the church in the land of Egypt also resisted radicalism.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the play Power you are reading about?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I am reading about The Sun and I.

Mr. THOMAS. You have passed on from Power?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you make the statement that the play Power was not a propaganda play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I said there was nothing communistic about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not say it was propagandistic?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I did not say it was.

Mr. THOMAS. It is definitely a propaganda play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. What do you mean?

Mr. STARNES. There is no need to beg the question. It does have propaganda in it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I said I have not said that. I said it was not communistic.

Now, *How Long Brethren* is the next play to take up. I would like to read Miss Huffman's statement:

*Candide* and *How Long Brethren* are dance projects with several Negro songs of protest. Incidentally, I discovered that these songs used in *How Long Brethren* were also written in one of the 1931 editions of *New Masses*.

The *American Dancer Monthly* had this to say about *How Long Brethren*:

*How Long Brethren* composed of seven episodes is based on Negro Songs of Protest, which proved a thoroughly logical source for dance interpretation.

It all seems too short and the audience clamored for more.

Now, I would like to just read on if you will allow me.

*Candide* and *How Long Brethren* was the title of a double bill of dance presented the same evening. *Candide* was a dance interpretation of Voltaire's French classic of the same name, written in 1759.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever read that *Candide* by Voltaire?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I can't say I have read it all. Are you going to let me finish this? I just wanted to know. Now let me see where I am.

Mr. STARNES. I blush too when I think I read part of it one time.

Mrs. WOODWARD:

\* \* \* the latter half of the bill was *How Long Brethren* consisting of eight dances each interpreting a song from a volume of Negro work songs gathered by Lawrence Gellert in a 2-year tour of the South and titled by him, *Negro Songs of Protest*. In the spring of 1938 he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship on the basis of the excellent research work represented by his book. Most popular dance in the production was one based on the song, "Let's go to de Buryin."

Now, then, *Machine Age* was another one that Miss Huffman mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I understand you correctly to say awhile ago that you are not saying that the play *Power* is not a propagandistic play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You did not ask me that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you just said—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). It was a propaganda play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I asked you to define propaganda, and then I would better understand your question.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I ask is because I see in your statement on page 3 you say, "In my opinion the statement that the plays are propagandistic has absolutely no foundation of fact."

Mr. STARNES. You differ with my good friend John Rankin about that play, Mrs. Woodward, and I see that he is one of the characters in the play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes, give me your definition of propaganda, will you?



Mr. STARNES. That is not for me to do. I concede there might be some things in some of your plays that I might favor myself, but that does not keep me from thinking that some of the plays are propagandistic.

Mrs. WOODWARD. There is some question about propaganda—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). I think that maybe *Plowed Under* is one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "propagandistic" as used in the statement on page 3? You say in your statement, "In my opinion the statement that the plays are propagandistic has absolutely no foundation of fact." What do you mean by propagandistic?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not say that the plays that Miss Huffman has stated are propagandistic in the sense that they serve a special class.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would like to have the committee tell me what they consider the definition of that word, and then I will know just whether my statement is correct, based upon your definition.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you are an expert on this, Mrs. Woodward. You are the one doing the testifying. You say here that you do not think that these plays are propagandistic.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir; but I thought maybe you were all experts too.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not arrogate that to ourselves.

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I go on about *Machine Age*?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Here is what Miss Huffman said about *Machine Age*:

\* \* \* a satire on mass production, in which the communistic organizer wins in the fight with the worker. That was a physical battle with the worker.

That is taken from your hearings, volume 1, page 785. It is right interesting to note here that later in her testimony Miss Huffman refers to Frank Merlin, the producer of *Machine Age* as an anti-Communist. This latter portion of her testimony is covered on pages 86 and 87 of this brief.

Mr. STARNES. An anti-Communist can also write a propaganda play, can't he?

Mrs. WOODWARD. In the case of Dr. Wolf you seemed to think he could only write Communist plays.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you make the statement that we seem to think? We are asking you questions, eliciting such information as you have.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right, I will go ahead, and give you some information on *Triple-A Plowed Under*. Miss Huffman says of this:

The conclusion of the play is the establishment of a political party in accordance with the wish expressed by the secretary of the Communist party, expressed by Mr. Earl Browder himself. \* \* \*

Now, Mr. Crowther in the *New York Times* said this:

\* \* \* hard, biting, necessarily sketchy but frequently brilliant review of the American farmer's plight since the World War.

Then in the Brooklyn Eagle you will find this statement:

\* \* \* 30 productions on Broadway—only Triple-A Plowed Under seems to me to present vividly a compelling production on an issue which concerns us all. \* \* \*

Now, I go to the Class of '29.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that issue, I have not read the play myself, and I was just wondering what issue they are referring to?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This was on Triple-A Plowed Under. I believe Congressman Starnes said he knew about Triple-A Plowed Under.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the play that had Earl Browder in it as a character.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Pardon me?

Mr. MOSIER. Was Earl Browder a character in that play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not see this play. I could not tell you about that.

The CHAIRMAN. What he is asking is whether one of the characters in the play was Earl Browder?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think so. I think he was one of the characters. I think I recall that.

Now, then, the Class of '29 was another play. Miss Huffman says this:

\* \* \* the script called for the cast to carry the "red" Soviet banner.  
\* \* \* in order to prevent a riot the Soviet banner was not included in the play but they did march around the stage singing the "red" marching song.

Now, Burns Mantle has this to say of the Class of '29 in the New York Daily News:

Class of '29 represents graduates of the depression and presents the problem of the young college man out of a job.

The best drama stems from sincere motives and sound convictions. Class of '29 is such a drama.

Class of '29 was written by Walter Lippmann's secretary Orrie Lashin, and Milo Hastings.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, does that answer the charge of Miss Huffman about singing the Internationale, does the reading of those critics in any way answer the charges she has made?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think it shows a difference in the point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. You believe that that type of evidence you are reading now, from dramatic critics answers the charge that the Internationale was sung? You read from her statement that she made the statement that the Internationale was sung and the people marched around and sung it. Then you read from dramatic critics as evidence to disprove that fact.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will just read you a little more if you will permit me. This does give it in a little more complete form, and I think you could infer from that, recognized critics thought the play was good.

The CHAIRMAN. Even if they thought it was good that would not be an answer to the charge.

Mr. STARNES. That would not answer the charge it was propagandistic or communistic.

Mrs. WOODWARD. The incident upon which Huffman's statement is based is quite simple. The plan concerns the plight of six college graduates of the class of '29. In the second act, all six, unable to

get jobs during the depression, though they were trained and eager to work, became discouraged and began to lean toward communistic philosophy. It was at this point that, somewhat in a "kidding" manner and a little derisive of the constant orations of the one of their number who was the most receptive toward communistic philosophy, they marched around the table in his room singing the marching song. The important fact is that the last act of the play showed all six solving their personal problems in accordance with democratic principles and forgetting all about any temporary leanings toward communistic philosophy.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the singing in this play was just kidding, I mean it was done in a jocular manner, is that the point?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder how the newspapers portrayed it, in a jocular manner? Do you know how the press carried it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I just read that from one of the critics. Now, the next play was *The Case of Philip Lawrence*. Miss Huffman says "This was a play in reference to Negro discrimination."

Burns Mantle, in the *New York Daily News*, says:

In atmosphere and general tone it suggests a white theater melodrama of the Broadway type. It has to do with the numbers and night-club rackets, a murder, a frame-up, a trial by jury, and a dramatic conclusion.

Then, the *Daily News* of New York City says:

The Negro unit of the W. P. A. Federal Theater has gone ahead and done what it was advised to do, and done it rather well. That would be to produce a play stemming directly from Harlem life.

The next play was *One Third of a Nation*.

The CHAIRMAN. As to these dramatic critics, you cite, of course, their version of the play, or the judgment of the dramatic critics as proof that they are not communistic. Were these plays advertised in the newspapers before they were exhibited, do you know?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know; I suppose they were.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was the common practice, to advertise them in advance?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Some were advertised, I am sure. I do not know whether all were advertised, or not.

The CHAIRMAN. And the paper they were advertised in had a dramatic critic; usually they do have, don't they?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I would not say that. I am trying to color the picture.

The CHAIRMAN. No; we are not accusing you of coloring anything. The point I am making is: Are you quoting from dramatic critics of the newspapers in which the plays were advertised, do you know?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I really, Congressman, don't know about that, but are you inferring that these critics were bought?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I am not inferring any such thing. I am asking you if you know, and you said you did not know.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I know we advertised them in some papers.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not any of these critics were Communists? That is another question.



Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not know about that. I am not as well acquainted with Communists as other people.

Mr. STARNES. Then you are just taking the testimony of somebody else. You are not testifying here, but you are using the words of somebody whom you do not know personally.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am taking statements from most reputable critics. I think that is fair enough.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you consider Mr. Atkinson of the New York Times a reputable critic?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I would consider him a reputable critic, but not infallible.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you read his testimony on this question of plays?

Mrs. WOODWARD. What is that, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. Did you read his testimony relative to the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Sure, and I have got all of that here covered well.

Mr. THOMAS. You are going to come to that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir; I am coming to that.

Mr. STARNES. And you have already quoted in your testimony today some comments or some critiques by Mr. Atkinson.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. I would not say I always agree with him.

Mr. STARNES. But you quoted him with approval?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir; I quoted him with approval.

Mr. THOMAS. When you come to the Revolt of the Beavers will you read what Mr. Atkinson said about the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I certainly will. I know exactly what he said, and I know what you are trying to prove by it. Now, shall I go on?

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. One Third of a Nation. Miss Huffman says:

\* \* \* deals with social housing, based on President Roosevelt's reference to a third of the Nation ill-fed, and so forth, and is in opposition to the Episcopal Church.

Isn't that something?

Now, then, Mr. Ernest L. Meyer of the New York Post says this about that One Third of a Nation:

\* \* \* a pictorial and statistical record of tenement conditions which digs drama out of the cesspools and presents it mercilessly under the spotlight.

Now, then, the New York Herald Tribune said this.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Mr. Meyer?

Mrs. WOODWARD. What is that?

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Mr. Meyer?

Mrs. WOODWARD. He is a critic on the Post.

Mr. THOMAS. Does he produce any plays, or collaborate in the production of any plays?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I really do not know. You see, the Post, like any other reputable paper has the best critic it can get, and this man is pretty fair.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the New York Post?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir. I want to give you one more. Richard Watts, on the New York Herald Tribune, says:

\* \* \* invariably forceful, striking, and remarkably skillful \* \* \* the Federal Theater has another hit on its hands.

Now, then, I want to go to the Tailor Becomes a Storekeeper. Miss Huffman says that this:

\* \* \* is prounion propaganda. It is the story of a tailor who refuses to join the tailor's union, and becomes a shopkeeper. He and his family and relatives had been thrown out on the streets and are reduced to dire poverty and could get no assistance. Finally he joins the union and he sings happily at the end of the production.

That is from page 785 in the hearings.

Now, the New York Times has this to say about Tailor Becomes a Storekeeper:

It is all playfully written and performed as an expressionistic romp, and the moral is "Tailor, stick to your needle."

Mr. STARNES. Do you see anything in that quotation there of that critic that is in refutation of what Miss Huffman said about it. In other words, we can readily see what you are reading from the critics, and what you are reading from Miss Huffman, and yet there would not be any refutation of it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is from William Edlin in Der Tag:

The fact that for the past 13 years no play of David Pinski's has been produced is no compliment for our Jewish stage. It is therefore a compliment for the Jewish division of the W. P. A. that they did produce a play by Pinski \* \* \* David Pinski is one of our oldest and most famous playwrights \* \* \*. Thanks to the American Government theater.

Mr. STARNES. There is no denial in there that it is prounion at all.

Now coming back to this Mr. Meyer; who is that Ernest L. Meyer that you are referring to?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same Ernest Meyer that was expelled from the University of Wisconsin because he was a war slacker?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not know him during his college days.

Mr. STARNES. You did not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And you do not know he was jailed by the United States Government?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I finish reading my statement, because the brief here, you know, answers questions specifically.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it answer them? If a critic says, "In my opinion, from a dramatic standpoint, this is a good play," does that refute the statements of Miss Huffman that you first read?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Congressman, do you think Miss Huffman is as good a judge of our dramas as a dramatic critic who is a recognized person in that field?

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, a play may have all of the artistic qualifications, and may be purely a communistic play. It may be dramatic, it may be interesting, it may possess all of the requirements of pure dramatic production, and still it might be a communistic play. The point I am making to you is this, when you read from a dramatic critic, that he considers that a good play, that does not answer Miss Huffman's statement that the play is prounion, or that the play is communistic, propagandistic, or anything else. It simply means that the dramatic critics believe that this play, from



a dramatic standpoint, is a good play, but the dramatic critic is not charged with the duty of separating, or passing upon the question as to whether or not it spreads propaganda or propaganda and communistic doctrine or phraseology, and so forth.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Don't you think that the major number of people of this country are opposed to communism?

The CHAIRMAN. No question about it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am not worried about communism taking root in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Neither were they in France or Russia until they had trouble.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Don't you know all of these papers from which I have quoted would not want to put the expression of critics in their papers if they were not the kind that they could stand behind?

The CHAIRMAN. I think we are going afield. There was no artistic criticism of these plays testified to by witnesses. It was charged that there was propaganda in certain of the plays and communism, and that there was class hatred, and class consciousness taught in some of these plays. In other words, strikes, antilynching, and all of this sort of thing are stressed and brought out and dramatized. That may still be true and a dramatic critic would pass upon it as being a fine production.

Mr. STARNES. A superior production.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think any reputable critic would want to put his neck out like that if it was a communistic play.

Mr. STARNES. I think you are liable to put the neck of some of your own people out with that statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am only expressing my own opinion, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, it is not clear to me who selects these plays, what employee or employees of the Federal Theater Project determines just what plays will be put on.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think I made that clear awhile ago, but I will go back to that. I have that right here. All of the plays produced by the Federal Theater Project are passed upon and approved by the Federal Theater Policy Board. The persons who form the artistic policy of the Federal Theater Project are as follows, and I named before the National Director, Hallie Flanagan; the Deputy National Director, J. Howard Miller; Executive Assistant, Robert G. Schnitzer; regional director for the East, George Gerwing; regional director for the South, Joseph Lentz; regional director for the Midwest, John McGee; regional director for the West, Ole Ness; regional director for southern California, James Ullman; director for New York City, George Kondolf; and director of the Radio Division, Evan Roberts.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, if a play is to be put on in New York City, who would pass upon it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, all of the plays, Congressman Thomas, are passed by the Board, no matter whether they are going to be played in California.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; but those people are located throughout the United States; they do not all sit at one place?

Mrs. WOODWARD. But they have regular meetings. You see, we have a play bureau working on these plays all the time, but they



do not decide on what plays will be played and where. This National Policy Board I have just mentioned here is charged with the responsibility of passing and approving the various plays.

Mr. THOMAS. You have one member of the Board located out on the Pacific coast. You have another member of the Board located in New York, and the others located at other points. Do you bring them into Washington?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We meet four times a year, and more often, if necessary, at some definite point. We have full discussion of these plays, and then we are in correspondence with them, and final decision is then made by the group as to what plays will be put on. The reason we have people from different parts of the country, Congressman Thomas, is because we feel that we want to adapt these plays as nearly as we can to the section of the country where they are going to be shown and the people will enjoy them especially, and so we felt it was a very good idea to have our official board set up in this way, and it has worked out very well.

Mr. THOMAS. You meet four times a season?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Sir?

Mr. THOMAS. That Board meets four times a year, the Policy Board?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I said four times, but I can't be specific unless you will give me an opportunity to check on my records and find out exactly how many times they have met, but I would say four or more times a year.

Mr. THOMAS. I think you will find if you look up the testimony given before the Patents Committee, you will find that the statement was made there that the Policy Board meets every 4 weeks. I may be wrong about that, but I suggest you just look it up and see.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think you are wrong, Mr. Thomas. I do not believe that they have ever met quite that often, and some years we have meetings more often than others.

The CHAIRMAN. You meet whenever it is necessary?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And you pass upon these plays that are presented?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir; we do.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you ever pass upon them in any other way? I mean, would it be possible for just a few members of the committee, or one member of the committee to pass upon a play? Suppose, Mrs. Flanagan liked a particular play and she wanted that play put on, would it be possible for her to approve the play without consulting the other members of the Policy Board?

Mr. MOSIER. Suppose she wanted it put on and the rest of them did not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It would not be put on.

Mr. MOSIER. Do they have equal voting rights?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Surely, they vote and talk on these things. We do not like any dissension upon those things, Congressman. We are so eager to give these people employment, have their plays accepted well so that the box-office receipts will amount to something, and so that we can have that money back to put in the labor costs on our projects. If I seem to be hesitant about giving you anything at all that is because I want to be sure. You can ask me anything in the world, and I will give it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. We know that. The only thing we are trying to call your attention to is that a dramatic critic might pass upon a play that is purely a play to advance the interest of one class against another, to make it appear that one class is oppressing another class, and that one is a hero, and the other is a villain. It might have all of those things, and yet a dramatic critic passing not on the question of propaganda, but passing upon the dramatic qualities of it, would say it is a wonderful play, and it might be a wonderful play, but it might still be true that the play promotes a definite political angle and promotes class hatred in the country.

Mr. STARNES. You are quoting a few folks that I might have an opinion about. Did you know that Ernest Meyer that you have quoted here as one of the dramatic critics with approval, published his daily experiences in a book which he entitled "Hey, Yellow Back"?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, I did not know that.

Mr. STARNES. Hereafter we would be glad for you to give us a little information and the background of some of your critics since you have questioned the knowledge of some of the people who have criticized these plays as to whether they are propagandistic.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, may I say they are not our critics. They are critics of these papers in New York and elsewhere. They are not in any way on our pay rolls.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, when you bring them up as your witnesses to refute something, you are making them your witnesses, you are citing them with approval.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, anyway, only 10 percent of our plays are social drama. I wish you all could see some of our plays, because I know that your attitude toward them would be——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). We have no attitude with reference to them. The point we are trying to find out, Mrs. Woodward, is—and if you can supply us with the information we will be under great obligations to you—is simply this, not whether a play is a dramatic success, not whether it holds the audience down to the last moment, not whether the dramatic critics pronounce it a good dramatic production, but whether or not that play, no matter how excellent it is, carries out a central theme that promotes one class against another class, or has supposedly a theme of propaganda in it, whether that propaganda be to lift one class at the expense of the other, or the contrary, or one religion against another religion, or one race against another race, or one class against another class or one organization against another organization. That is the point that is really involved, and that is limited to the question of communistic propaganda, and not general propaganda.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You know, it seems to me the capitalistic press would certainly say so if we were doing that.

Mr. THOMAS. What press did you say?

Mr. STARNES. She said the capitalistic press.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean by the capitalistic press?

The CHAIRMAN. That is a communistic term.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You see, these big papers I named, some of them I have named, the Times——

Mr. THOMAS. Name some that you consider are members of the capitalistic press.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I mean papers that have big capital behind them, Congressman.

Mr. THOMAS. Just name some of them.

Mr. STARNES. Without prompting. Who is the third party here, this body?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is Mr. Lavery.

Mr. STARNES. All right, let his name appear in the record.

Mrs. WOODWARD. The New York Times, the Herald Tribune, and many other papers where they have a lot of money.

Mr. THOMAS. And many others where they have a lot of money?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What other ones do you have in mind?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, papers that are capitalized——

Mr. THOMAS. Do you include the Hearst papers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think the Hearst papers have a great deal of capital behind them.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you call a Scripps-Howard paper a capitalistic paper?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I really had reference to no particular paper.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you include the New York Post, for instance?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would I include the New York Post?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would include any of the papers that had great capital behind them, or, perhaps, people that would be expected to be critical of what we were doing.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you include the New York Post?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would not say whether I would or would not include the New York Post, because I do not know anything about their capital, but I would include some of those.

Mr. THOMAS. We have the capitalistic press. What other kind of press have we got, Mrs. Woodward?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am sorry.

Mr. THOMAS. We have the capitalistic press, and what other kinds of press do we have?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I just used that colloquially. If you permit me, I will strike it out of the record.

Mr. THOMAS. No; do not strike it out of the record.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name any other papers in the country that are of the capitalistic press as you denominate?

Mrs. WOODWARD. There are a lot of small papers in the country I would name there——

Mr. STARNES. What about the New Masses, that is not a capitalistic paper, is it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know much about the New Masses.

Mr. STARNES. The Daily Worker is not a capitalistic paper, is it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes, I probably chose my word very badly there.

Mr. STARNES. I am afraid you did, Mrs. Woodward.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I just mean papers that have not been very much interested in what we were doing, and would certainly come back and soak us between the eyes if we were doing communistic stuff.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Woodward, haven't you heard that term used by the Communist Party and the Communist press?



Mrs. WOODWARD. I have just told you that I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. No one said you were, but haven't you heard the term used by the Communist Party or the Communist press?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not remember reading anything in the Communist press.

Mr. STARNES. If you take your two plays *It Can Happen Here* and *Power*, on page 7 of the *Daily Worker*, the issue of June 5, 1937, you will find out Earl Browder is quoted in his speech as stating:

Two W. P. A. Federal Theater productions, *It Can't Happen Here* and *Power*, are among the plays which will be placed before delegates to the National Congress of American Writers this week as possibilities for the congress' award for the play of the greatest social significance produced during the year, it was announced yesterday by the League of American Writers.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do you think that is binding on us, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. STARNES. No; but I am giving you the opinion of others.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mrs. Woodward, before we go any further, we do not want you to be under a false impression here. Witnesses sometimes say something under stress that might be misconstrued. I am confident you have no such thing in mind. When you said capitalistic press, you just meant the big newspapers of the country?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I just meant the big newspapers where they have a lot of money and can employ any kind of critics they want.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not using it in the communistic sense or anything of the sort? I want to clear this thing up, because I am satisfied you had nothing in your mind with reference to the usual meaning of capitalistic press, which is used in all of the Communist papers, and by the speakers.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am willing to take my chance on that, Mr. Congressman, because I do not think anybody ever accused me of trying to embrace communistic language.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you absolutely.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now, then, may I proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Would you like me to go right on on the plays, because I can go on on them right now. I have not gotten down to the one that the Congressman was so interested in, the *Revolt of the Beavers*. I have a lot of them here that were brought in the record by different witnesses, and I am just willing to talk about any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, all of your testimony is really like the first part, based upon what dramatic critics had to say about it, isn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, in refutation of the testimony which was made, which at least inferred, if it did not state that these were Communist plays. I think we had better get the *Revolt of the Beavers* for him. I feel like I have gotten into the kindergarten when I start to discuss the *Revolt of the Beavers*, because it is so childish. May I proceed now? I have just picked out this one play, Mr. Thomas. Miss Huffman testified at great length on the production of *Revolt of the Beavers* and read into the record Sixth Deputy Police Commissioner Byrnes McDonald's much publicized letter to Mrs. Flanagan. Inasmuch as it is the only Federal Theater Project

play at which the direct charge of "communistic" has been leveled by anyone other than a witness appearing before this committee—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). May I interrupt there? Miss Hoffman did not read that into the record. I read it into the record. You look on page 788, the bottom of the page, and you will find, I think, that I read it into the record.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That you read it into the record?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I beg your pardon; I will make that correction. Shall I go on? Inasmuch as it is the only Federal Theater Project play at which the direct charge of "communistic" has been leveled by anyone other than a witness appearing before this committee, it is perhaps, advisable to go into the matter thoroughly and settle the various charges and countercharges which have been made.

From the very inception of the Children's Theater Division of the Federal Theater Project until the present time, project officials have conferred with and have been advised by leading educators, child-welfare experts, social workers, religious leaders, and noted child psychologists.

Before the curtain rose on its first production for children a questionnaire was prepared by the project and sent to public and private schools, churches, and settlement houses covering 220 centers where the guidance of some 200,000 New York children is the chief consideration.

These leaders in the field of child welfare were queried on the proper subject matter of plays to be produced for youthful audiences. Based on the answers received to these questionnaires a program of children's entertainment was planned, a schedule of admission prices was set, and the cultural aims of the children's theater division was set forth.

A consulting committee of the Children's Theater Division was formed. Dr. Lois Hayden Meek, director of the Child Development Institute of Teachers' College at Columbia University; Dr. Beryl Parker, of New York University; and Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer, secretary of the Association of Arts in Childhood, were active members.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they select this play, the Revolt of the Beavers, or did the policy board select this play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. The policy board, Mr. Congressman. As I told you, they select all of the plays.

The CHAIRMAN. Let her finish her statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But in any special case like this we are always glad to call in people who are experts in their particular fields. May I go on?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Jack Rennick, producer of the Children's Theater, and members of his staff discussed proposed plays with those noted educators. They, in turn, gave valuable suggestions and guidance.

The complete personnel of this consulting committee is listed:

Evelyn Tyndall, director of children's division, Greater New York Federation of Churches.

Dr. Ira S. Wile, Mount Sinai Clinic. Then we have—

Saul Ellenbogen, executive director of Ocean Parkway Jewish Center.

Then we have Mrs. Frances Deutsch, Deal, N. J.

Mrs. Clifford Clark, Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation.

Harold Campbell, superintendent of schools, New York City.

Dr. Beryl Parker, New York University.

Mr. Ray O. Wyland, educational director, Boy Scouts of America.

Lionel Jay Freeman, Society for the Prevention of Crime.

Ruth E. Anderson, research secretary, Association of American Colleges.

Belle Northrup, assistant professor of fine arts, teachers college, Columbia University.

Shall I go on?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, madam.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Sara Clyne, 163 West Seventy-seventh Street; Joseph Titus, rector of Grace Church Parish, Jamaica, Long Island; Doris Sinrabbough, secretary, Walden High School; Mrs. William Rapp, eastern representative Stanley Bergerman, Inc.; Mrs. Lillian Hecker, Mt. Airy Road, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Anna Eva McLin, Child Education Foundation; Miss Mirna Wallace, Girl Scouts of America; Dr. Mary Reed, Teachers' College; Mrs. Dorothy McFadden, Junior Programs, Inc., and Paul Wing, National Broadcasting Co.

Mr. THOMAS. What do all of these people do? It is not clear to me.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am reading to you the complete personnel of this consulting committee.

Mr. THOMAS. What has that got to do with the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am just telling you that not one of these persons disliked—we do everything to safeguard these plays, the plays of the Children's Theater.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they themselves review this play, all of those people you mentioned?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; it was recommended by this committee, and I take it that it was—that they completely read the script.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you got a copy of the recommendation made by the committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not have that here.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not have the recommendation?

Mrs. WOODWARD. But my copy does show here, Mr. Thomas, that not one resignation came in afterward.

Mr. THOMAS. Not one resignation came in after the play was put on? Will you submit that to the committee so that it can be inserted in the record?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will give you the files, whatever I have on it.

Mr. THOMAS. Just so long as you include what Mr. Atkinson said and what Mr. MacDonald said about the play. If you are going to read what people said, you may as well read what they had to say.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am going to read what Mr. Atkinson said.

The CHAIRMAN. This was the consulting board who were chosen from all over the country in large numbers, that you say did not disapprove of this Revolt of the Beavers; is that right?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not purely a question for them in the first instance to pass upon, as your board passes upon it, but none of them at any time objected to the exhibition of the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is it, none of them objected to the material in this play or the production of that play.



I wanted you to let me put in the record, if you would not let me read, the names to you of these outstanding people who really approved of the Revolt of the Beavers, and who are on this consulting committee.

Mr. MOSIER. You say they approved it, Mrs. Woodward. Was it submitted to each of those people, or do you mean to say they just failed to disapprove it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You know there was a pretty big fuss over this, and they did not disapprove.

Mr. MOSIER. You say they did not disapprove?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I could not say each one read it and sent in a personal approval.

Mr. MOSIER. That is what I am trying to find out.

Mr. THOMAS. Isn't it true——

Mr. MOSIER. Just a minute. You say there was quite a controversy over this play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am going to read about that to you. I am going to read what Mr. Brooks Atkinson said.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Was a copy of this play sent by the Federal Theater authorities to all of the people whose names you read off there?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am going to say exactly what I have here. You see, we have a large committee. They are interested in what we are doing, and in the production of plays for children over the country, and I can't say, Mr. Thomas, whether every single one of these people saw this script or not.

Mr. THOMAS. I know, but can you say whether the Federal Theater Project sent the script to those people?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, I can't say; because if some of those people had as hard a time getting some of those scripts as I do——

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me.

(At this point the chairman left the hearing room.)

Mr. STARNES. You do not know anything about the political faith or affiliation of all these people, do you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, I don't; Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. Some of them Republicans, some Democrats, some might be Socialists, and some Communists; you do not know?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is true, doubtless they are, but I think when you can bring in and discuss the record of all of these people together here, that are willing to meet and help us on this committee, that you have a pretty good committee. Shall I wait until the chairman returns?

Mr. STARNES. Just go ahead.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Revolt of the Beavers opened and the review in the New York American on May 21, 1937, said the following of the play: Now, mind you, this is the New York American of May 21, 1937. The heading is:

#### BEAVERS' REVOLT PLEASING FANTASY FOR THE CHILDREN

Children's hour was revived at the Adelphi Theater yesterday when the Federal Theater Project presented *The Revolt of the Beavers*, a fantasy by Oscar Saul and Lou Lantz.

It is really a children's hour and three-quarters, starting at 4 p. m., but the elders who escort the kiddies should not mind that, for yesterday's youngsters voted it a grand time, and the grown-ups found it passably amusing.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you got the name of that critic there?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I can look that up. I think it was John Harkins. I have got it here some place. Yes; here it is.

Mr. STARNES. Have you got anything else to say about the play? You are the responsible head of this thing. I want to know what you know about it, and what you have to say about it. I am perfectly willing for you to set out 10,000 names, or put them in the record, but what I want to know is what you say about this play, what you think about it, whether you think it has no social significance—I will say, Does it have any social significance?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes. What do you mean by that?

Mr. STARNES. I mean as you use it on that project, as Mrs. Flanagan uses this term, does the play have social significance. Do not put it up to me to give definitions. I am quoting words of people who are responsible. In your judgment did it have propaganda value or any social significance?

Mrs. WOODWARD. In my opinion, Mr. Starnes, it is a fantasy.

Mr. STARNES. Is it what?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Fantasy, I would say.

Mr. STARNES. Well, as a fantasy do you say it has any social significance?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I could not hear you.

Mr. STARNES. Does it have any social significance at all?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I simply could not answer that. I did not see the play.

Mr. STARNES. You did not see the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Did you read the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. But I am going to read what Mr. Brooks Atkinson said about it.

Mr. STARNES. That is for Mr. Thomas, but before you do that, have you read the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Do you think that you are competent to testify on this matter when you have not seen the play and have not read it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have not seen the play, but I have read the criticisms of it.

Mr. STARNES. You have not read the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I have not.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have some one else here who has read the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who is she?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am sure Mrs. Flanagan has.

Mr. STARNES. She will be here tomorrow to testify?

Mrs. WOODWARD. She is here now. I told you I brought her and Mr. Alsberg with me. They are here ready any time you want to hear them.

Mr. MOSIER. Mrs. Woodward, you said you have not read the play. Do you know how many of this group of advisers you have named read the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir; I could not answer that.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know whether any of them have read the play of your own knowledge?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I know that the play was discussed by many of them on the committee. I know that no one resigned from the committee even after there was criticism by Mr. Brooks Atkinson in the press.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you think anyone would resign from the committee just because somebody criticised the play? That just doesn't make sense.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not hear you.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you think somebody would resign from the committee just because someone else criticized one of the plays? I do not think they would. People criticize the Republican Party sometimes, but very few of us ever resign.

The CHAIRMAN. I would not say that. That was not true in 1932 and 1936; a lot of them resigned.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am going to read the names of some of them who were on the smaller committee, and they did review the play. Do you want to take those names?

The CHAIRMAN. They did what?

Mrs. WOODWARD. They did review the Revolt of the Beavers. Congressman Mosier asked me, as I understood it, if any of these people ever read this play, and I told him I did not know, but I see we have three people who served on a subcommittee.

Mr. MOSIER. Three people?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Dr. Beryl Parker, of New York University, Belle Northrup, assistant professor of fine arts, teachers college, Columbia University, and Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer, secretary of the Association of Arts in Childhood.

Mr. MOSIER. That was a subcommittee, now, of this larger committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. How many did you say are on the larger committee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have not counted them, but I think there must be about 30 or 35.

Mr. MOSIER. So that, 3 people out of 30 or 35 you know actually did read the play and approve it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I do know that those three people read the play.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; you say that 3 people out of 30 or 35, to your knowledge, did read the play and approve it, this subcommittee?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is what I can say. This came in a reliable report, that three of these people served on a subcommittee and that they did review it. They made their report to the full committee.

Mr. MOSIER. So they made their report to the full committee; and was the whole committee there in full?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Mosier, I could not answer that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Woodward, are there any of these plays that you yourself have read?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Are there any that I have read?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that you have been discussing here?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes; I have read some of the plays, and I have seen a good many of the plays all over the country from the west coast to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the 26 plays that you are testifying about, how many did you yourself either read or see?



Mrs. WOODWARD. I would have to go all over them.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately; would you say half of them?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not think personally I have read half of them.

The CHAIRMAN. So the whole effect of your testimony is that you are relying upon what some dramatic critics had to say about the plays? That is the sum and substance of it, is it not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have confidence, Mr. Chairman, in the people whom we have employed to do this work. That is No. 1, and, I think the work speaks for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. But, of course, you are not able to discuss the work, or the ones you have not read—you cannot express an opinion yourself?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; but I think the great audiences they have been able to get and the public acceptance of this program certainly speaks very well for its direction, for its selection of plays, for everything in connection with it. I think they have done a swell job. I do not say that everything is just as we would love to have it, as you certainly could not expect to see with 3,000,000 people.

The CHAIRMAN. No one is expecting that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. I am not saying we do not have great difficulties in the administration of these projects.

Mr. STARNES. It comes down to this: You are here to testify that these plays have no social significance or propaganda value. That is the statement made with reference to the plays by other witnesses who have testified here before this committee. You are here to refute that, and yet you admit as the responsible head of this project that you have not read some of these particular plays, and particularly the one that we have under discussion now, the *Revolt of the Beavers*. You have neither read nor seen the play, and yet it is your responsibility.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I discussed with Mrs. Flanagan and other members of the Federal Theater Board.

Mr. STARNES. Was the question of social significance raised with Mrs. Flanagan or any of the others?

Mrs. WOODWARD. The question of social significance was not raised by me on that at all.

Mr. STARNES. No question about its propaganda effect or value was raised?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I think not, Mr. Starnes, because when I discussed these plays, I discussed them from the standpoint of their artistic value, and from the standpoint of the reception of the public and the program—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is fine. I think we are getting down to where we can understand this. What you are concerned with is the artistic value of the play. You do not go into the question as to whether the play is propagandistic, or whether or not it presents the viewpoint from one class and so forth. What you are concerned with is the value of the play from an artistic standpoint; is that correct?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I would not say that is just correct, because there are other factors that enter into a play. I am not interested, Mr. Congressman—I will make myself clear this way—I certainly am

not interested in the presentation of communistic plays, if that answers your question.

The CHAIRMAN. You made the statement that you were chiefly concerned, or something to that effect, with the artistic value of the play, that you looked at it from that point of view, and I was wondering if you examined it from any other point of view.

Mrs. WOODWARD. For instance, if you had an engineering job to do, you would not go out trying to worry about whether they were Communists digging in the ditches. You would worry about the engineering job they were doing, and my job is to see that a good job is done, and that the money is accounted for to the Federal Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think it is proper, or do you think it is proper, for a Government theater play, presented with the taxpayers' money to be presented from a class angle, do you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We do not do that.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask you that; you do not think that would be proper, do you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I would not approve of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think it should be absolutely non-partisan, since you are using the money of all of the people?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think they would.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the Revolt of the Beavers is such a play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We think it is nonpartisan.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if you think it is such a play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think it is a partisan play—not what I know about it.

Mr. STARNES. What about Triple A? And I am a Democrat?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, it is quite educational.

Mr. STARNES. You mean to put Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party in America, in as the principal character is educational?

Mrs. WOODWARD. He is not the principal character.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; Browder was.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But, if your material is factual, I do not think that there is anything wrong about getting factual material. We are not putting on factual plays.

Mr. STARNES. What about Power, with James Lawrence and John Rankin and others used in there? Is that a partisan play or does that put over the question of public ownership of power or not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think it is quite educational. It points out—

Mr. STARNES. You are not answering the question. I am asking you if it is a partisan play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have had a lot of Republicans who have told me they liked the play.

Mr. STARNES. It may be they liked a lot of things we have done, just to be frank with you, but don't you think just at the same time as a partisan play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We are talking about Triple-A Plowed Under, or Power?

Mr. STARNES. Both of them, because they embrace certain phases of legislation which this Nation has undertaken during the past 5 years, as we all know.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think it is in keeping with the program that we think is necessary to be carried on for the welfare of the people, and, as such, it is an education play, and it is factual.

Mr. STARNES. Which one of these plays, scripts of plays, series of plays, was loaned, the property and some of the scenery and theatrical effects, was used in strike districts?

Mrs. WOODWARD. You mean part of our plays?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. You know nothing about the script being loaned?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not know about the script being loaned.

Mr. STARNES. Or any of the scenery or any of the theatrical effects, or any of the theatrical property being loaned?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. No players being loaned from the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. To go out and do what—

Mr. STARNES. To go into strike areas and put on these plays, some of them which have social significance and which dramatize strikes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have no knowledge of that, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. You have no knowledge of that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No.

Mr. STARNES. Is Mrs. Flanagan going to be able to testify about it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. She is right here.

Mr. STARNES. I just want to be sure she will be here tomorrow.

Mrs. WOODWARD. She is right here this minute.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to have her here tomorrow, because there are a number of things I would like to have answered.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, can we hear what this man Atkinson has got to say about this?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have been just begging you to let me give it to Mr. Thomas:

The style is playful; the mood is gravely gay and simple-minded. Many children now unschooled in the technique of revolution now have an opportunity, at Government expense, to improve their tender minds. Mother Goose is no longer a rhymed escapist. She has been studying Marx; Jack and Jill lead the class revolution.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you read the last paragraph of Byrnes MacDonald's letter to Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, the letter dated May 26, 1937.

Mr. STARNES. No; let her read it all.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do you want the last paragraph?

Mr. STARNES. No; read it all.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All of this in your record?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it ought to be in a couple of times.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will just give you a good break, then.

MAY 26, 1937.

Mrs. HALLIE FLANAGAN,

*Director, Federal Theater Project for New York,  
New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MRS. FLANAGAN: I am in receipt of a letter dated May 25, signed by Miss Esther Rosenberg, department of information, in which she states that she can make available to the juvenile aid bureau, for distribution to children known to us, 1,400 free tickets, to the play the Revolt of the Beavers on either June 9, 10, or 11, being presented by the Federal Theater Project at the Adelphi Theater.



I should like to advise that after having read the criticism of the play by Brooks Atkinson, published in the May 21 edition of the New York Times, that it is my opinion that this play would only inculcate into the young minds of the youth who see it the idea that their social status in life is an exceptionally unhappy one and that anyone with financial means cannot be considered as their friend. If the Children's Theater Unit of the Federal Theater Project is going to employ these tactics in an attempt to instill doctrines directly opposed to the democratic principles upon which this country is founded, on children of tender years, I not only would not accept such tickets for members of the Police Athletic League of the Juvenile Aid Bureau, but will, to the best of my ability, oppose the presentation of this play, at any time, and on all occasions, to the children.

There is time enough, when they are 17, 18, and 19, for a subversive organization, like the American Youth Congress, to enter the field and attempt, by virtue of presenting a modified Townsend plan to the Congress of the United States under the guise of the American Youth Act, to distort their minds along the lines of class hatred and prejudice. Sowing this type of propaganda in the plastic minds of young children, as this play certainly would tend to do, is not only reprehensible but would be resented by the people of all classes in this country.

I know of no better way to conclude than to quote Mr. Atkinson's criticism of the play.

Shall I quote it again?

Mr. THOMAS. Then read his last paragraph.

Mrs. WOODWARD (reading):

I feel so strongly that this type of play should not be presented that I am enclosing the clipping I refer to for your information. I am also forwarding a copy of this letter as well as this clipping to his honor, Mayor LaGuardia, Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine, and Col. Brehon B. Somervell, Works Progress Administrator. It is my hope that some action will be instigated by them to suppress, or at least censor, this production.

Very sincerely yours,

BYRNES MACDONALD,  
*Sixth Deputy Police Commissioner.*

Now, would you let me read what the metropolitan papers said?

Mr. THOMAS. No. Right on this point here, have you got a copy of Mrs. Flanagan's letter to Byrnes MacDonald? Have you got Mrs. Flanagan's answer to this letter from Byrnes MacDonald?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have it in the files, I am sure, Mr. Thomas, but I do not have it with me.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you be willing to submit the answer to this committee in order to have it incorporated in the record at this point?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We have made available to you anything that you want.

Mr. THOMAS. Then, will you please do that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right, we will do that.

(The letter of Mrs. Hallie Flanagan in answer to Mr. Byrnes MacDonald is on file with the committee:)

Mr. THOMAS. Then, I would like to ask one more question with regard to this: Do you know what the national director did in response to this letter from Byrnes MacDonald? Did you continue to put on the Revolt of the Beavers, or was it discontinued?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, we had it scheduled for so many weeks, and it ran its normal run.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you have a meeting at which was discussed this question of the Revolt of the Beavers, whether or not it should be discontinued, or whether or not it should be allowed to go on?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not know about that.

Mr. THOMAS. Or did you pay no attention at all to the statement by both Mr. Atkinson and Byrnes MacDonald, sixth deputy police commissioner of New York City? I want to know whether the whole matter was ignored by you from that time on, or did you really go into it and see whether it should be discontinued or not.

Mrs. WOODWARD. We discussed it considerably, and then we decided there was a difference of opinion.

Mr. THOMAS. And then you decided you should go ahead with the presentation of the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. For the time we had assigned it.

Mr. THOMAS. You think your department was justified in exhibiting the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think so, Mr. Congressman. May I read this from the New York Post? It is under date of June 2, 1937 [reading]:

W. P. A. Mother Goose Play called Subversive.—Cops Forbidden to Attend. It is by Earl Wilson.

The revolution is being hastened—the police department says, in a quaking voice—by a new W. P. A. Mother Goose play, which is all about the United Front Beavers of Beaverland.

Sixth Deputy Police Commissioner Byrnes MacDonald made clear today, however, that he is too smart for the plotters. Lest the burly cop on the beat and their aristocratic brethren, the sloe-eyed detectives, be drawn into the revolution on the side of the revolutionists, Mr. MacDonald has refused 1,400 free tickets to the play, *The Revolt of the Beavers*, now being presented for children at the Adelphi Theater.

#### SUSCEPTIBLE COPS

Mr. MacDonald did not say just how a play for children would be dangerous to the adult cops. A friend suggested, however, that he probably feared the cops' children, after seeing the busy beavers form a union on the stage, and then hold a successful revolution against a tyrinical and nonunion "chief beaver" would come home and start boring from within.

The revolutionists in the play, rather than being bewhiskered foreigners carrying bombs, are merry beavers known as Oakleaf, Beanpole. Blubber, Birch, and Berkless.

Oakleaf, a union organizer, leads the revolution against the tyrant chief when the chief refuses to give him any bark, throws him out of Beaverland and tells him to go back where he came from. Swiftly, the beavers organize against a united front.

In the last act they come through victorious, capturing Beaverland from the despotic chief. Then, of course, they get all the bark they want.

#### THE KIDS LOVE IT

Child audiences at the play seem to enjoy this revolution, which they hear from the lips of Old Man Wind, of Beaverland, but Mr. MacDonald is sure there is something sinister in it.

"Sowing this type of propaganda in the plastic minds of young children, as this play certainly would tend to do, is resented by people of all classes in the country," he said, in spurning the tickets.

The CHAIRMAN. The use of the words "a united front" there in the play have a very definite communistic meaning. That is one of their pet phrases, is it not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. This is in a newspaper account.

The CHAIRMAN. This is in a newspaper account?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. Besides, you are not going to stop people from using the term, or saying, "solid front." How many of the political organizations talk about that all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if it is not a fact that in the use of "revolution," that the Communists have a very definite use of the words "united front"?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I do not think——

The CHAIRMAN. There is a play dealing with revolution, not with the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, and it is dealing with revolutionary matters, and they borrow the phraseology from the Communists, do they not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I suppose so, if you say they do.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if the words "united front" are used in the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do you say do they——

The CHAIRMAN. I say do they borrow that phraseology from Communist literature?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do our people borrow that?

The CHAIRMAN. Were the words "united front" used in the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. It was in the newspaper account, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood they were used in the play. That is the reason I am asking you. Do you know whether they were used in the play?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I do not.

Mr. STARNES. Mrs. Woodward, who wrote the play? Do you know of your own knowledge?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Louis Rosenthal and Oscar Alpern.

The CHAIRMAN. Alpern?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Louis Rosenthal and who?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Oscar Alpern.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about their background as producers? I want to know without any reference to any books or anything. If you do not, just say so, and then refresh your recollection.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I was just trying to think if I had anything in the files to offer you on that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have anything in your memory, your own personal knowledge, that you can offer about these authors?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir; I can't give you anything.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know anything about their educational background or political background either, do you? Do you know anything, without refreshing your recollection, do you know anything at all about their dramatic background; that is, the plays they have produced, and so forth?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, doubtless that is all in our files, Mr. Starnes. I will be glad to make it available to you.

Mr. STARNES. We will be glad to have it, but I am trying to test your personal knowledge.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You would not think I could have personal knowledge of the authors of 924 plays, and you would not think I could have read 924 plays, would you, along with everything else I have to do?

Mr. MOSIER. There are only 26 in question.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; there are only 26 in question.



The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, gentlemen. There was one question I had in mind, coming back to this American Stuff.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Are you not going to let me finish my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes. It is nearly 5 o'clock, Mrs. Woodward. You have been going pretty hard all day and I know you are tired.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I should be glad to stay as long as you will hear me.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to hear you until the end, but the question is whether we are going to continue tonight or adjourn until morning.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mrs. Woodward, is it convenient for your people to be here tomorrow?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir. They are at your service, and we will be here any time you want us.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is just as convenient as continuing tonight?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long will it take you to finish, Mrs. Woodward?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, if I am not interrupted I could finish very quickly. It won't take so very long, but I can't anticipate, you know, the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you continue on with your statement. Have you not given enough in reference to those plays from the dramatic critics? I mean, Mrs. Woodward, all of your comment on the plays is based upon what the dramatic critics have to say about them; isn't that true?

Mrs. WOODWARD. A great part of what I have to say is based upon what the critics and others have said about these plays; and then we refute directly, you see, some of the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about that part; I am just talking about the dramatic critics.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All of those are commendatory criticisms, are they not?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Not all of them; Mr. Brooks Atkinson's was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else besides Mr. Brooks Atkinson's?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I believe I think of no one else.

The CHAIRMAN. One man out of all of them; and that one was on the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we do this: She cannot finish in 30 minutes with this statement. We will be here until late tonight if we finish with this, because we have other questions to ask. Suppose we do this, if it is agreeable—meet back here tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, subject to your having Mrs. Flanagan and Major Alsberg here.

We have one witness, Dr. Anderson, pastor of a church here, who is scheduled to testify. You know, we told you about him.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It might be that he will wait to be heard; but anyway, please let everybody be here at 10 o'clock in the morning, and we will start with you; and when Dr. Anderson comes in—he has, I am sure, a short statement—we will give way to him to make his statement, and then we will continue with you, and then hear from Mr. Alsberg and Mrs. Flanagan.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Then it is the wish of the committee that you have Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg testify?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is the wish of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but we are trying to arrange the matter now so you will understand it, since Dr. Anderson was scheduled to testify tomorrow.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And when he comes you will temporarily vacate the witness stand, and permit the doctor to testify. I do not think it will take long.

Mrs. WOODWARD. The point the chairman was making is that my testimony that I am giving is not satisfactory to the committee, and the fact that I asked to testify as the responsible head of this division does not meet with the approval of the committee; is that true?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no; that is not true.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But you want Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg to testify.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you make that statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I was just wondering—

The CHAIRMAN. No; you are making a statement; we want to be fair. Now, why did you make that statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Because you said you want them to come and to testify.

The CHAIRMAN. That is no reason for saying your testimony is not desired, because we want someone else to testify.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I just wanted to be clear on that.

The CHAIRMAN. But you made your statement; we want to know why you made that statement. It seems to me that evidences some animus, making a statement of that kind. The committee wants to hear you. You would not be here if they did not want to hear you.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is not true, because I had to ask to come.

Mr. THOMAS. You would not be here, and neither would your witnesses, if it were not for some of the members of the committee who made it possible for you to be here by defending your work.

Mrs. WOODWARD. We appreciate that very much.

Mr. THOMAS. Even the Republican members of the committee want you to testify.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Thank you very much. I have a little matter to settle with you on this matter of your calling Mr. Edwards to your office as a personal friend. He had no knowledge of it being an executive session or any meeting of a committee. I want to talk to you about that tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. Again that will be based upon what Mr. Edwards told you.

Mrs. WOODWARD. What did you say?

The CHAIRMAN. Again that will be based upon what Mr. Edwards told you.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Basing it upon what his understanding was with the Congressman.

(Thereupon, at 5:15 p. m., the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 6, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee reconvened at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (the chairman of the committee) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Dr. Anderson in the room? Will you advise us when he comes in?

## STATEMENT OF MRS. ELLEN S. WOODWARD—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you were on page 3.

Mr. STARNES. Is Mrs. Flanagan or Mr. Alsberg here this morning?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I was just going to say, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that I know that you want to hear Mrs. Flanagan and Mr. Alsberg. Mrs. Flanagan is on her way here right now.

In order to conserve everybody's time and the effort that would necessarily have to be put forth, I suggest that your committee call on Mrs. Flanagan and allow her at this time to submit the briefs for the record. That will save everybody's time, if that is what the committee wishes to do, in order that there will not just be repetition of material. Is that agreeable to the committee?

Mr. STARNES. I have a few questions that I would like to ask Mrs. Woodward.

The CHAIRMAN. What you mean is——

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mrs. Flanagan has just come into the room.

The CHAIRMAN. To submit and just file a brief, and it goes right into the record as an exhibit?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir. I should like to have that, if you will permit me.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, that goes right back to the motion that I made yesterday. We are in just the identically same place that we were when I made the motion, and we wasted all of yesterday afternoon.

Mr. THOMAS. No. I don't think we wasted all of yesterday afternoon.

Mr. MOSIER. We did get that one thing that you wanted.

Mr. THOMAS. When you read the contents of the record, you will find that we certainly didn't waste the afternoon.



The CHAIRMAN. You wanted to ask Mrs. Woodward some questions?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Mr. STARNES. Mrs. Woodward, you have made the statement that this committee was an un-American committee and had been un-American in its conduct. On what do you base that statement? Upon what fact or facts do you base such a strong indictment of a congressional committee? And who prepared that particular section of your prepared statement?

We want to know, in other words, who is the responsible party behind such a statement, that a committee of the American Congress is un-American in itself and un-American in its activities. We want to know who is responsible for preparing that statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes, I believe you have two questions, then.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. I want to know who prepared it, first. Then I want to know on what facts the statement was based.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, the statement was prepared by me, based upon the investigations made and the reports that have been made.

Mr. STARNES. You investigated this committee, then, yourself?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Or had it investigated?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I didn't investigate this committee. I said "investigations made of the charges."

Mr. STARNES. This committee has made no charges.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But you have received testimony——

Mr. STARNES. Certainly. That is what we were formed for. We received alleged testimony from you.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. Mr. Starnes——

Mr. STARNES. But we needn't have any more of that. I want to know who is responsible for the statements this committee is un-American and that its activities are un-American.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes——

Mr. STARNES. Can't you answer the question?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. I am responsible.

Mr. STARNES. You are the responsible Government official for the statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am responsible, because——

Mr. STARNES. You prepared the statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Because I feel——

Mr. STARNES. Did you prepare the statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Did I prepare it?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am responsible for the preparation of it.

Mr. STARNES. You are responsible for the preparation, although you did none of the actual preparation?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes, you know that that is a mechanical process.

Mr. STARNES. I know that it is not a mechanical process for some responsible Government official to make a charge that a committee of Congress is un-American and un-American in its activities. That is not a mechanical process. Even you will have intelligence enough to tell who prepared that statement and who is responsible for it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I am responsible for my statement.

Mr. STARNES. Did you prepare that statement yourself?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I prepared—I did not dictate——

Mr. STARNES. Did you prepare that statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Not completely, Mr. Starnes. As I said here yesterday——

Mr. STARNES. Did you prepare that particular part of the statement?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am responsible for that statement.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know, did you prepare it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did not dictate the whole statement, Mr. Starnes. As I said to you before the whole, the complete, statement was not dictated entirely by me. I made my own corrections; I made my own insertions; and I am responsible for the statement.

Mr. STARNES. But you do admit that others put it in there?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No; I did not.

Mr. STARNES. The original statement you prepared was a short one with only three pages, wasn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I don't know what statement you refer to.

Mr. STARNES. The original statement you made for this committee, that you prepared for this committee. The first statement that you prepared to present to this committee consisted of only three pages, didn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, just as you prepare over and over again an important statement——

Mr. STARNES. That is an evasive answer. Please give me some direct answer. I am asking you a direct question. I am asking you if you didn't when you first prepared your statement to present to this committee, prepare one which consisted of only three pages?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I cannot say that it was three or five or that it was seven pages, or how many pages. A number of statements——

Mr. STARNES. Who prepared the long statement you have there? Did Mr. Lawrence Morris?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Lawrence Morris is not responsible for my writings. I am responsible.

Mr. STARNES. Who suggested to you that you put that statement in there, in your prepared statement, that this committee was un-American and its conduct was un-American?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I didn't have to have any suggestions, Mr. Starnes. That is my own feeling about the matter.

Mr. STARNES. That is your own feeling? Nobody suggested it to you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I said that I didn't have to have any suggestions about that.

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you who did suggest that to you, if anybody?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Nobody suggested it, that I know of.

Mr. STARNES. That you know of?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No. I don't know what suggestions came out of my office. I don't know what suggestions were made by other people.

Mr. STARNES. Did any other Government official suggest that you put that statement in?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No other Government official suggested that I put that in. I made that statement.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Let us get down to the facts with reference to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Right in that connection, let us have the record show that I talked with Mrs. Woodward, and I have an exact stenographic copy of the conversation. I asked her specifically if she had copies of her original statement. She said she had only one carbon copy.

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, Mr. Dies. May I correct you there?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I said I had only one brief and a carbon copy of the brief.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I was not referring to my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course, you said your statement would take only a few minutes, didn't you? That is what you told me over the telephone, isn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. No, Mr. Chairman. I did not. I told you when you said to me, in substance, that the committee would not be interested in hearing how good the W. P. A. was, that you knew that Congress had appropriated money for the W. P. A., and that there was no charge of maladministration of these projects—

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. But you were interested in un-American activities.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. And the committee would like to hear about those activities.

I said, "Well, Mr. Dies, you certainly will not object to my making a short statement. It will only take about 2 minutes."

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. "Before I go into the other portion of my statement"—

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. "Giving you and the members of the committee a better background than you now have regarding the whole scope of the work"—

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mrs. WOODWARD. "Which is under our jurisdiction."

The CHAIRMAN. The point that I want to make is—

Mrs. WOODWARD. Those were my exact words.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you specifically if you had copies, and you said you had only one copy. Then you came before the committee and started to read your statement, and passed out generally the mimeographed copies, on page 14 of which is an attack on this committee.

I am just reciting this on the question of fairness. You have invoked the traditional American policy of fairness.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You and I are talking about two different things entirely. If you will refer to your stenographic report that you say you took down over the telephone, you will find that I very specifically said that I had the major copy of the brief and one carbon.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just exactly what I am saying now. I asked if we could have copies. Then you waited until you began to



read your statement, and passed out among the newspapermen a mimeographed copy containing this attack upon the committee.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I did nothing of the kind.

The CHAIRMAN. At the same time you are talking about fair play.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I beg your pardon again, Mr. Chairman. I passed out nothing to anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, somebody did, because it was generally passed out here.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Be just a little careful how you state what I did.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, may I proceed with my questions?

Mr. MOSIER. I renew my motion and I ask for a vote, that this witness be excused on the ground that her testimony is purely hearsay on the questions that we are investigating.

Mr. STARNES. We will admit that it is, but let her be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. STARNES. You say you know of no communistic activities on your project?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes, before answering that question—

Mr. STARNES. No; I want you to answer it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I answer your other question? I have never answered your question about my feeling that your committee was un-American. May I answer that?

Mr. STARNES. I am not asking about your feeling. That is a thing I don't care anything about. I want facts and not feelings. We want facts and not emotions here. We want facts substantiated by personal knowledge, rather than generalities. That is the basis of the complaint by some of the members on your testimony, or alleged testimony, before this committee.

Mrs. WOODWARD. You are asking—

Mr. STARNES. I want to know on what facts you base the statement that this is an un-American committee composed of Members of an American Congress.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I protested the action of the committee—

Mr. STARNES. That is not an answer. I want to know the facts, not your protests. What were the facts?

Mrs. WOODWARD. The facts are that you gave widespread publicity to testimony given before your committee—

Mr. STARNES. We didn't give any publicity to anything. The press carried it. They carried your statement yesterday making an attack on this committee. We didn't give that any publicity. The press does that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is all right. I am telling you that it was given widespread publicity—

Mr. STARNES. We make no attempt to censor the press. We make no attempt to censor any other witness.

Mrs. WOODWARD. By witnesses that I consider unqualified, irresponsible, and misinformed; and the committee, by giving its implied approval of this testimony, has jeopardized, in my opinion, the jobs and daily bread of thousands of these needy good American men and women. Now, that is my answer.

Mr. STARNES. How can you be qualified as a witness on this when you have admitted to this committee that you have not read some of these plays, and you rarely visit these projects, and you don't

know whether any of these people are Communists or not; that you are conducting an investigation into these charges now?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, I don't believe that the members of the committee have read these plays, all of these plays, either, have they?

Mr. STARNES. No; but we have had witnesses testify who have read them and who have put them on.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Have you under oath asked them if they have read them? We have 924—

Mr. STARNES. You are not here to ask the committee questions. You are here to answer questions. You and every other witness are here to answer questions; not to ask them.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes—

Mr. STARNES. I must insist that you be respectful to this committee.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I beg your pardon.

Mr. STARNES. We must insist.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes, if there is anything that I have said that is disrespectful, I wish to make an apology.

Mr. STARNES. But you are asking questions of this committee. We were appointed to ask questions and to investigate, not to be investigated.

Isn't it a fact that you have had time, you and your staff, to investigate witnesses who have appeared before this committee? Haven't you done that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Have investigated witnesses?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mrs. WOODWARD. We have made an investigation into the charges made by these witnesses insofar as it was humanly possible to do so.

Mr. STARNES. You have even gone into their family background in every particular case and recorded their history, got hospital reports and all that sort of thing, and got private correspondence of witnesses who appeared before this committee from the newspapers and hospitals. You have checked the family background of all of these witnesses.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes, don't you—

Mr. STARNES. Answer the question. Haven't you done that?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I am going to answer it.

Mr. STARNES. Can't you answer it yes or no?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Starnes—

Mr. STARNES. Can't you answer it yes or no?

Mrs. WOODWARD. May I say to you that there are some questions that cannot be adequately answered yes or no. If you would give me—

Mr. STARNES. Did you do that or didn't you?

Mrs. WOODWARD. We had those letters and we didn't have to ask for them. They were already here in our files.

Mr. STARNES. The point is that in reply to the testimony you have not denied communistic activities were carried on there, but you have said that some of the witnesses who appeared here were mentally and physically sick and incompetent to testify, and others were incompetent to testify on un-American activities on these projects because they did not have sufficient artistic background and training to testify.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Now—

Mr. STARNES. Have you used the same degree of diligence in investigating the information presented before this committee and that was made available to you, about persons who were charged with being Communists, and who were in supervisory positions; that they were carrying on communistic activities on these projects? Have you done it? Answer yes or no?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. My brief will show——

Mr. STARNES. Have you reported on that and shown that it is not so?

Mrs. WOODWARD. My brief will show something on each person who has been charged with un-American activities, and I submit that brief into the record.

Mrs. Flanagan is now here, Mr. Chairman and member of the committee; and if it is your wish I shall be glad to withdraw at this point.

Mr. STARNES. No. It is not our wish. We want you to talk just as long as you want to, until you say you have testified until you are satisfied. This committee is not going to be put in the position of saying we wanted you to conclude your testimony, because if you have a statement you think will be of benefit and will shed any light on these things, we are happy to have it.

Now, then, in reply to some of these charges that some of these plays are communistic and that they have social significance, you have read excerpts from dramatic critics carried in the press of the Nation. That is true, isn't it?

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is one thing that I have done, Mr. Starnes. I have talked with my own people who have the responsibility, and I have their word for it.

Mr. STARNES. You did not read the entire criticism in the critiques offered by the artistic, qualified people of the press. You just merely gave excerpts which praised the plays. You didn't quote the entire article which would have told what the play was, what sort of moral it carries, or significance socially or otherwise. You didn't get that in the record?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Well, Mr. Starnes, I thought I did.

Mr. STARNES. Well, I think that all you did—and the record will show it—is that you put short excerpts which praised the style or the rendition of it and that sort of thing from the artistic standpoint, and not the social significance back of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we proceed and let her proceed with her statement.

Mr. STARNES. I think before we proceed further we also might make it a matter of record here that with the permission of the committee we have permitted her to have counsel and associates and even her own stenographic reporter right here.

The CHAIRMAN. And let the record show this now: That there is a story going around about the number of members here. Let the record show that Mrs. Woodward requested that all the members of the committee be here. Isn't that a fact?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, sir; that is a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. And the clerk wired every member of the committee and asked them to be here at your request?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Arthur Healy and Mr. Martin wired that they could not be here. I just want that clear.



Mrs. WOODWARD. I appreciate your consideration for me.

The CHAIRMAN. Now continue with your statement.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Do you wish me to continue or do you wish Mrs. Flanagan?

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to testify as fully as you want to.

Mr. STARNES. Before you go further on this, on the charge of communistic propaganda being disseminated on this project, do you deny such is a fact?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I know of no communistic activities.

Mr. STARNES. Now, do you deny it? I know that you don't know of any, because you said that you knew of no communistic activities. But do you deny it on oath here from personal knowledge that any communistic literature was disseminated among the workers on these projects in New York City?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I have heard that literature was disseminated, and I gave instructions that it must not occur.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind suspending for a moment? Dr. Anderson is here, and we want to hear him.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, if you will step aside.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I will be glad to.

(The witness was excused temporarily.)

#### STATEMENT OF REV. HOWARD STONE ANDERSON, MINISTER OF THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen of the committee, we are privileged to hear this morning from the first of a number of outstanding Americans who are appearing before this committee to talk to us with reference to the best ways and means to promote Americanism. We have this morning one of the outstanding ministers, the Reverend Howard Stone Anderson, minister of the First Congregational Church, Washington, D. C. We shall be very pleased to hear from you, Dr. Anderson.

I presume, gentlemen, that there is no necessity to swear witnesses who appear on this subject, is there?

Mr. MOSIER. Then we will not swear the witness.

Dr. ANDERSON. Mr. Dies, would you like to have me keep absolutely to this manuscript?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and we won't interrupt you.

Dr. ANDERSON. I mean, you don't want me to depart from it at all?

The CHAIRMAN. You just do as you think proper.

Dr. ANDERSON. I see. All right. Occasionally, you know, under the spell of your own words sometimes something occurs to you a little bit on the outside. I didn't know whether that was improper or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are at perfect liberty to say what you think.

Dr. ANDERSON. I see.

I am very glad to have this invitation to come before you this morning. May I ask this committee to give me some kind of statement characterizing the auspices under which I appear? I discovered that there seems to be some confusion about the character of the people who are summoned; that some of them think that because

I am summoned I am a suspicious character. You may have to give me a clean bill of health after I get through.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, a number of outstanding citizens will appear before this committee the same as you do. Quite a number of them have already accepted, including the national commander of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Knights of Columbus, the K. P., and many other organizations.

Mr. STARNES. You only become a suspicious character, Doctor, in the eyes of some people, when you seek to expose this evil or sore festering on our social, economic, and political body. When you do that, that naturally places you under suspicion in certain circles.

Dr. ANDERSON. It is very easily possible to have a case of mistaken identity. I was just trying informally to say something about that.

I remember when I was in Chicago, which was just a few years ago, that I used to walk down to my church on Sunday morning, which was 6 or 7 blocks away. I always used to like the spring and fall of the year, because a minister wears a cutaway, you know, and he kind of feels conspicuous in his garb; and I always used to like the season of the year when it was hidden with a topcoat or overcoat.

The way I had to traverse was on West Madison Street. I don't know whether you know where West Madison Street is in Chicago. I didn't go down Halsted Street. Madison Street is 2 miles farther west.

Occasionally I would walk down to church at 8:30 on a Sunday morning, when there would be an emptying out of their taverns. Even though they had a 2 o'clock closing act, it was somewhat overlooked. You would see them sweeping up the alleys and the basements sometimes on Sunday morning.

One Sunday morning when I was going down with my cutaway on, feeling kind of self-conscious, I came abreast of one of these taverns just as a tipsy girl sort of reeled out of it. She turned and all of a sudden I came up on her horizon, and she said, "My God, the undertaker!"

Well, I just don't want to be mistaken in my identity here either.

I am very glad to accept the invitation of Representative Dies to make a statement before the Committee on Un-American Activities, and to set down in a brief, constructive summary my personal suggestions of ways and means of promoting and encouraging wholesome Americanism and intelligent patriotism.

I make no apology for my particular approach, for I must assume that you know I am no authority on politics or economics and what I am giving you must inevitably and honestly be a clergyman's eye view of the matter.

I have this divided into about three sections. One of them is a historical statement of what Americanism is according to my definition. The second is an analysis of what has happened to it. The third is suggestions of what we ought to do about it.

You know the old darkey who said that in his homilectic procedure, "First I tells them what I am going to tell them. Then I tells them. Then I tells them what I told them." This is a statement of what I am going to tell you first.

We are within a few days of the three hundred and eighteenth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock. They fled from political tyranny and religious persecution.

Their Mayflower Compact and spiritual ideals were reflected and embodied in the early State constitutions and in religious and educational institutions. The Pilgrims sought a new spiritual climate, one favorable to political freedom and religious liberty.

Probably the institutions—political, economic, and religious—which they set up could best be characterized as theocratic. Which is to say they believed that their civil, economic, and spiritual affairs were directly ordered and governed by God. Fundamental and historical Americanism, therefore, is God-ordained, God-centered, and God-controlled. Our fathers came here driven by a spiritual urge and led on by a spiritual quest. Their devotion to God impelled them to seek a place where He might be worshipped in freedom of spirit, freedom of speech, and freedom of conscience.

They bought this freedom of ours with a terrible price. In England they had been forced to meet secretly for worship and had had to smuggle Bibles into their homes for use. They were persecuted, harassed, and ostracised. Their king told them to conform or get out—and then forbade their getting out. When they finally escaped to Holland they were faced with a more subtle enemy, namely, the casual disintegration of their movement by the secularizing and naturalizing influence of a friendly folk.

That is rather long language for saying that, of course, what happened to them was that their boys and girls were growing up and they were marrying Dutch boys and girls, a perfectly natural and healthy sort of thing, but it was not the kind of thing that those early Puritans and Pilgrims had in mind to do. They wanted to keep their identity.

It is no wonder, at least it is no wonder to the careful student of early American history, that our founding fathers took every means of conserving and safeguarding the new freedom they had so dearly bought and suffered for.

Concrete examples of this determination are several.

They believed virtue arose from knowledge. Thus in 1636, only 16 years after their landing at Plymouth, Harvard was founded by 12 Congregational Governors. There were only 5,000 families in the Colonies; they were harassed by the Indians; they were ravaged by disease. Yet they gave as much to the support of Harvard as the sum of all their other taxes. And they imposed a serious curriculum, including Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, for they stated as their educational aim:

It is directed that everyone shall consider the main end of his life and his studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life.

The Bible, which had such an important place in their lives, was studied in their first schools. Education was a serious matter. It aimed to prepare men to live sober and godly lives. They believed a moral character was the result of education, and, oppositely, that ignorance is the cause of sin and wrongdoing.

Yale was established 50 years later when Connecticut had grown to a population of 15,000 and her citizens wished a college nearer home. And through all the years the educational passion of the Pilgrims has been revealed in the founding of such colleges as, to mention only a few which have sprung from the Pilgrim tradition, Williams, Dartmouth, Amherst, Smith, Wellesley, Oberlin, Carleton, Yankton, Grin-



nell, Whitman, Pomona, Pacific, Doane, Beloit, Washburn, Fisk, and Talladega.

They believed in religious homes, and here again their seriousness was reflected as they sought to make the home the bulwark and cornerstone of their new civilization. Everyone knows how they ordered work suspended late on Saturday in order that proper preparations, practical and spiritual, might be made for keeping the Sabbath.

They even tried to place a ban on husbands' kissing their wives on Sunday, but here again bootlegging—this time of kisses—caused the downfall of "a noble experiment."

Their homes were sacred, as was the marriage relationship. Their personal morals were measured and controlled by rigid and strict ideals, emanating always, they believed, from God.

They believed in democracy and it, too, they felt had the divine sanction. In fact, they, like Whittier, the poet, have often been seen in the dilemma as to whether to call it democracy or call it Christianity. They believed their essence and direction identical.

Therefore they instituted forms of government and social control embodying the democratic ideal. They believed in individual responsibility of the members of the community, the church, the home, and the school, and they permitted no dynasties or hierarchies in any sphere.

For a time they provided that only church members could vote, and, while they early saw the error of such an undemocratic principle, at least it does reveal their hope that spiritually minded men and women would conduct our affairs and run our Government.

Every able-bodied person was supposed to work in order that he might eat; and while their population was still very small they easily enforced this rule by holding all things in a common storehouse, thereby keeping an easy check on the lazy person.

They believed in simple, fundamental virtues. They maintained that initiative, individual responsibility, honesty, industry, and thrift are godly virtues. Conversely they knew the vices and they named them—laziness, dishonesty, waste, intemperance, and lust. They were as puritanical as the Ten Commandments. And they established the American tradition in that way.

In the second section I am talking about some of our departures from that.

By my definition, therefore, any departure from the historic principles of the Founding Fathers in these four areas—education, family life, democracy, and moral ideals—constitute un-Americanism. And only a brief survey of the un-American tendencies in these four fields is required for the most superficial observer is entirely cognizant of their spiritual decline and moral decay.

Our greatest educational institutions have thought it best to cut themselves off from any religious connection. As a result, while we do have great laboratories, fine dormitories, and the best athletic stadia in the world—we have largely made education a form without substance. Our young people go to school out of several compulsions—(1) up to a certain age the civil authorities compel them to attend; (2) beyond that they go at the insistence of their parents; or (3) because they have no job; or (4) because it is "the thing" to do and so respectable; or (5) they go to learn how to make more

money—many of these reasons good in their relative proportion, but no one today thinks of education as a means toward a nobler, more spiritual life.

Schools and colleges, with their tremendous emphasis upon getting an education in order to make more money, have seriously damaged the spiritual ideals of our people. The vocational direction of education has an almost incalculable secularizing effect. Education has lost any thought of a motive for making money, except a selfish one. Our young people are not taught to fit themselves so that their skill and money may serve God and their fellowman but only that they may acquire both town and country houses, two automobiles, and plenty of annuities.

Our homes need even scantier description than our schools, for we are closer to them and realize their plight more poignantly. They are turning to Saturday night jamborees and Sunday afternoon cocktail parties, which is about as far from the early American tradition as hell is from heaven. Children are sent, if they come at all, to church and not brought. Morals are of the barnyard variety. Divorces claim one out of every six marriages.

The collapse of home life is one of the most serious relapses in our American way of life. Children and parents seldom meet; they eat at separate times, go to different places, and retire at unequal hours. Mutual counsel is rarely sought. Family prayers are unheard of. Discipline is lax. And the decline of our birth rate shows how reluctant married adults are to assume the burden of responsibility of child raising.

Un-Americanism is exposed likewise in what is happening to our practice of and faith in the democratic principle in government. It is pathetic and it is frightening to see the cynicism our people have toward the honesty of the ballot or the honor of publicly elected officials. Graft is accepted as a matter of course; perjured witnesses are an admitted phenomenon; income-tax settlements are smiled at. The present mayor of Chicago paid an income-tax suit and settled out of court in six figures, when his salary over some years had never been in even five figures.

I remember when he put in his income tax that it was something over \$100,000, when his salary as engineer of the Sanitary District had never been over \$8,000.

People hesitate and neglect to take individual responsibility or initiative in a system that stinks like that. The integrity of the ballot and the honor of elected officials ought to be political axioms instead of accidents.

Increasing centralization and bureaucracy in Government has led to paternalism on the one hand and dependence on the other. No one will say—at least I will not—that there are never situations when bankers, farmers, share-croppers, labor, or people on relief should not have financial help from the Government; but the emergency psychology has given way and we accept the policy of subsidy and indirect doles as the regular, inevitable thing.

Historically, the American way has no place for either bloated wealth or pitiful poverty. Interdependence is our technique—or should be—rather than making our Government into a rich uncle and the petitioner or the citizen into an indigent relative. Individual responsibility is the essence of democracy; and we have nearly lost it.



Again this ties into what has happened to the simple virtues. Thrift used to be encouraged; now we deride it. Honor used to be the rule and its violation punished; now we casually accept corruption. Temperance and moderation were inherent in the early American Puritan tradition; now we poke fun at them and give ourselves over to license and lust.

Work used to be considered the right and duty of an American. Now we tie up capital and factories on the one hand and subsidize unemployment on the other.

We have dressed the Puritan in a long black coat and ridiculed his strait-jacket virtues, but he had a clearer eye and conscience, not to mention fuller stomach and warmer heart, than millions of our fellow citizens today.

Now, after outlining our historical background and describing our contemporary lapses, I should like to give about as much time as I have to each of these other two phases to some suggestions.

And the first is this: Our public men must lead our country in moral rearmament. This phrase "moral rearmament" is being used by various people in our own land and England to describe the vigorous and realistic defenses we must erect against spiritually subversive influences. In my thinking, such influences are identical with un-Americanism.

Public men must lead in a reemphasis upon and support of religious institutions, spiritually focused education, better family life and democratic principles and fundamental virtues—because in a democratic set-up like ours the public officials are inevitably the leaders and symbols of our corporate life.

Public men have got to quit simply rendering lip service to religion and morals. They have got to support it with their lives, their attendance, and their money.

Things need to be put in their relative proportion. At the present time we are spending twice as much for military purposes—physical defenses—as we are for religious work—moral defenses. These figures represent an increase of 267 millions of dollars in our expenditures for Army, Navy, and kindred expenses, justified, I think, while at the same time there has been a decrease of 88 millions of dollars to religious support, unjustified, I am sure.

There is more pious pap written and trumpeted by public men about their interest in religion than I like to consider. But when the Sunday congregations or collections are counted, they are not there, either physically or financially.

Since 1932 in the United States we have consented to and participated in the following undermining of our benevolent institutions, thereby further accelerating un-Americanism: Since that year there has been a 30-percent decrease in contributions to religious organizations, a 29-percent decrease in gifts to general benevolences, a 24-percent decrease in the support of community chests, and an 18-percent decrease in the support of colleges. The economic situation does not explain those decreases in the least, for in those same years the American people increased their expenditures for luxury or dispensable items like cosmetics, alcohol, tobacco, theater, radio, and so forth, from 25 to 317 percent.



I am sure that you get the point I am making here in my comparison of, say, military expenditures, and my comments on these other economic expenditures is not in any fundamental sense a criticism of it. I am only appealing that we have got to keep a perspective and a balance in our American system; that it is ridiculous to spend money for physical defenses and not balance it with money for moral and spiritual defenses; and it is suicidal to reduce expenditures for these benevolent, religious, cultural, educational, and charitable institutions, and at the same time increase them for things that are dispensable and that are luxury items.

I have a collection of excellent autographs, neatly placed at the bottom of respectful letters written to me from most of the 20 members of my denomination who hold seats in the Congress of the United States. They say they are interested in a church of their persuasion in Washington; they promise attendance at its services of worship. But in practice they are just as bad as heathen who believe only in geographical or local gods, for apparently the god they worship exists only back home where they are elected. The church treasurer tells me that not in many years, nearly 10, has there come to our support a recognizable contribution from a Member of Congress. Occasional attendance, I suppose, means an occasional dollar, but they will assume no pledged responsibility.

I am sure most of them give somewhat to a church back home, but why isn't religious work in their part-time home as worthy of proper financial consideration as their Washington landlord, or their groceryman, or their tailor, or gas man, or telephone man?

A young man of great political prominence, James Roosevelt, with exceedingly large income, recently caused his income-tax reports for several years to be printed. Since they were printed at his request, I suppose there is no objection to a comment on them. One thing interested me as a minister. In not a single year had he contributed to a church. And in only 1 year did his gifts, out of income running high into five figures, exceed \$28 per annum.

Actions like his are responsible for the loss in support for benevolent organizations. And as we weaken our spiritual institutions we weaken America. Public men in the Nations' eye can, by their example, lead their fellow Americans in personal and practical support of religious work. Give the churches proper financial support and enable them to fulfill their mission in implanting, cultivating, and perpetuating wholesome Americanism.

And, second, we need new mediums of publicity and promotion. I am continually impressed at the numerous uses of the dramatic story of the French Revolution in our literature and motion pictures. We have an equally dramatic and spiritually significant history. By plays, pageants, stories and songs, motion pictures, and popular histories, newspapers and pamphlets, radio and television, we must train and educate our citizenry in historic and vital Americanism.

There is an American ideology, an American doctrine, an American tradition, an American spirit, an American code, and an American way of life. We have been rehearsing much of that in this paper, but it needs to be drilled incessantly into our people until it becomes their very breath.

I am not afraid of the occasional radical who stands up and advocates the overthrow of the Government, but I am fearful of the

spiritual lethargy and moral indifference and historical ignorance of our American people, young and old. We can recognize the radical and deal with him either by force or persuasion, by confinement, or deportation, but the inertia of our people is a condition which exasperates; they "blow neither hot nor cold."

A revival of interest in historic Americanism and an increase of effective technique can change America into the America of our Fathers overnight, if we will it and want it.

"Under God"—then—we shall have "a new birth of freedom."

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, the committee wishes to express its deep appreciation to you for your fine statement. We are very grateful to you.

Dr. ANDERSON. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. We will resume now with Mrs. Woodward.

### STATEMENT OF MRS. ELLEN S. WOODWARD—Continued

The CHAIRMAN. You may continue with your statement. I believe you were on page—

Mrs. WOODWARD. I wish at this time to terminate my statement in order that Mrs. Flanagan may have the opportunity of appearing before you.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for permitting me to appear before your committee and to submit the statement that I have submitted. As stated a few minutes ago, I want to submit the briefs into the record. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. This is your request that you are making now?

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. If you desire, you are perfectly at liberty to sit right there all day long.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. But I feel very much that nothing could be gained—

The CHAIRMAN. I think that you recognize, as well as we do, that is no reflection on you; that you don't have personal knowledge with reference to many of these things. Of course, you couldn't have.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Mr. Chairman, you have not reflected on my competency as a witness. I feel that you have not, and I want to thank you and to say that I do not feel that you have reflected upon my competency as a witness.

I know that you want certain details. I know that the members of the committee want certain details that Mrs. Flanagan is more familiar with than I. Obviously a person who has—

The CHAIRMAN. There could not be any possible reflection upon you, because, as I have said before, you naturally don't have personal knowledge and you must rely upon what people tell you with reference to that.

Mrs. WOODWARD. That is all right.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. The statement of the witness will be contained in the record in full, as she has presented it.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I didn't hear that.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just telling the reporter that your statement in full will be in the record.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes. And the briefs?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Whatever you have. Any exhibits, and any proof, and anything else that you have to offer will be accepted as an exhibit.

Mrs. WOODWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "briefs," what do you mean?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I mean these large briefs here that I have here. This one [indicating] is on the Theater Project. This one [indicating] is on the Writers Project. I ask that they be printed in the record.

Mr. THOMAS. What are they?

Mrs. WOODWARD. These exhibits that we have here I will appreciate it very much if the committee will take the time and put forth the effort to familiarize yourselves with what the contents are. We have gone to a very great deal of trouble to try to make the exhibits available to you.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate that very much, indeed.

Mrs. WOODWARD. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. And we appreciate the fact that you have sought an opportunity to be heard before this committee, and that you have come here and given us whatever information you have on this subject. Your statement will be printed in full. As to the exhibits, we will take them under advisement, as to whether to publish them in full or not, because they seem to be very voluminous.

Mrs. WOODWARD. I think that they could be published all right.

The CHAIRMAN. How many pages are there altogether?

Mrs. WOODWARD. I don't know exactly, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I move that we take that up in executive session.

Mrs. WOODWARD. It looks more bulky than it really is.

Thank you very much.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. HALLIE FLANAGAN, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, FEDERAL THEATER PROJECT

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please be seated?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mr. Chairman, have I a right to address the chair?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I was going to ask you a few preliminary questions.

Your name is Hallie Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. My name is Hallie Flanagan.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss or Mrs.?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mrs. Philip Davis.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state what your position is, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am national director of the Federal Theater Project under the Works Progress Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Since the inception of the project, Congressman Dies, on August 29, 1935.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?



The CHAIRMAN. Let me just get through with these preliminary questions. What is your question?

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Flanagan, who appointed you as national director?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I was appointed by Mr. Harry Hopkins.

Mr. THOMAS. Before you were appointed, did Mr. Hopkins approach you or did you approach Mr. Hopkins in relation to this appointment?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mr. Hopkins approached me. I made no approach to Mr. Hopkins or to any Government official on this project.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know who recommended your name to Mr. Hopkins?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not.

Mr. THOMAS. You have no idea who recommended your name to Mr. Hopkins?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Hopkins didn't tell you who recommended your name to him?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. He did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you just tell us briefly the duties of your position?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes, Congressman Dies. Since August 29, 1935, I have been concerned with combating un-American inactivity.

The CHAIRMAN. No. We will get to that in a minute.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Please listen. I said I am combating un-American inactivity.

The CHAIRMAN. Inactivity?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I refer to the inactivity of professional men and women; people who, at that time when I took office, were on the relief rolls; and it was my job to expend the appropriation laid aside by congressional vote for the relief of the unemployed as it related to the field of the theater, and to set up projects wherever in any city 25 or more of such professionals were found on the relief rolls.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I think before her statement is made, we should find out something about Mrs. Flanagan's history. I think it is of great importance that we know something about her history, and that that go in the record—where she went to college, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to get to that, but I wanted to give her an opportunity.

I think that you said you are the director of all these activities?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; thank you. May I add to that fact that the project is national in scope; and that we have projects in Washington, Oregon, California, in Colorado and Michigan, in Ohio and Illinois, in Oklahoma and North Carolina, in Maine and New Hampshire, in New York State and Massachusetts, and New Jersey and Delaware; in other words, in any place where there were a sufficient number of qualified relief applicants. I wanted to say that, gentlemen, as a background for the project.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have that all right.

Mr. STARNES. When was the Federal Theater Project set up, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It was set up on August 29, 1935.

Mr. STARNES. What was the primary purpose of setting up this Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The primary purpose was to put back to work the unemployed professional people; to put them back to work and rehabilitate them and conserve their skills. That was then and always has been the prime purpose of the theater project.

Now, if I may say so, the fact that we have returned to private industry some 2,000 people would seem to me to prove that we are considering that always as our major objective.

Mr. STARNES. You say now yourself that the primary purpose of setting up the Federal Theater Project was for the purpose of giving relief to professional theatrical people?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Of putting back to work such people; yes.

Mr. STARNES. You have made statements, however, to the contrary, have you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have never made a statement to the contrary.

Mr. STARNES. Haven't you made the statement repeatedly that the primary purpose to be considered in separating people from the relief rolls is the welfare of the Theater Project first, and that relief was secondary?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Never.

Mr. STARNES. Relief of the needy?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Never. I would like to turn to that point in the testimony with your permission.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Let us turn there, because that statement has been made.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I would like to turn to that.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it is said that in a letter you said—

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I have it here. May I quote first from the allegation?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Miss Huffman stated in the hearing in volume 1, page 781:

Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, our national director, stated in 1936 that the Federal project was set up for relief and our foremost consideration must be the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. Thomas then said:

What did she mean by that?

And Miss Huffman said:

The matter of this being for relief or to provide work for relief was to be placed in a secondary consideration.

Then she quotes a director's letter. Now, if I may explain that: The fact is that by reason of reductions in appropriated funds at that time, the project was being cut from 5,700 to 4,000; and that of the 4,000 only 200 people not certified for relief were to be retained.

Consequently, the letters sent out at that time referred to the relief persons being cut; that is, of two people, both from relief rolls, both therefore presumably equally in need, my orders to executives were to retain on the project of these two relief people, gentlemen, the one best suited to carry on the work of the project.

Mr. STARNES. But your language is specific here. I want to quote from your language.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I want to offer it in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. Just a minute. In your language you have here:

In making the necessary separations from the pay roll supervisors were directed to give primary consideration to the needs of the Federal Theater Project rather than to the relief status or need situation of the individual.

Explain what that statement means. Just what did you mean by that statement if you didn't mean the primary consideration was to be the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did not make that statement. I will turn to the whole letter, and I would like to read the whole letter into the record.

Mr. STARNES. Do you deny making that statement at all?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. This is the letter which I would like to read:

To all workers on the Federal Theater Project: Reduction of personnel. The following instructions were received from Washington June 9: This is to inform you that a new employment quota has been established for the Federal Theater Project. This quota will go into effect on July 15, 1937. Reductions to conform with the new quota should begin as soon as possible to be sure that this quota is reached by the effective date. However, workers should, whenever possible, be given 2 weeks' notice.

The July 15 quota for maximum employment for the Federal Theater Project in New York City is 4,016. The procedure of reaching the new quota will be as follows:

First, the elimination of nonessentials on relief——

Mr. STARNES. Oh, you had nonrelief people in on these plays and on these projects, did you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. As high as 37 percent at one time, didn't you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We had at one time a national over-all exemption which allowed us to take on 25 percent—distributing that percent over the entire Nation.

Mr. STARNES. Now, at one time——

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Just a minute.

Mr. STARNES. At one time you had 37 percent on one of your projects?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think at one time in New York that was the figure.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the percentage in New York at the present time?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The percentage is very low at the present time. It is, I believe, 13½. I would like to call on Mr. Paul Edwards, who is present, for that exact figure. But may I give that letter because it is very important.

Mr. STARNES. But——

The CHAIRMAN. Just one at a time, gentlemen.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you know of any of these projects of any character that does not have nonrelief people on it, supervising it, and things of that kind? They all have those people, don't they?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. They do, Congressman, but may I read this letter because I wouldn't want to leave with this committee a totally false impression; that is, that I have never put the artistic record on this project before the human record. Every word that I have written on this project, every word that I have said for 3 years, has attested to the fact that the artistic job that we do can be no better than the human job that we are doing.



Consequently, my orders were first the elimination of nonessential nonrelief; and, second, the elimination of all nonessential administrative and supervisory staffs on the whole project and on individual projects.

It was only after giving those two orders, my first two points, that I then said:

Coming to the consideration of cutting direct and other theatrical personnel—that is the relief personnel—

we should be guided by, first, actual value to the Federal Theater Project; second, professional training and achievement in acting.

Those are my words here in this letter, which is in my brief, which I trust can be written into your record. That is entirely between two people both of relief qualifications.

My prime job is dealing with relief people, and always has been.

Mr. STARNES. You issued another order, didn't you? You issued director's letter No. 2, didn't you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. This is director's letter No. 2. I have just read it.

Mr. STARNES. What about No. 1? You never did send out No. 1?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It has nothing to do with this. It is not in the record, is it?

Mr. STARNES. There is nothing in No. 1 about separation from rolls?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Nothing. That was a misunderstanding of some one who read this, who did not read it carefully, did not understand that the crux—

Mr. STARNES. Did you later, in December of 1937, appear before a congressional committee and advocate the establishment of the National Theater Project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I never did.

Mr. STARNES. You never did?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I never did. I appeared before the congressional committee called, I believe, by Congressman Sirovich, at his request, and at the order of my superior officers, Mrs. Woodward and Mr. Hopkins.

I presented at that time a brief explaining the whole conception and development of the project; and that brief, gentleman, is also appended in my record. At that time I never advocated the National Theater Project; nor have I—

Mr. STARNES. You never advocated it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have never advocated it, and for a very simple reason. Would you like me to go into it?

Mr. STARNES. No. I just want to know if it is a fact. Do you deny it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have never advocated it. I have never even referred to the Federal theater as a national theater.

Mr. STARNES. You never have?

Now, let us get into your background, as bearing somewhat on this proposition, because the question has been raised of the artistic qualifications as a background. We are not questioning your background in the slightest, but at the same time as a matter of record, we think such things should be made of record.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think you are quite within your rights.

Mr. STARNES. You are a graduate of Grinnell College?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am.

Mr. STARNES. And you have had some experience, I believe, according to the testimony of Mrs. Woodward, in Radcliffe or in Chicago.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; I took my master's degree in Radcliffe.

Mr. STARNES. That was in what year?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That was in 1923. I became production assistant to Professor Baker, who was at that time in charge of 47 workshops and assisted in the production of plays.

Mr. STARNES. You did not take charge of a class in dramatic training?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Your work at Vassar has been in the experimental field?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It has been in the department of English. I was professor of English and in charge of the experimental theater.

Mr. THOMAS. At the present time are you a professor of English there?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am. On leave.

Mr. THOMAS. And you spend how much time at that work?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I spend possibly a month in the summer when I take leave. I have spent no time at Vassar at which I have not taken leave from my Federal job.

Mr. THOMAS. Don't you go there each month to lecture?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. That is outside of the 1 month that you spend there entirely?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; I have a month's leave.

Mr. THOMAS. You lecture how often at Vassar?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It is irregular. It depends entirely upon the planning that is done during the summer for the projects. I am not connected actively with them. I am a professor on leave, but I am helping to shape the policy of the dramatic department.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you spend as much as a day a week at Vassar?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No.

Mr. THOMAS. A day a month?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; I should say possibly 2 days a month.

Mr. STARNES. You are the first woman in America to receive the Guggenheim Foundation scholarship? Is that correct?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. You went abroad for 12 or 14 months to study the theater?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did.

Mr. STARNES. What date was that?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That was in 1926 and 1927.

Mr. STARNES. You spent most of that time in what country?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. In Russia.

Mr. STARNES. In Russia. Was the statement true which was attributed to you in the New York Daily Times of September 22, 1935, on or about the time of your appointment, in which it was said that you said that the continental theater was a tiresome and boresome matter, but the Russian theater was a live and vital theater?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Congressman Starnes, that remark, if it is an exact quotation, is so casually given that I could not identify it. I have here in my brief a statement of the countries visited, of the records——

Mr. STARNES. How much time did you spend in Russia, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I spent two months and a half in Russia out of the 14 months. But let me say, gentlemen, that——

Mr. STARNES. Did you spend more time there studying the theater than you did in any other country?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did, because there are many more theaters in Russia than there are in any other country.

Mr. STARNES. Did you or not make the statement that the theaters in Russia are more vital and important?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; I did find that. And I think that opinion would be borne out by any dramatic critic that you cared to call to this chair.

Mr. STARNES. What is it about the Russian theater that makes it more vital and important than the theaters of the continent and the theaters of the United States?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would be glad to do that, but before doing it I would like to say that this is the first time since the Federal Theater started that I have had occasion to answer that question.

I have maintained consistently that we are starting an American theater, which must be founded on American principles, which has nothing to do with the Russian theater.

Mr. STARNES. I know, but you are not answering the question, Mrs. Flanagan.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, I will go back and answer it.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The Russians, if we are to go into this discourse here, are a very gifted people. They are temperamentally equipped for the stage. They have had a long and an exciting history of theatrical development. And I found a great variety of Russian productions extremely interesting.

For instance, I went to their ballet a great deal. They gave a beautiful ballet based on fairy tales. They have a great many——

Mr. STARNES. All those fairy tales have a little moral to them, don't they? What we call a moral?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not that I know of.

Mr. STARNES. I don't know whether it would be a moral in Russia or not.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. In the ballet that is not true.

Mr. STARNES. We are talking about the theater. Let us stay with the theater.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. In the theater I saw a great many classics, and I saw a great many plays that advocated the Soviet form of government. That is quite true. I was concerned and had been sent by the Guggenheim Foundation to make a comparative study of the tendencies——

Mr. STARNES. That is not answering the question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think the witness ought to be allowed to finish her answer.

Mr. STARNES. I think the witness's answer should be responsive to the question.



Mr. THOMAS. You are interrupting her all the time. I should like to hear what the witness has to say.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The Guggenheim Foundation had sent me to make a study of the comparative tendencies in people on play production in some 12 European countries in the course of a single year.

In the course of that year I went to England, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to Latvia, Hungary, to Austria, to Germany, Italy, France, as well as to Russia.

The record of that trip is embodied in a book called "Shifting Scenes", and I have here the clippings from all over the world and from every leading paper in the United States on that book.

And I can only say, gentlemen, and leave it to your own proof as you go over the testimony, that not one newspaper critic, when that book came out in 1927, not one critic picked out anything that was in that book that was subversive or un-American.

Would you like to have me read quotations from the press clippings?

Mr. STARNES. No; because that is not responsive to my question.

I want to say this to the gentlemen on the committee and to the witness: I have no disposition to interrupt the witness in answering questions provided the answers are responsive to my questions.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I appreciate that.

Mr. STARNES. But when it is not responsive to the questions I reserve the privilege of calling the witness's attention to that fact and asking her to answer my question. Then if she wants to go on and make explanatory remarks, she may.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. But she was answering several questions, and you interrupted the witness when you didn't like the answer. I would like to hear what the answer is.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to also, if it is responsive.

The CHAIRMAN. The correct procedure is that which is followed in court. The witness's testimony is supposed to be responsive; and then if the witness has any explanation to make, she may make it.

Mr. STARNES. Part of the witness's statement was responsive and part was absolutely not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The witness makes her statement and you don't let her finish it. You interrupt her, and I object to that.

Mr. STARNES. I think such a remark is a little uncalled for.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You interrupt her.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed now.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Do you want me to continue with a discussion of the Russian theater?

Mr. STARNES. No; I have some questions, Mrs. Flanagan.

Did you make any later trips to Russia to study the theater?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I went to Russia in 1931.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend the Olympiad there?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend as a delegate?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. You went as an observer?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I went as an observer.

Mr. STARNES. Did you accompany a delegate to the Olympiad?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; I went with a group of American women, and I later recorded a record of that trip in the Theater Guild magazine; and the magazine articles were reviewed very widely without one newspaper picking up anything subversive or un-American about their tone.

Mr. STARNES. Was this at the time of the Fifth Red Internationale of Labor Unions that you attended?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I wouldn't know that. I was going to see the theater. That was my one concern.

Mr. STARNES. Was that at the time of the Charcov Conference?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. Or at the time of the first Olympiad of the theaters of the Union National U. S. S. R.?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. It was.

Mr. STARNES. Was this Olympiad a section of the Fifth Red International?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not that I would know of.

Mr. STARNES. You cannot say it was or was not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I couldn't say that; no.

Mr. STARNES. Have you made other trips to Russia besides that?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have been in Africa and Greece and Sicily and Italy in 1934. I did not go to Russia on that trip. I was again studying the theater, particularly the Greek chorus.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you stay in Russia in 1931?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Three weeks.

Mr. STARNES. At the time of your trip in 1931, I believe you said it was, did you meet at any of those theater festivals any of the Americans that you saw here or that you employed in the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Did you meet Elmer Rice there?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Was he at that play?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. You have not been there since 1931?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have not.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you a member of any Russian organization at the present time?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am not.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you been a member of any Russian organization?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have not.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever been trustee of a Russian university or Russian college?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I was at one time on the board of Dr. Stephen Dugan, who was at that time connected with the International Educational Board. Dr. Dugan, together with Pierce Idelin, of Bryn Mawr, Professor Harper, of Chicago, and a number of other people whose names I have forgotten, had a theory that it would clear up a great many misapprehensions if there were a system of exchanging

professors between such schools as Harvard and Yale and the University of Moscow.

That plan, however, did not materialize. There was but one meeting of that committee, and consequently I know nothing else about it.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean that Harvard would take some professors from the University of Moscow, and the University of Moscow would take some professors from Harvard?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That was the general plan, at that time, I believe.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the purpose of the plan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The purpose of the plan was to clarify the existing definitions. It was just after we had recognized the Soviet Union, and I believe that Mr. Dugan's idea was that we should know what it was that we had recognized. And I believe he thought at the same time it might be well for Russia to understand very clearly what the American system of government was.

As I say, it was a plan which did not materialize, and I cannot give any more information on that.

Mr. THOMAS. But you were on that board?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I was.

Mr. THOMAS. Why did the plan fail?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I could not tell you, because Mr. Dugan called a meeting and said that the plan which had seemed feasible to him no longer seemed so; and consequently the whole thing was dropped.

Mr. THOMAS. Was the meeting of the board held in the United States or held in Russia?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It was held in the United States, in the Hotel Astor.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you consult with anyone in Russia about that plan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did not. I was not in the close councils of that body at all. They simply asked me to be on the board.

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mrs. Flanagan, would you go back to this question again of un-American communistic activities on the Federal Theater Project? The charge has been made that the Daily Worker and "red" pins and other communistic propaganda have been disseminated on the project in project time there in the Federal Theater Project. Do you know whether or not that is true, of your own personal knowledge?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Congressman Starnes, I am submitting in this brief administrative orders which absolutely forbid the dissemination of any such literature on project time or money.

I have never seen such literature distributed. I have never seen such notices on bulletin boards.

I know that in the testimony of some of your witnesses these allegations have been made, and I can only tell you that when such an allegation is made, it should be at once followed through the supervisor of that project; and any person who is found guilty of such use, improper use of project time or property, would be dismissed.

Mr. STARNES. All right. In other words, if such has been done, it has been done without your knowledge and without your consent?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That is absolutely true.

Mr. STARNES. Against express orders on your part?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Against such express orders, Congressman.



Mr. STARNES. You don't say, though, it has not been done?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I could not of my own knowledge.

Mr. STARNES. But I want to establish the fact, which will clear you of that charge, if such charges are made against you before this committee, that you did not order it done. To the contrary, you said such should not be done?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. To the contrary, the specific bulletins are here attached saying that that is absolutely contrary to the work of this project.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Now, you were speaking of the Russian theater a moment ago. Do you believe that the theater is a weapon?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Shall I discuss the American theater or talk about the Russian?

Mr. STARNES. No. I refer to the theater generally. Do you believe that the theater is a weapon?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I believe that the theater is a great educational force. I think it is an entertainment. I think it is an excitement. I think it may be all things to all men.

Mr. STARNES. The Russians use it as a means of teaching class consciousness, do they not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think they do.

Mr. STARNES. Practically every play you saw was along those lines, was it not, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I should say that that was the main theme of the Russian theater.

Mr. STARNES. And they use the system of selling block groups of seats at reduced prices to the working classes. Is that right?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That has been done in Russia, in Germany, and in France.

Mr. STARNES. Not in Germany in Rhineheart theaters?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. He, of course, was accused at least of being a radical Communist?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Rhinehart used them for years. Volkspiel used them.

Mr. STARNES. You make mention of the fact in your own book *Shifting Scenes*, of the struggle. You say:

The tasks of these actors, drawn from many provinces and fields of labor, is to build a theater which shall draw a vast audience, unaccustomed to theatergoing, in the principles of communism. The struggle that Russia is making for a universal culture is bigger than anything that you say about it. You must serve this thing bigger than itself.

What "this thing" that you serve means I don't know unless it is training those people in communism who are not Communists.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I was reporting, Mr. Starnes, on the Russian theater.

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Forty to sixty percent of all theater seats are sold at low rates to the trade unions and passed on for a nominal price to the workers. Hard that the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie must pay more than the worker? Yes; but the greatest need must be met first. The state must accommodate first those who have in the past been denied theatergoing.

That is a quotation from your *Shifting Scenes*.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is the purpose, of course, of the Russian theater?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It has been 10 years since I have read that book myself, but I would accept your word if you say that that is in there. I think it is a very good account of what happened in Russia.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Let me read from that play. I will call the page. This is on page 114, beginning with the second paragraph. Let me refer you to the article and you see if I read it correctly.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Oh, no, Congressman Starnes. I don't see any need of that. I won't question it. I was just being facetious. I am rather honored by having it read.

Mrs. STARNES. I am quoting an article in which you said that the theater was a weapon for teaching class consciousness, and that it should be used for the purpose of giving the public something that is vital and alive; that the theater should stress strikes and anti-lynching scenes and class consciousness.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think you are referring now again to a piece of reporting, Congressman Starnes; and I would like to turn to the place in my own brief where I have mentioned that. May I do so?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. You may do so.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. This is on page 19 of my brief.

Mrs. Huffman alleged that in being present at a meeting of the workers' theaters in November 1931, I assisted in setting up this workers' theater. She attributes to me the calling together of the various organizations present at the meeting.

This is completely untrue. I was in no way connected with the setting up of these workers' theaters. I went, as did many professional theater people, to any opening meeting as an onlooker interested in theaters in general, and I reported my observations, at the request of Miss Edith Isaacs, to the Theater Arts Monthly.

That article is Miss Huffman's and not mine.

Mr. STARNES. You wrote for the Theater Arts Monthly of November 1931, did you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That is the article I have just been quoting.

Mr. STARNES. I quote this from that same article, on page 908 of the Theater Arts Monthly.

The theater being born in America today is a theater of workers. Its object is to create a national culture by and for the working class of America. Admittedly a weapon in the class struggle, this theater is being forged in the factories and the mines. Its mouthpiece is the Workers' Theatre, a magazine mimeographed monthly by the Workers' Laboratory Theatre of New York.

Is that a correct statement?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That is a correct statement. Again, Congressman Starnes, I was reporting for the Theater Arts Monthly on a very important theatrical movement of workers throughout America.

It has nothing whatsoever to do with the Federal Theater. It is a piece of reporting. I have had nothing to do with setting up workers' theaters. I was teaching at Vassar College.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; but this is a quotation from you. What I am quoting from is an article headed "A Theater is Born," by Hallie Flanagan.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Exactly; but the theater was not born through me, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. That is true. The point I am making is this—

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mr. Starnes, I quite understand. Let us not get into a controversy over this, because it is so simple.

At that time, if you will read the whole article, you will see that at that time, in 1931, the workers' theaters were being set up in mines and schools and all sorts of places in America. The Theater Arts Monthly asked me if I would go to this meeting and report on it. If you will read on a little bit further, you will see that it describes a meeting of some of these workers' theaters. It even describes some of the plays that they were doing. Every word that you have read is there as it was quoted. That is a report of the setting up of this workers' theater.

MR. STARNES. This thing here purports to be an article written by you as a reporter. We will seen, then, if we can make a distinction. You are the author of that article?

MRS. FLANAGAN. I am.

MR. STARNES. This is an expression of your thoughts right down here?

MRS. FLANAGAN. Quite true.

MR. STARNES. This is a statement made here by you with no quotations from anyone?

MRS. FLANAGAN. That is right.

MR. STARNES. That is your theory? That is an expression of your belief about the new theater of America?

MRS. FLANAGAN. More than a theory, Congressman Starnes. It was an actual fact.

MR. STARNES. That is right.

MRS. FLANAGAN. I had seen these projects. I was quoting factual material.

MR. STARNES. Now, there is another statement you have made here, that some of the plays that were put out by the Federal Theater Project are propagandistic or that they breed class consciousness—is that true or untrue?

MRS. FLANAGAN. When we remember—

MR. STARNES. Not all of them, because the testimony is that 924 plays have been produced, and only 26, as I recall, were in question. Let us confine ourselves to those that are in question.

MRS. FLANAGAN. I do want to go into the matter of the 26 plays as much as this committee will allow me to do. But before I go into that I would like to say that I could not say that we never did a propaganda play. But I should like to go to the actual definition of "propaganda."

Propaganda, after all, is education. It is education focused on certain things.

For example, some of you gentlemen have doubtless seen One-third of the Nation; and I certainly would not sit here and say that that was not a propaganda play.

I think in the discussion yesterday the word "propaganda" was used in this connotation only—that any play which was propaganda was necessarily propaganda for communism.

I should like to say very truthfully that to the best of my knowledge we have never done a play which was propaganda for communism, but we have done plays which were propaganda for democracy, propaganda for better housing—

MR. THOMAS. I think you ought to develop that point right there. You said that some plays were propaganda for democracy. What do you mean by that? Propaganda for what forms of democracy



and what particular things? Like housing, as you just mentioned?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What others?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would say—shall we go into a discussion of democracy?

Mr. THOMAS. No. Just name some of the things that the Federal Theater Project has put out propaganda plays for.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. Well, let us say first, One-third of the Nation. In that the definite propaganda was for better housing for American citizens.

Mr. THOMAS. What others?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would say that in general, Mr. Thomas, The Living Newspaper would be propaganda for——

Mr. THOMAS. But you are not answering the question. You mentioned housing?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. How about Power?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I would say that Power was propaganda for a better understanding of the derivation and the scientific meaning of power and for its wide use.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it for public ownership of power?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That portrayed as effectively as possible both sides of that controversy, and quoted both sides.

Mr. THOMAS. How about this new play, Medicine? What is that going to be like? What is that going to be for?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I wish I could answer that question. I am sorry to say that the play is not at the present time ready, and I could not possibly tell you.

But I can tell you that it will not be a passionate brief; for it will be rather in the nature of a scientific inquiry as to the whole history of medicine.

You probably know many people that quarrel with the definition of The Living Newspaper because they say that we have gone into the matter too historically.

Mr. THOMAS. Will it also be propaganda for the socialism of medicine?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, I couldn't tell you that, because the play is not complete, and I have not seen the scenario.

I believe that the Prologue to Glory could be called a propaganda play in its intense emphasis of the distinct value of sturdy American qualities and for simple living.

Mr. THOMAS. How about Injunction Granted?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Injunction Granted is propaganda for fair labor relations and for fairness to labor in the courts.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it does teach class consciousness, doesn't it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am trying to give you my definition of propaganda and just what it teaches.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. Well that is what this play teaches, isn't it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. You objected to some of these words, and I agreed with you that they were very trite, and I was trying to explain more clearly and more definitely what I mean by propaganda.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. But the play, Injunction Granted, was an attack against our present system of courts, wasn't it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No. I should say that that play was a definite historical study of the history of labor in the courts.

Mr. STARNES. I know, but don't you believe that it does attack the present system of courts?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not believe that it fosters class hatred. No I do not believe so.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Now, I want to read from your article *A Theater Is Born*, on page 908:

Strong he must be, however, for the theater, if it is to be of use to the worker, must be divorced from the nonessentials which have become synonymous with it—divorced from expensive buildings, stage equipment, painted sets, elaborate costumes and properties, made up plays; above all, divorced from actors who want to show off or make money. If the theater can throw all these things into the discard it may perhaps become, as it has been at certain great moments of its history, a place where an idea is so ardently enacted that it becomes the belief of actors and audiences alike.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, that is a better article than I remember.

Mr. STARNES. You subscribe to that? You agreed with it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Read it again. I would like to know whether the gentlemen around this table would not subscribe to it.

Mr. STARNES. You are citing that here. It is the contention of your article about the new theater being born in America for the working class in America.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. In 1931, when such theaters were already springing up.

Mr. STARNES. I can read that again if you would like to have me, but I want to read some other excerpts. Of course, if I read this again, it will be just repetition.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No. That is all right. Don't read it.

Mr. STARNES. I continue to read:

Where are these theaters to exist? According to the pamphlet I am quoting, everywhere.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Notice, please, that I am quoting.

Mr. STARNES. That is right. No; I am quoting for you. I mean, this is your quotation.

If you are a worker in a shop, a factory, or a mine, where struggle for existence makes one day as dark as the next; if you are oppressed by capitalism and want to cry out in protest—organize a dramatic group.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. May I interrupt one minute? Please notice that that is a quotation.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct. I said so.

Start dramatic groups in unions, in fraternal organizations, in social clubs, in company unions, in Y. M. C. A.'s. Start dramatic groups in the north, south, east, and west. Let dramatic groups dot the land from coast to coast. Don't expect profit in money. These theaters exist to awaken the workers.

Now, you wrote that in your article? I mean, you quoted that with approval in your article, did you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did. I quoted it in my article—

Mr. STARNES. With approval?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I quoted it because it was a piece of reporting in which I was showing how these theaters came into being, and I was quoting from their own magazine.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. You are the protagonist for this new theater. Isn't that correct? Didn't they use some of your plays in this new theater that was being born in America at that time, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. Didn't they use some?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did approve of the workers' theater.

Mr. STARNES. Can You Hear Their Voices?—that was used, wasn't it.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That was done in Baptist churches and educational institutions and all sorts of—

Mr. STARNES. Yes; but I am asking, Wasn't this new theater using your plays, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not at this time, but it is possible that they did—

Mr. STARNES. Didn't they use them?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not that I know of.

Mr. STARNES. I will quote directly from your article. This is from the same article. This is you speaking. I quote. This is on page 909:

More than a prophecy, however, these words, for theaters of workers exist in America today. On June 13, 1931, I attended in New York a conference of workers' cultural societies, the object of which was to organize these groups as a base for the federation in the near future of all the workers' theaters in the United States. At this meeting, delegates from 224 workers' cultural groups in New York and vicinity were present and reports were read from scores of other theaters throughout the country. The John Reed Club, which, together with the New Masses, sponsored this initial meeting, states that there are in the United States today, some 2,000 cultural organizations of workers.

Now, John Reed, of course, is a Communist?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I was reporting on a meeting. I must go back and back to that point.

Mr. STARNES. Please answer my question. John Reed was a Communist, wasn't he?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. He was.

Mr. STARNES. He was a Communist all through?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. He was.

Mr. STARNES. And the New Masses is alleged to be a Communist publication, isn't it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Alleged to be.

Mr. STARNES. Now, I again quote from your article:

The international aspect of the meeting was evident, not only from the many messages read from foreign theater groups—but from the nationality of the speakers and actors themselves—Germans, Finns, Hungarians, Russians, Negroes, and Chinese.

The red banner, Workers of the World Units, across the wall back of the platform, and the many messages from theaters in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, suggested that these workers' theaters were to be modeled entirely upon those of the Russian Soviets.

Did you make that statement or didn't you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did make the statement, and it was a true statement. As I have told you, I was sent by the Theater Arts Monthly to record that meeting; and I recorded it truthfully; and it was published by the Theater Arts Monthly, and many people commented on it; and, so far as I know, no one picked up the point which you



are trying to allege, which is, if I understand you—because the only possible point of reading it, of course, is to show that it has to do in some way with the Federal Theater Project; and I claim that it has nothing whatsoever to do with it.

Mr. STARNES. It has nothing to do with the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Read the next sentence there. Read article after article in which I have said that our theater was made in America.

Mr. STARNES. But you also said in article after article that these theaters in America must stress class consciousness? Isn't that right?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Show me a quotation.

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you if you haven't advocated that.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not.

Mr. STARNES. Do you advocate it or do you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not.

Mr. STARNES. You do not? You do not believe that plays in America should have the social significance that you say the plays of Russia have?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Now you are using another of those polite phrases that I thought you barred out yesterday. But if you want to take up that phrase, I will tell you what I mean by it, because I was guilty of using it myself once. When I say that a play is socially conscious I mean that it has something to do with the world today; and I think that it is—

Mr. STARNES. It is a changing world, isn't it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It is a changing world, and the theater must change with it, Congressman, if it is to be any good.

Mr. STARNES. That is right. People have got to change. That is true.

I notice that you quote here, apparently with approval, some comment in reference to theaters in this country by Michael Gold. Who is he?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Michael Gold? I think he is a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. A Communist critic. He writes up the theater?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. He is.

Mr. STARNES. I quote further after you have quoted from Michael Gold about the technique of the theater. I will be frank with you. I don't know anything about the technique, and it is not necessary to encumber the record with that, because none of us do. But I quote further from page 910:

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Is this the same article?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. The same article. I am quoting from Michael Gold as quoted by you. Michael Gold says:

"We must have not only ideas, but fitting stage forms for those ideas," he said. "A worker will not come to a workers' theater where the production is poor when he can go to a bourgeois theater where the production is good. It is not enough that we are doing a new thing. We must do it in a new way and we must do it well."

That is the end of Gold's quotation. Here comes your article.

How are they to be trained, these workers, unused to the simplest technique of the stage, men and women who work by day in shops, factories, or mines, and come together at night to make a theater? They will not be trained

in the art of illusion, for their object is to remain themselves—workers—expressing workers' problems. Their object is to attack those evils from which they themselves are suffering: wage cuts, unemployment, deportation, lynching, race prejudice, legal discrimination, war, and all oppression and injustice. Being craftsmen, however, they are not oblivious to the fact that the dramatic medium is a new craft to them. They will learn this craft from the only theater at hand, the theater of the class they are attacking.

Did you make that statement?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I wrote it in my article in which I was reporting on the situation in the workers' theaters in 1931.

Mr. STARNES. You are the author of that article?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am.

Mr. STARNES. That is your thought and what you believe? You are giving your ideas on this new theater that is born in America or being born?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am reporting.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference? When you are making your opening statement here you don't say that this is the opinion of someone else, do you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I beg your pardon, but in the opening statement I quote the opinion on the page there; I quote from their own magazine. I can only draw on truth, and what I was trying to get at was what the theater was doing, this workers' theater. I quote from their own magazine and pamphlet and from Michael Gold and from various people who were aiding them at that time. I had nothing whatsoever to do with setting up the workers' theater, nor with their projects; nor was I ever associated with one.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything to do with this Workers' Laboratory Theater in New York?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Now?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am not concerned with any theater except the Federal Theater; nor have I ever been connected with the Workers' Theater in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you use any of the artists of the Workers' Laboratory Theater in New York? Do you use any of their plays? Do you collaborate with them in any way or do any of the members of the Workers' Theater sit on your board up here?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am under the impression, which may be wrong, that the Workers' Laboratory Theater is not now in existence.

The CHAIRMAN. It is supplanted by what?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, I couldn't answer that. But we have on the Federal Theater no collaboration with any of those groups.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people are engaged in these Federal Theater Projects in New York?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Over 4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Out of how many altogether?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Out of a total of some 9,000 throughout the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. There are about 9,000 throughout the United States?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You recently made a report of your activities and you gave the number of people you estimated you have played to

since the establishment of the project. How many people do you figure you had as audiences in the United States for these plays?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The recorded figure, Congressman Dies, was something like 25,000,000 people.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you have reached approximately 25 percent of our population with your plays?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Something like that.

One of the great problems, if you will permit me to speak for just a minute—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. One of the great problems is that, while in the other art projects it is possible to establish them in every State in the Union, which we would also like to do here, it is not possible with us, because, while an artist can paint or a musician play or a writer write if there is no audience or only one or two people involved, we cannot set up theaters except in States where there are 25 or more people of satisfactory type on the relief rolls.

So that one of our problems is this centralization of the theater industry. Our big centers are New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago; and we, as much as possible, want to tour people out from those regions and want to set up small projects in the country.

However, it is very difficult to tour, because, as you know, it is very expensive business. We are touring a great deal out of the regional centers, covering the rural areas in Michigan and Illinois and so on. But we have not gone as extensively into touring as we would like to do.

May I go on for just a minute?

The CHAIRMAN. Where have your audiences been? What localities have you played mostly?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We have played to, I think I am safe in saying, the widest variety of American audiences that any theater has ever played before.

The CHAIRMAN. In what localities, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The chief localities are, first, New York City, and next Los Angeles and Chicago, because that is where the greatest unemployment exists. They are the three largest centers. But if you are speaking now of the audiences themselves—I want to pick up that point, if you don't mind—

The CHAIRMAN. It is quite all right, but I merely want to know the places where you have played. But if you want to discuss audiences, it is all right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do want to discuss them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Because that allegation was made here by one of your witnesses, which I would not like to remain in the minds of any of you around this table, because my impression is that you are trying to get at all the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. And if this statement is untrue, we want you to refute it.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I want to quote from her allegation. Miss Huffman says: "They couldn't get any audiences for anything except communistic plays."



Now, gentlemen, I absolutely deny that allegation, and I have here the proof that that is an absolutely false statement.

We have, as sponsoring bodies for the Federal Theater, lists of organizations covering 20 pages of this brief, which I intend to write into the record; and I will summarize them for you, if you like.

Two hundred and sixty-three social clubs and organizations, 264 welfare and civic organizations, 271 educational organizations, 95 religious organizations, 91 organizations from business industries, 16 mass organizations, 66 trade-unions, 62 professional unions, 17 consumers unions, 25 fraternal unions, and 15 political organizations.

Note, gentlemen, that every religious shade is covered and every political affiliation and every type of educational and civic body in the support of our theater. It is the widest and most American base that any theater has ever built upon; and I do request you not only to write that into the record, but to read the list of public schools and universities and churches and the civic and social groups that are supporting this Federal Theater.

Mr. STARNES. I want to quote finally from your article, "A Theater is Born," on page 915 of the Theater Arts Monthly, edition of November 1931.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Is this the same article, Mr. Starnes?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. I want to quote this. This will be the final quotation. It is after you discuss the type of plays that are being used in this country at that particular time.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. By workers' unions.

Mr. STARNES. For instance they deal with unemployment and labor laws and those sort of things. This is your language that I am quoting.

The power of these theaters springing up everywhere throughout the country lies in the fact that they know what they want. Their purpose—restricted, some will call it, though it is open to question whether any theater which attempts to create a class culture can be called restricted—is clear. This is important because there are only two theaters in the country today that are clear as to aim: one is the commercial theatre which wants to make money; the other is the workers' theater which wants to make a new social order.

The workers' theaters are neither infirm nor divided in purpose. Unlike any art form existing in America today, the workers' theaters intend to shape the life of this country, socially, politically, and industrially. They intend to remake a social structure without the help of money—and this ambition alone invests their undertaking with a certain Marlowesque madness.

Mr. STARNES. You are quoting from this Marlowe. Is he a Communist?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am very sorry. I was quoting from Christopher Marlowe.

Mr. STARNES. Tell us who Marlowe is, so we can get the proper reference, because that is all that we want to do.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Put in the record that he was the greatest dramatist in the period of Shakespeare, immediately preceding Shakespeare.

Mr. STARNES. Put that in the record, because the charge has been made that this article of yours is entirely communistic, and we want to help you.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Thank you. That statement will go in the record.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, we had what some people call Communists back in the days of the Greek theater.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Quite true.

Mr. STARNES. And I believe Mr. Euripedes was guilty of teaching class consciousness also, wasn't he?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I believe that was alleged against all of the Greek dramatists.

Mr. STARNES. So we cannot say when it began.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Wasn't it alleged also of Gibson and against practically every great dramatist?

Mr. STARNES. I think so. All right.

Now, I am quoting again:

When we see, as we probably shall during the next year, their street plays and pageants, their performances on trucks and on street corners, we shall doubtless find them crude, violent, childish, and repetitious. Yet we must admit that here is a theater which can afford to be supremely unconcerned with what we think of it. It does not ask our advice, our interest, our advertising, or our money. We need not deplore the lack of art in the workers' theater for we shall not be invited to witness its performances. It is only in the event of the success of its herculean aim—the reorganization of our social order—that we shall become involuntary audience.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, you understand, Mr. Starnes, that that did not take place, did it? The great hope of the workers' theater, together with the commercial theater, failed; and some 10,000 theater professionals landed right in the lap of the United States Government; and I can again say that I am concerned today, and have been for 3 years, with the rehabilitation of those people.

Mr. STARNES. Of course you are, but this is what you said in this article.

If there are no communistic activities on your projects, we want to know it. If there are, we think that that fact should be made public. And if the facts are made public, we feel that surely you, as the directing head, will take the necessary remedial action to rid the projects of such un-American activities.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. You are quite right.

Mr. STARNES. That is all I have to ask, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any questions, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. I have a few questions.

You heard the testimony yesterday relative to Byrnes McDonald's letter to you in connection with the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did. In fact, I have a complete copy of that in my brief.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have the answer there that you sent to Byrnes McDonald?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No. I have not. That is, I think, a great oversight on our part. We would like definitely to have that letter written into the record.

It was a letter in which I simply said that I was sorry that the police commissioner had been disturbed; but all I could say about it was that the play was for children, and that the children had found it pleasant and entertaining.

And may I speak to that point now, because it took up so much of the testimony yesterday, and I really would like to say something about the Revolt of the Beavers.

I was very sorry that Mr. Brooks Atkinson, whose skill as a critic and whose learning are valued very greatly, was disturbed by this

play, and that the police commissioner was disturbed; but we did not write this play for dramatic critics, nor did we write it for policemen. We wrote it for children; and I wish to write into the record what the children thought about the play.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, you know they were not criticizing it because they thought that it was not an amusing play for policemen?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. They were criticizing it because they said that they thought that it was poisoning the minds of youth.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Now, I wish to write into the record a survey on the Revolt of the Beavers which was conducted under the supervision of Dr. Francis Holder of the department of psychology of New York University, together with 14 honor students of the college, on the reactions of the children.

They made many tests covering a number of public schools; and I would like to read you the questions which they asked, not only about this play, but about every play which we do, because one function of the committee, as you mentioned yesterday, is to be sure that the plays that we do are good for children.

Mr. STARNES. They asked those questions of whom?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Of 50 children in the public schools. And I have the answers of each one of the 50 briefed for you. I don't propose to read the whole thing, but I do propose to read the questions and a number of the answers. It is very short and I think it will interest you, because I know, and I want you to know, that I would not wish to poison the minds of children.

These are the questions:

Could the child see and hear everything in the play clearly?

You understand that these are not just on the Revolt of the Beavers. This has to do with every play that we do.

The CHAIRMAN. But this questionnaire was sent out in connection with the Revolt of the Beavers?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. But the answers that I will read have to do only with that. You couldn't understand the answers unless I first read the questions in here.

2. Was the story or idea of the play thoroughly understood by the child?

3. Was any part of the play unclear to the child?

4. If possible, get the child to express an opinion or preference on the acting and scenery, lighting, music, dancing, and the meaning of the play; what characters were liked or disliked by the child, and why; whether anything in the play has left the child upset or afraid. Would he like to see and hear more plays of this type, or would not the child like to see them?

Now, I have all fifty answers and they are all quite simple. I won't read all of them, but I would like to sketch through them.

The first answer was:

The play teaches us never to be selfish; never to be selfish because you don't get anything out of it.

The acting—how to get around on the stage. That is what I like, the acting big people do as small children, and how good they acted as beavers on roller skates.

I thought that the grown people acted their parts as children very well, especially on roller skates.

That it is better to be good than bad. That beavers have manners just like children. To teach that if you are unkind any time in your life, you will always regret it. Never to be selfish.



To show you the ways of beavers in Beaverland. The way that big people act to make them look just like children and beavers, and the way they act, and the way they work.

How the children would want the whole world to be 9 years old and happy.

To get the beavers to be like children 9 years old, thinking it would be more fun if everyone was 9 years old and a land of talking beavers on roller skates.

How the beavers live in Beaverland. How a boy and girl can make beavers be happy.

I could read all of this, but it would eventually be repetition. But I want to put special stress on the fact of how wonderful it would be to be 9 years old, and they wanted everybody to be 9 years old and kind and happy and unselfish.

Just a minute. I don't want you to understand that we only did that with the Revolt of the Beavers. We do that with all the plays that we send out.

MR. THOMAS. I think their reaction is very interesting, but at the same time what was the reaction of Mr. Atkinson?

MRS. FLANAGAN. Oh, I thought you were barring out critics.

MR. THOMAS. And the reaction of the police commissioner in New York City. What attention did you pay to their reaction?

MRS. FLANAGAN. Let us divide that into two parts. What attention did we pay to Mr. Brooks Atkinson? We value his critical opinion on the subject, as any play producer must.

MR. THOMAS. Did you, in regard to this particular play?

MRS. FLANAGAN. As to this particular play we found that the children, the audience for which it was planned, enjoyed it and found, as I have told you, nothing subversive in it; and we went right on giving it.

To the best of my knowledge the police commissioner did not say in his letter that he had seen the play. He was alleged to have seen it.

MR. THOMAS. Now, quite a bit has been said here today about the theater as a weapon. Have you read the script of *Injunction Granted*?

MRS. FLANAGAN. I have, and I saw the production also.

MR. THOMAS. You saw the production?

MRS. FLANAGAN. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. I have here the script of *Injunction Granted*. The last part of the script is all devoted to a criticism of the legislature in the State of New Jersey. It has to do with the Workers Alliance coming into the halls of the legislature in the State of New Jersey and sitting there and taking over the government. Do you think that that is the proper kind of propaganda to put out through the Federal Theater Project?

MRS. FLANAGAN. I think that that episode was necessary in the development of a study of labor in litigation.

MR. THOMAS. This latter part has nothing to do with labor in litigation. It has to do with the Workers Alliance' criticism of the State legislature.

MRS. FLANAGAN. It was headline news of that period which had a direct relevance to the theater. You see, in the *Living Newspaper* everything is factual. The records from which any living newspaper is taken are always open to all of you and absolutely open to anyone.

And I think it is rather a remarkable fact, gentlemen, that in the 3 years of the existence of this project, the Living Newspaper, that we have done that, not one allegation has been made that the news were untrue. Nobody has ever proved that we have ever misquoted a person or misquoted a quotation.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to read a few lines from this play.

The first man on the dias, who is a member of the Workers Alliance, says this:

Putting up his hand for silence, "Brothers, we of the Workers Alliance, a relief organization, have taken over this house to protest against the inaction of our elected legislators."

I happened to be a member of that legislature at that time, and I happen to know that there was nothing in the way of inaction at that time.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Just a minute. I beg your pardon, but that was a quotation.

Mr. THOMAS. A quotation, yes; from one of the members of the Workers Alliance who were sitting in our seats in the legislature.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. From a newspaper.

Mr. THOMAS. Here is another line:

We consider the Workers Alliance a responsible labor organization, and as such we have been reorganized by the American Federation of Labor. The cause of demonstrations such as these are not agitation, but rather the continuance of 6 years of mass unemployment.

Now, I am not reading now, but I want to say that certain members of the State legislature at that time offered jobs to different members of the Workers' Alliance who were sitting in the house at Trenton, and those jobs were not accepted.

Now, I want to read another sentence.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. May I break in there just a moment to say that if you had written to us at that time and given us that factual material over your signature, we would have tried to get that into the play. We have done that many times, gentlemen, for Members of Congress.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know about all the plays that are put out by the Federal Theater Project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No. But I say that we are doing in the eyes of expert historians a very good critical job.

Mr. THOMAS. But can I select anything out of any of these plays and make a suggestion to you unless it has been called to my attention by somebody?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I say that you quoted something just as though you would liked to have seen it in there, and I say that it might have been in there if you had called it to our attention.

Mr. THOMAS. Again I quote: "Mimics the compass of the legislature." "Sister Speaker, fellow representatives, and the great American public outside. Things have come to a hell of a pass. We have been dilly-dallying," and so on.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. May I break in there?

Mr. THOMAS. On the last page—no. Let me finish now.

Spain—this man Spain, as I understand it, was one of the heads of the Workers' Alliance, and is still one of the heads of the Workers' Alliance. He says in the next to the last paragraph on the last

page—not the last page, but almost the last page, the last two or three pages: Spain says:

Motion carried. Well, this is only our first day; but we have done just as much as the legislature did in 3 months, which seems practically nothing. [Laughter and applause as Powell committee returns.]

Hello, Powell. What does the Governor have to say?

Now, that is in this play *Injunction Granted*. Do you as the Director of the Federal Theater Project think that that is the right kind of propaganda to put out against the government of a particular State, against the legislators who were elected by the people of that particular State?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think that the scene was taken from newspaper reports—

Mr. THOMAS. I want an answer to my question.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do. I think that plays dealing with real problems facing all of us as Americans today may be one phase of the work that the Federal Theater should do.

Remember that on the children's plays, religious plays, and musical plays—

Mr. THOMAS. I want an answer to my question specifically, and I want to say this also on that point, and that is that representatives of the Federal Theater Project and the Art Project who have come before this committee—and this is my personal opinion—have evaded question after question. Instead of answering the question specifically, many of them—not all of them—have evaded the question.

Now, I want to find out right at that point, Mrs. Flanagan, whether you as National Director of the Federal Theater Project think that it is proper for the Federal Theater Project, an agency of the Federal Government, to put out this kind of propaganda against the elected legislators of a particular State.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It is not propaganda against the elected legislators. You have chosen one brief scene in a long course.

Mr. THOMAS. You said it was propaganda originally.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I said it was propaganda for fair labor relations, and I must insist that I think that that is one thing that the Federal Theater should do.

Mr. THOMAS. What has that play to do with labor relations? It has to do with the question of the relations between the State legislature and the Workers' Alliance, who said at that time that they were working in behalf of unemployment.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It was all information from the daily papers. It was intended to prove that during the time when there was this mass need and this mass unemployment, their people were not getting sufficient help from their legislative bodies. It was taken from the daily papers bearing on that point.

Mr. THOMAS. Then you will admit that we should use the Federal Theater Project, through their plays, to encourage mass movements? That is practically what you just said. Do you admit it or don't you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think that the *Living Newspaper*, which I have discussed fully and would like to discuss more, may be one phase of proper activity for any theater.

Mr. THOMAS. But you don't answer the question.



Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I am answering it.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you admit it or don't you admit it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do think it is a proper use of Government funds.

Mr. THOMAS. I wanted to ask you that.

Now, Mrs. Flanagan, you are rehearsing a play in New York City called *Sing for Your Supper*?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That is correct.

Mr. THOMAS. How many months have you been rehearsing that play?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We have been in definite rehearsal on that play since November first at the Adelphi Theater.

Mr. THOMAS. November 1st of this year?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; and we have been playing the script, testing people for the production for a year.

Mr. THOMAS. For 13 months, is that right?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And all that time you have been changing characters or changing people for the cast.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I would like to explain, if I may, something about that, because it is a problem that concerns me as much as it concerns you.

Mr. THOMAS. Go ahead.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. You see when the commercial producer chooses a play he gets a play written by someone who changes the script and goes into the business of producing it, and he goes out and hires his cast, gets his scenery, his costumes, and so forth, and he limits his rehearsal time as much as possible, because the bill that he does not want to pay is the labor bill. Now with us we are faced with a totally different problem. We must employ our people; that is our basic requirement. We want to employ them usefully, and we want to do good plays. So that, very often, we must actually study those people and the talents at our disposal before we can actually put the thing in rehearsal. Very often a great deal of retraining of our personnel is necessary. They have worked under different conditions, and some of them have become discouraged and worn out with long unemployment. So that it is true that the people who have been rehearsing or working, we will say, on *Sing for Your Supper* have been working quite largely with dance directors, with song directors, with vocal teachers, and they have had a great deal of preliminary retraining to get them ready to do this play, which is a big musical comedy.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Flanagan—

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Isn't it true, though, that you have been rehearsing this play longer than you have rehearsed almost any other play you have ever put on?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; that is true. I would like to go into that a little further. That is the first reason, that retraining of personnel is often necessary with us. The second reason why we rehearsed longer is, as you know, we pay the wage set by you in Congress, and, consequently, since that is not the wage paid by Equity we cannot work our people the same number of hours for that wage, and consequently we have to make an adjustment in hours. So that, it always takes us, at the best, at least twice as long as it takes a commercial manager to put on a play. Then, in this particular case we had

this very peculiar thing happen that as fast as we would get the headline people, around which this play was built, ready they would be snapped up by Broadway.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask you another question right there?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. But may I develop that point a little?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Because I want you to see that is one of our great difficulties in the Federal Theater. In order to be fair to our people we must have our rehearsals open when Broadway managers come in, and there is not a cast on Broadway today that has not recruits from the Federal Theater.

Mr. THOMAS. But isn't the same thing true of any play you put on—not necessarily of *Sing for Your Supper*?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not in the same degree. We have had this thing happen: We had Norman Lloyd. I do not know whether any of you have seen him. He was the consumer in *Power*, and has played in several commercial productions, and after we had built many sketches around him he was taken off. Consequently we had to abandon those sketches and have new sketches written.

Mr. THOMAS. In regard to *Sing for Your Supper* you have changed the script quite often, have you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That is true. Let me say four of our sketches were taken and put in Broadway reviews. I want to say we not only had the sketches, but the scenery for three sketches and rehearsals on one of our stages.

Mr. THOMAS. Haven't you also had the costumes to be used in the play for sometime?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Haven't you purchased the costumes yet?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, yes; they have been purchased now, but we have not been rehearsing with costumes, you understand. We actually started rehearsals with costumes in the theater on November 1.

Mr. THOMAS. But you have the costumes ready?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Some of them, not all of them.

Mr. THOMAS. The same is true of the fixtures, the scenes and the scenery?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; not all.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, isn't that an unusually long period of time for rehearsing even a musical comedy?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It is much longer than the commercial theater, and much longer, I assure you, than we want, or the New York director.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the normal period of time for the commercial theater to rehearse a musical comedy?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It is not at all unusual for a musical comedy to take a year in composition, and I must call to the attention of the committee that this play was written on the music phase of the project.

Mr. STARNES. Now, let us not wander far afield. That is administrative, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. May I ask whether delays are un-American?

Mr. THOMAS. No; but we have touched everything in the world whether it has been un-American or not for 2 days now.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not by my wish.

MR. THOMAS. If we have touched one thing that is un-American, we might as well touch one more.

MR. STARNES. I know, but I think it is an administrative question.

MR. THOMAS. I want to ask one more question. I notice everybody else asked questions, and I just want to ask a few myself.

On page 857 of the testimony, first volume, the question was asked by me of Mr. Revzin:

Are you prepared to testify at a later date before any other committee which may be appointed, a committee other than this particular one, as to the inefficiency, extravagance and corruption in connection with the Federal Theater Project in New York City?

And the answer was:

MR. REVZIN. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute.

MR. THOMAS. Now, I just want to ask this of Mrs. Flanagan in relation to that: You read the testimony, you saw the question, and heard the answer. I would like to know, Mrs. Flanagan, what you did about it as Director of the National Theater?

THE CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. This is an administrative detail.

MR. STARNES. This is an administrative detail.

MRS. FLANAGAN. I am very glad to answer him.

THE CHAIRMAN. That has absolutely nothing in the world to do with this.

MR. THOMAS. Then, are we going to confine our remarks from now on to just un-American activities?

THE CHAIRMAN. That is right.

MR. THOMAS. Nothing else but un-American activities, nothing that has nothing to do with that?

THE CHAIRMAN. Manifestly we cannot go into an administrative question as to whether it was efficiently operated or not.

MR. THOMAS. I agree with that, except the precedent we have set.

THE CHAIRMAN. Where have we done that?

MR. THOMAS. We have set the precedent for 2 days discussing things that did not have anything to do with un-American activities.

THE CHAIRMAN. We heard the statement of Mrs. Woodward. What did we discuss that did not have to do with un-American activities?

MR. THOMAS. But you will have to admit much of the testimony in the last 2 days had to do with things other than un-American activities.

THE CHAIRMAN. I think it is very clear we cannot go into administrative questions.

MR. THOMAS. Would you like to answer that question?

MRS. FLANAGAN. I would like to answer that.

MR. THOMAS. The witness would like to answer that.

MRS. FLANAGAN. I would like to say——

THE CHAIRMAN. No.

MR. THOMAS. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

MR. DEMPSEY. Mrs. Flanagan, there has been some discussion this morning as to the exchange of students between our country and foreign countries. Is not that rather a common practice between colleges and universities?



Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; it is a common practice between universities. In many colleges and universities the whole junior or senior year is spent in foreign countries.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I know that our own university, the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, does that. We think it is very beneficial.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Mrs. Flanagan, in these plays that you produced, have you produced any anti-Fascist plays?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. A number of people have claimed that the play *On the Rocks* was anti-Fascist, and some people have claimed it was anti-Communist. That is another one of those words that it is very difficult to define. We never do a play because it holds any political bias; we do a play because we believe it is a good play, a strong play, properly handled with native material. Could you be a little more specific about that?

Mr. MOSIER. Have you done any that are definitely anti-Communist?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I say again that in this case varying members of the press—I do not know where else to turn for reports—have said that *On the Rocks* was definitely—some say anti-Fascist and some say anti-Communist.

Mr. MOSIER. You did one play, I believe, in which Earl Browder appeared as a character?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. In *Triple-A Plowed Under*.

Mr. MOSIER. I have not read the play, but in that play did Earl Browder expound his theory of communism?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; he does not. I will have that reference read if you would like to have it.

Mr. MOSIER. Directly or indirectly.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. I would like to say, however, that it seems to me we would be on very dangerous ground if we denominated and denounced as subversive any play in which any character opposing our own political faith appeared. For instance, you might as well say that Marlowe that we discussed a while ago, because he introduced the devil into the play had sold his soul to the devil. You might as well say the *March of Time*, because it quotes from Stalin is communistic, or because its quotes from Hitler is Fascist. I do not think that is a tenable position. Would you like to have the Browder speech read?

Mr. MOSIER. I just asked whether Browder appeared as a character and expounded his views in the play. If he did not, then the answer is no.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Browder appears together with Al Smith, Senator Hastings, and Thomas Jefferson, not as an actual person but as a shadow on a screen.

Mr. STARNES. He is in pretty good company with one exception.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you produced any plays, Mrs. Flanagan, that are antireligious in character?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We certainly have not. On the contrary we have produced, I think I am safe in saying, more plays religious in character than any other theater or organization. For example, gentlemen, do you know last Christmas time in every city in which we had

projects, we did old religious scenes on the steps of libraries, on street corners, in trailer camps, and churches. That is going to be done again in the churches of Los Angeles and Chicago, and I think we are doing the Cycle of the Nativity in church after church. We have a long list of religious plays. It is definitely one of the things we have gone into. This, by the way, is the scene in which Earl Browder appears. I am sorry I do not know Mr. Browder. I can't identify him in that shadowgraph of the scene.

Mr. MOSIER. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Mr. STARNES. The statement has been made in the testimony that you are in sympathy with communistic doctrines.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Congressman Starnes, I am an American, and I believe in American democracy. I believe the Works Progress Administration is one great bulwark of that democracy. I believe the Federal Theater, which is one small part of that large pattern, is honestly trying in every possible way to interpret the best interests of the people of this democracy. I am not in sympathy with any other form of government in this country.

Mr. STARNES. That is your statement. You are absolutely not in sympathy with communism. Now, have you, as Director of this National Art Project, produced productions for the purpose of promoting class hatred, we will say?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have not.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recognize only the Workers' Alliance as the bargaining agency among employees on your project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Certainly not. We have something like 24 theatrical unions that we are dealing with constantly on this project. It is one of the most complicated ramifications which I will go into if you wish.

Mr. STARNES. No, I am trying to make this thing specific because specific statements were made.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I realize that. I have specific answers if you want to go into them.

Mr. STARNES. The question was raised as to whether or not there are Communists on your project. We understand, and we know, that no restrictions have been placed on your employing people who might believe in a communistic form of government. We understand that. And unquestionably you have, according to the testimony, Communists working on the job, but the thing the committee is interested in is the question of communistic activity on the project. Do you know of your own knowledge, personal knowledge, of any communistic activities that are being carried on there, in other words, the promulgation of communistic doctrines and theory, the recruiting of soldiers for Loyalist Spain, the dissemination of communistic literature, or the collection of funds for the Workers' Alliance and for the Communist Party on project time?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Congressman Starnes, those are opposed to the administrative restrictions, copies of which are in this brief.

Mr. STARNES. You are opposed to it, and you know nothing of it personally, but you can't deny, of course, of your own personal knowledge, such is the case, but if it is the case, it is without your knowledge and consent?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Right.

Mr. STARNES. All right; I want something specific in here.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to ask a specific question or two.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. What percentage of the employees on the New York project are members of the Workers' Alliance?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I could not answer that question. We have no access to the membership of the Workers' Alliance.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you think that a very large percentage of those employees are members of the Workers' Alliance of New York City?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; I do not think so, for a very good reason, on which I can give you one of the specific citations, which I recognize you want. The vast majority of the people on the theatrical end of the project belong to some theatrical organization, and the Actors Equity and the other theatrical organizations have taken the position that their members cannot belong to the Workers' Alliance. Consequently, it cannot be said that the majority in the acting fields could possibly belong to the Workers' Alliance.

Mr. THOMAS. That is only part of those in the acting field, but are not about half of your employees on the New York project in the acting field?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; but you see this is also true: I say that Actors Equity organization took that position and that the other unions followed it.

Mr. THOMAS. You say that is true, then, that half of your employees in New York are in the acting field, approximately?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Approximately.

Mr. THOMAS. Half are acting and the other half are in clerical positions, and so forth?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; they are stage hands, workshop, and designers.

Mr. THOMAS. And the other half of your employees are actors in New York; isn't that true?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Just a minute. I would like to develop that point. It might leave a false impression in your mind. In any theatrical organization it is not just actors which are concerned. Your specific act of Congress which you set up said for the unemployed in the theatrical professions, which includes designers, stage musicians, stage hands, dancers, and everything else.

Mr. THOMAS. Haven't you a very large percentage of nonactors?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That is quite understandable, not a large percentage of nonactors. It is not only actors. It is also these other people together with the people necessary to run the project efficiently in accordance with the rules of the United States Treasury and other rules you have laid down.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Flanagan, I want to ask you one or two questions. What, in your opinion, as the director of the Federal Theaters is the primary purpose to be kept in mind in the production of plays? Is it amusement? I am not talking about the relief angle now.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the selection of material in the production of plays. What principal objective do you keep in mind,



amusement, or, on the other hand, the teaching of a particular idea or the presentation of facts or material in a way to leave a definite impression?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am glad you asked that question, because it is an important one. The basis of the choice of plays is that we have always believed on the Federal Theater Project that any theater supported by Federal funds should do no plays of a subversive, or cheap, or shoddy, or vulgar, or outworn, or imitative nature, but only such plays as the Government could stand behind in a program which is national in scope and regional in emphasis and democratic in American attitude.

Mr. THOMAS. Democratic!

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not democratic in the narrow sense.

The CHAIRMAN. Then in a sense primarily it is for amusement; isn't that true?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The second objective, if I may go on, is wide diversity. I think we should do plays of as great diversity as the geographic range and the varieties of our people. I can't say just entertainment or education, Congressman Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in a position to say whether the primary purpose should be to entertain the audience or instruct the audience?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. A good play must always entertain the audience.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the primary purpose of it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The primary purpose of a good play is to entertain, isn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. Entertain?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It must also and can also often teach. It can inculcate religious principles. It can entertain simply if it is a musical comedy. Think of the varieties of things that it can do to train people in the great field of the classics.

The CHAIRMAN. It can be used as a vehicle, in other words, to impart to an audience certain ideas either along moral lines or along social lines or economic lines; isn't that a fact?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And in the production of these plays, while you have kept in mind primarily the objective of entertainment, you have considered it your duty likewise to convey such, we will say, instruction or to impart ideas along social and economic lines; isn't that true?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would like to answer that rather fully, because it is an important point. The list of the plays that we have done is open to you, and the proof of the types of plays that we do can be found there. Over 500 of the 924 plays are plays by tested American authors which have had previous successes on Broadway. They are plays of the great body of American——

The CHAIRMAN. Am I not right?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I really would like to go on—I know the bell rang or something, but I really would like to get this in. That is the major field, and then there are also musical comedies, because they use great numbers of people, you see. There are also children's plays which we have built up as a great specialty, chiefly fairy tales, not with the connotation mentioned, and then we have also done dance dramas, and we have placed great emphasis on the classics. We have done

plays by Euripides, Plautus, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher, Lope de Vega, Moliere, Sheridan, Labiche, Ibsen, Wilde, Shaw, and O'Neill, and I have written into the record a list of the very distinguished dramatists whose plays we have produced. Therefore I would say that a wide variety is one of the guiding principles.

If you are not too bored, I would like to say that another guiding principle is to stress American material. The board of choice that decides upon plays is made up of the regional representatives who know their regions, and each one brings in the plan of the productions that he wants to do. He wants to do something classic, the children's theater, a musical comedy, and he wants to develop from his own region something about that region. For example, in Portland we are doing the great Paul Bunyan festival, and in North Carolina we are doing the history of America in the Lost Colony. So that the stressing of American plays has been one of our great desires from the first of the project.

The CHAIRMAN. But one of the important functions of the theater, as you recognize it—I am just asking you to get your opinion—is to promote an idea either along social, economic, or, we will say, political lines; is that true? Is that a legitimate function of the theater as you understand it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I defined propaganda very clearly, or tried to, in the early stages of this.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but is that a legitimate function of the stage?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It is one legitimate function.

The CHAIRMAN. It is one legitimate function?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Starnes read some excerpts from this article of yours which you designate every time that that is the report. Now, I think it is fair to ask you how much of this is your opinion and how much of it is the mere reporting of the opinions of others?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Congressman Dies—

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, let me ask you a specific question. In this statement here is it your opinion that—

Strong he must be, however, for the theater, if it is to be of use to the worker, must be divorced from the nonessentials which have been synonymous with it—divorced from expensive buildings, stage equipment, painted sets, elaborate costumes and properties, made-up plays; above all, divorced from actors who want to show off or make money. If the theater can throw off all these things into the discard, it may perhaps become, as it has been at certain great moments of its history, a place where an idea is so ardently enacted that it becomes the belief of actors and audiences alike.

Now, is that your opinion?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That was my opinion in regard to the workers' theaters; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your opinion is if it can throw off these costumes, and so forth, properties, and so forth—

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, it had to throw those off. It had no money for those.

The CHAIRMAN. It can become a place where the idea is ardently enacted? That is your opinion?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That was my opinion about the thing I was discussing.

The CHAIRMAN. But that is not reporting the opinions of others; you believe that to be true, do you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Of the workers' theaters; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that should be done?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Pardon me?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that theaters should be created for the purpose of conveying ideas such as you have described in this article?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That article has nothing to do, as I have repeatedly said, with the Federal theater.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but I am asking you if it is your opinion that the theater should do that thing?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Let us not be too solemn about that. Do you mean do I think without the decoration, some of the painted scenery, and some of the employees and embellishment, it would be a good thing? Yes; I think a great deal could be gotten rid of.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask that. I asked you if you think the theater should be used for the purpose of conveying ideas along social and economic lines.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think that is one justifiable reason for the existence of the theater.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the Federal Theater should be used for the purpose, for one purpose of conveying ideas along social, economic or political lines?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would hesitate on the political. So far as I know we have never stressed——

The CHAIRMAN. Eliminate political, upon social and economic lines.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think it is one logical, reasonable, and I might say imperative thing for our theater to do.

The CHAIRMAN. And for educational purposes; is that right?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you believe it is correct to use the Federal Theater to educate people, audiences, along social or economic lines; is that correct?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Among other things; yes. I have pointed out to the committee that only 10 percent of the plays that we do——

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. But that is important, and I am not sure all of these people do understand it, and I want them to. The definite proof is we do and have only done 10 percent of the plays in that category.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not questioning that fact. You have plays and dances that have nothing to do with economics.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Right. Among others we have plays that have to do with ideas.

The CHAIRMAN. Plays that have nothing to do with social or economic ideas, but you do believe that it is proper in the Federal Theater that some of the plays produced by the Federal Theaters should be used for that purpose?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do, Congressman Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just getting your idea, and those plays have been used for that purpose, have they not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.



The CHAIRMAN. When you take plays like, we will say, Stevedore, was that one of your productions—Stevedore?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No. I would like to know that—that play was up for production, but I do not think we did produce that play, did we?

Mr. STARNES. Didn't you produce it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think you are confusing it with the Theater Union, but on that point I will bring specific information after lunch.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not sure whether you did produce that play or not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I know it was on one time on a production schedule.

The CHAIRMAN. You did produce Sing for Your Supper, didn't you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; that is one that was under discussion that we are now rehearsing.

The CHAIRMAN. You are rehearsing?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to produce it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We are planning to produce it. I trust we are going to.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your plan unless you are interrupted by lack of funds, or some action by Congress?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, here are a number of excerpts from this play, I presume authentic excerpts from it.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. What play?

The CHAIRMAN. Sing for Your Supper. For instance, in there Frank Hague sits at a desk, picks up phone. "Hello, Operator; give me Washington. I want to speak to John L. Lewis."

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am sorry to interrupt you, but the Hague scenes have been cut out of the play.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not interested in any particular example. What I am trying to get is this: If you feel it entirely proper, I want to get your attitude fairly and frankly——

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it is entirely proper that the Federal Theater produce plays for the purpose of bringing out some social idea that is a heated issue at a particular time?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do think not—it is one of the things that the theater can do.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the important things. Now, I think on this Stevedore you testified before the Patents Committee as follows, I believe:

For example, we have done Stevedore with great success in a number of places.

That is your testimony before the Patents Committee?

Mr. STARNES. Page 98.

The CHAIRMAN. Page 98. So, evidently, you must have done it, because you would not have so testified. The reason I ask you about that play is because you said earlier you did not believe in producing any play that has any vulgarity in it, or any profanity in it, or anything of that sort, didn't you say that?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I did not mention profanity. I did say a play which was vulgar.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is correct to produce a play that has a great deal of profanity in it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Could you be specific?

The CHAIRMAN. I will take *Stevedore*, according to the statement here on page 24 [reading]:

LONNIE: God damn dem, anyhow. What dey think I am? Do I look like some kind of animal? Do I look like somebody who'd jump over a back fence and rape a woman?

I am not going to read all of the things in here, but there are numerous examples of absolutely vulgar statements and the frequent use of the Lord's name in a profane way. Now, what I am asking you is this: Do you think it is proper that the taxpayers' money of America should be used to produce a play to an American audience that contains such vulgarity and such profanity as that? I am not undertaking to indict you or anything you have done; I am just getting your idea as to whether you think that is a proper thing to do?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have no defense for blasphemy.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you have not. Do you think it is proper that the Federal Theater should produce a play in which vulgarity and profanity appears throughout as it does in *Stevedore*?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you will agree with me that the play should not have been produced?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think that we should look into the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not also think that since the Federal Theater Project is an agency of the Government and that all of our people support it through their tax money, people of different classes, different races, different religions, some who are workers, some who are businessmen, don't you think that that being true that no play should ever be produced which undertakes to portray the interests of one class to the disadvantage of another class, even though that might be accurate, even though factually there may be justification normally for that, yet because of the very fact that we are using taxpayers' money to produce plays, do you not think it is questionable whether it is right to produce plays that are biased in favor of one class against another?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think we strive for objectivity, but I think the whole history of plays in the theater would indicate that any dramatist holds a passionate brief for the things he is saying and practically any play from the beginning of time has been loaded with some dramatist's ideas and emotions.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about plays that are financed, that you are authorized as a representative of the American people to supervise, we will say, plays that all of us help to finance, people of different conditions and different opinions. Now, do you think it proper that a play be produced which represents the desires and the viewpoint of one class to the disadvantage of another class?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think that if every play that you did expressed one class opinion, that it would be a loaded theater, and quite out of keeping with a theater subsidized by Government funds. How-

ever, I think you would have to take into consideration the many plays done, the types of plays. I think that you gentlemen would have to go to some of these plays.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not arguing with you; I am just asking you; you are the source of our information. We are not asking this in any sarcastic manner.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This is for the purpose of eliciting information from you, who are the servants of our administration in this important matter.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Quite true.

The CHAIRMAN. And to you we come for the information.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So, I am asking you if you do not think you are treading upon dangerous ground when you use an agency of the Government—no matter how laudable it may be in private life—but when you use that agency to portray, we will say, the interests or the arguments of the Workers' Alliance, or the C. I. O., or any other class or group, so that by subtle portrayal you paint that group, or you paint the other class in a very disadvantageous role, don't you think that is more or less dangerous?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We are not doing plays to stir up class hatred.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a question of opinion whether you do it. Is it not a fact that when you do produce a play that, we will say, gives all the breaks to one class, such as the Workers' Alliance, or such as the C. I. O., or such as the workers of the country generally, gives them the breaks over another class, we will say, over the employers or the business people, would you not join with me in condemning that as a dangerous policy?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Could you be concrete and give me a specific example?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if that is done. I am not assuming it is done.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We do not do plays that stir up class hatred. If you can give me quotations I will be glad to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give me a single play, not among the group now dealing with historical plays, or things of that sort, but among the 10 percent that you say deal with social and economic questions, can you submit to this committee one play that does not convey a subtle impression throughout, so that when the audience is left with the play the Workers' Alliance or the C. I. O., or organized labor does not have the best of the other fellows?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Why, Congressman Dies, I could sit in this room until the end of the day and give you such plays—Spirocketa, for example.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. It is a living newspaper of the study of syphilis, which was backed by the Surgeon General of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about that.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. And by all of the health departments. That is one of the plays that comes in the category you have just mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.



Mrs. FLANAGAN. It does not send you away—to give you a single example—it is one of the plays in the 10 percent—it is definite propaganda for education in regard to social diseases.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. And, as I say, it is backed and sponsored by the medical associations of this country. That is a perfectly clear example, isn't it? Another one——

The CHAIRMAN. What others?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Another one is a living newspaper on flood control. Another one is on Bonneville Dam, in which the whole thing is a history of the development of Bonneville Dam.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing the necessity for it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; to some extent.

The CHAIRMAN. And the great value of it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. To some extent—showing also the great heroism of it and the scientific knowledge necessary to put it through.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, give us some more.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The Spanish Grant, which is the whole history of the trek of our forefathers across the plains and the founding of California.

The CHAIRMAN. That is historical?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; but it comes right down to present-day events. It is one of the big regional dramas that I spoke of that is being developed on the project on the west coast.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us another one.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Clown's Progress, which is the history of vaudeville in the United States, showing its close applicability to everyday life, which is also written on the project. Two a Day, which is in that same category on the development of the vaudeville trades throughout the country. Many of our plays deal with these pressing situations around us, some of them springing from unemployment, but without the slightest attempt to stir up class hatred.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree then, with the proposition that no play should be presented that will give advantage to one class over another class where there is a controversy involved?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not think you can possibly take that position. I think that, there again, I would have to go back to my original premise that I want a good play, a powerful play, preferably of native material, and that, in at least 10 percent of the cases I would feel we should do a play that had something to do about modern life.

The CHAIRMAN. Then this Federal Theater is a very powerful vehicle of expression, isn't it, and of propaganda, because, as you say, it reaches 25,000,000 people. It therefore can be used or abused.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. With serious consequences, can it not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you know of any way in which it could be more seriously abused than it would be to portray, as I said a few moments ago, one class, putting them at an advantage over another class?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have been giving a long list of illustrations of the fact that we do not so do.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you that. I say, isn't that a fact?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am asking you for illustrations where we have done that. I claim you are stating a hypothetical case, Congressman Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, will you say that you have not produced a play in which throughout the play one class of workers is not portrayed in an advantageous roll?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; you have stated your question definitely. First you asked me if I could give you a single play in which we have not done that.

The CHAIRMAN. You gave that.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I say I can show you a myriad, so I would not take the position you have said, that is too strong a position. For instance, in *Power*, the central character is the consumer, and the whole play is that all of us, as consumers of power, have some question as to how it came into being, and what makes it, and what is the best possible use of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the objective of the play, what impression is it designed to bring in the mind of the audience—take the play *Power*—that public ownership is a good thing?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think the first thing the play does is to make you understand more about power, where it comes from, and how it is evolved, about its whole historical use.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think it also does speak highly for the public ownership of power.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us just take that one instance. We will assume, for the sake of argument that maybe the public ownership of power is a desirable thing, but do you not think it improper that the Federal Theater, using the taxpayers' money, should present a play to the audience which champions one side of a controversy?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No, Congressman Dies; I do not consider it improper. I have just said that I felt that in a small percentage of our plays, and pointed out that it is 10 percent that do hold a brief for a certain cause in accord with general forward-looking tendencies, and I say—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is to determine what is a forward-looking tendency?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Why, our play policy board chooses these plays.

The CHAIRMAN. They are to determine that question as to what is a forward-looking tendency. They therefore would have the idea that public ownership of utilities was a forward-looking tendency?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Also with the idea, Congressman Dies, that first the play must be good, it must have the power to hold people in the audience.

The CHAIRMAN. I am assuming that, but we are confining ourselves to the proposition—take *Power*—you say that your policy board must first pass on this, isn't that right?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then your policy board approves the question of public ownership of utilities. Then you think that because they approve the principle of public ownership of utilities, you believe it

is proper that the Federal theaters shall exhibit a play in which it champions the right of public ownership, do you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do think so.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, would the same thing be true with reference to the public ownership of railroads because the policy board—

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do not know. We never choose plays that way, Congressman Dies. We never sit down and say "Now, let's see, can we produce a play"—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I understand that, but I say assume that a play is submitted to you that champions the cause of public ownership of railroads and the majority of the policy board say, "We are in favor of public ownership of railroads." Then would you believe it would be right to exhibit that play to 25,000,000 people?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That is a very grave responsibility, Congressman Dies, with which I am charged.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it would be right to show that play under those circumstances?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; absolutely. I have expressed that as clearly as I possibly can that we do have the right to do a certain number of plays on this theater project—

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that, but I am asking you this specific question: Assume that to be true, do you think that type of play should be done?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think that is entirely too hypothetical a question, Congressman Dies, entirely too hypothetical. I am trying to show you and develop a case from a play. I cannot, however, sit here and show you or take a play in such a vague and hypothetical way.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I am trying to draw out is, having accepted one principle, that is the principle that you have the right to exhibit a play championing the right of public ownership of utilities, how could you draw the line having established that as a precedent?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Each play draws its own line. It must draw its own line. Each play makes its own contribution and has its own question.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that is true, but, having established that precedent of public ownership of utilities, then, how could you stop where plays are presented to your Policy Board dealing with the ownership of railroads, dealing with the ownership of land and with other matters? Would it not be the same principle involved?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I told you over and over again that the basic principle is it is a good play, authentic material.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Is it a good play.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, but if it is a good play and your policy board approves it, then you think it would be proper to exhibit it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have told you, in the first place, of the wide range of Federal theater activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not—

Mrs. FLANAGAN. But this is important, Congressman Dies, it really is, because I would not for 1 minute say every play that we produce would come in that category.



The CHAIRMAN. You have established the precedent of exhibiting a play championing the cause of ownership of public utilities. You said that was proper and you yourself thought you had a right to do that?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what I am asking you is what would keep you or the policy board from continuing that same type of plays so as to cover other ranges of public ownership?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Let me answer it this way: If someone came up with a very good play proving that the private ownership of railroads was the best possible thing, and the play was a good play, we would do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you would show it?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, on the other hand if the same play proved that the public ownership of railroads was a good thing you would do it too, would you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Absolutely, and the test is is it a good play; and within the general range and the variety we have established.

The CHAIRMAN. And if someone came with a play showing the public ownership of all the property in the United States, and it was a good play, you would also exhibit that, would you not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, that is a very clever move on your part to maneuver me into a certain position.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not pretend to any cleverness. I would not undertake to match my cleverness with you on this subject because you are thoroughly acquainted with it.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; I would not. We would stop with that, because that would be recommending the overthrow of the United States Government, and I do not want that, gentlemen, whatever some of the witnesses may have intimated.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you would favor doing it by degrees, but not all at once, isn't that right?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, we probably would not agree—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, but you have said under oath the exhibition of a play championing the ownership of public utilities or railroads, if it were an entertaining play, that you would show it. You have said that yourself. Now, that is just the degree is it not?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, it is a degree that the Congress of the United States has passed upon, isn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. Not yet; the question of public ownership of utilities, it has not passed on that.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. You did it one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Not that I know of.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. During the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, well, you are going back now to emergency legislation.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Of course, we have gone back into history and covered so much geographic range that perhaps I—

The CHAIRMAN. So, as I understand from your testimony, when a play is presented to you championing the public ownership of power, of railroads, if it is a good play you said you would exhibit it. Now, what I want to ask you and I want you to state is would you stop

with those two forms of ownership, or would you go further and exhibit a play that would champion the cause of public ownership of other forms of private property?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I can't go into these hypothetical questions. I came up here under the distinct understanding that I was to refute testimony given by witnesses before your committee. You are proposing a long series of hypothetical questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you are here to refute testimony of other witnesses. You can't refute any of the testimony that appeared in this record dealing with communistic activities on the projects, can you, because you admit you were not there, you did not see it, you do not know it. So, you can't refute that, can you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I want to take it up charge by charge.

The CHAIRMAN. I see, but you have already stated in your testimony that you did not know of any of those communistic activities, you did not see it.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I say to my own knowledge, in the offices which I have frequented, it has not been true. I cannot have been in every office all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. So you yourself are not in a position to deny under oath, to refute, any of the testimony that has appeared in this record dealing with communistic activities on the projects, are you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I can submit administrative orders proving that such—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That does not prove it did not take place—the fact that you issued administrative orders.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I can also present and have right in the brief—

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have many affidavits in this brief personally denying under oath testimony offered by some of your witnesses on this very point, Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. But those affidavits depend for their truth or falsity upon what someone else said.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. They are affidavits of people under oath I have employed.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about what you are prepared to say yourself. Are you in a position to deny under oath any of the statements in the record dealing with communistic activities?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Oh, yes; I certainly am, and I will turn to one immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the ones that you yourself of your personal knowledge, can refute.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. All right, will you turn to volume 1, pages 939–40, Mr. Stark's testimony on Miss O'Shea. He calls her Mrs. O'Shea, but it is Madalyn O'Shea.

The CHAIRMAN. What page is that?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. 929–931, volume 1.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I am reading now from the testimony:

Mr. STARK. Mrs. O'Shea at the present time is in charge of the Employment Division of actors on the Federal Theater and also handles the Little Theater groups and the amateur theater projects.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever had any conversation with Mrs. O'Shea?

Mr. STARK. To this extent, that she broke up a group that I had started at one time, because I would not advocate communistic theories in plays I was putting on with a group that I had organized under the heading of the Little Theater Group.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you tell the committee what Mrs. O'Shea said?

Mr. STARK. She said she had no position for me, because I did not carry out the theories of the project. I suppose she meant the political theories of the project.

"What were the political theories on the project?" the chairman asked.

Mr. STARK. From what I understand——

The CHAIRMAN. Not from what you understand, but from what you know. What do you know?

Mr. STARK. The propaganda plays, the putting on of propaganda plays.

"What kind of propaganda, to do what?" the chairman asked.

Mr. STARK. To advocate communism—social-problem plays of a revolutionary nature.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever try to put on any other kind?

Mr. STARK. Yes; I did. And I had my scenery slashed, I had my lights cut out on me, and my actors taken out of cast.

Mr. STARNES. Who did that, Mr. Stark?

Mr. STARK. I would like to know. Those things were done to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Name some of the plays that she produced or wrote or had anything to do with.

Mr. STARK. The Revolt of the Beavers is one play.

The CHAIRMAN. What was communistic about that play?

Mr. STARK. The story is about two children going up north with the Northwind. They were supposed to get to the North, and they found the beavers working there. There were two groups of beavers, the working beavers, and those who were the bosses. In the story, the beavers were supposed to advocate a revolutionary theory of smuggling into the places where they worked, guns and arms, to overthrow the bosses and overthrow constituted authority. That play was banned by the New York Police Department after 3 weeks' production in New York.

That is a completely inaccurate statement. Miss O'Shea had absolutely nothing to do with that. I know that of my own knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. You are dealing with the production of plays?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; I am dealing with other allegations made by your witnesses which I can, of my personal knowledge, refute. I want to go on with this.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mr. Dawson, in this same connection, goes no:

Mr. DAWSON. There is another thing I want to say, and that is it is common knowledge that Madelyn O'Shea is a cousin of Mrs. Hallie Flanagan. It is commonly known among the people on the project that Mrs. Flanagan is a cousin of Madelyn O'Shea. Madelyn O'Shea has complete control over the actors and actresses cast in the project. There is no actor or actress on the project without her signature.

No. I want to say, Congressman Dies, that statement is an absolute falsehood, that Madelyn O'Shea is no relation of mine by blood or marriage, nor is there any person employed at any place throughout the United States on the project that is related to me by blood or marriage.

The CHAIRMAN. But I said any statement made by any witness in the record dealing with communistic activities on the project.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; but I am going on with that.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mr. Thomas says:



Do you know whether Miss O'Shea is a member of the Communist Party?  
 Mr. DAWSON. I do not think anyone knows as to that. There is no criterion—

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether Miss O'Shea has spent any time recently in Moscow?

Mr. DAWSON. I cannot say that; no, sir.

I can only say that Miss O'Shea, I have here her affidavit, that she has never been in Moscow and that she is not in any way related to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody said she was in Moscow there. The witness said he didn't know.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The chief part of that was to spread the idea that Miss O'Shea in the occupation of hiring people was not only a Communist, but she was a cousin of mine, and she was put in that position by me. I am stating from my personal knowledge it is not true.

The CHAIRMAN. Aside from that it does not deal with any communistic activity on the project. Give us any testimony of any witness in this record that communistic activity took place, that pamphlets were distributed, that speeches were made, and that meetings were held on the project during pay time and the conduct of some of the strikers who were members of the Communist Party, give us a single part of that testimony that you yourself can refute under oath?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I cannot refute that under oath, because I have not been present.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. So it boils down, the things that you can refute deal with whether or not plays were exhibited?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes, I am sorry; it has been brought to my attention, and I really feel that I should go through the brief very carefully for you people on that point, because I feel there are certain other charges that I could refute. One is the testimony of Mr. Kerr that on May 27—I will have to ask Mr. Mauntz to read it, it is a carbon I can't quite read.

Mr. MAUNTZ (reading):

On May 27, 1937, the day of the C. P. C. stoppage, Mr. Ranck, managing producer of the Children's Theater Unit, approached me in the office and suggested that I give a day's pay to the strike fund which the C. P. C. was collecting. I told him since I had a wife and child I could not afford to do such things, and besides, I was not of their opinion. He said, "You should be in sympathy with them," I said, "I have no sympathy with the Communists; they do not belong to the project; they are keeping other people who belong on the project from jobs." He said that Mrs. Flanagan recommended that people on the project join the C. P. C. and the supervisors council.

The CHAIRMAN. Who said that? Who is that talking when you say "he said"?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mr. Kerr is saying Mr. Ranck said that Mrs. Flanagan recommended.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Mr. Thomas then asks:

"Repeat that; that is very important," to which Mr. Kerr replied, "He," meaning Mr. Ranck, "said that Mrs. Hallie Flanagan recommended that people on the project should join the C. P. C., the supervisors council."

The CHAIRMAN. In other words he is quoting what Mr. Ranck said you had done.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have the affidavit of Mr. Ranck that I never did say such a thing. I wish here to state I have never said any such a thing to Mr. Ranck or anybody else. I have never asked anybody in my employ to join the C. P. C. or any organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You can say that you did not tell that, but you can't say that Mr. Ranck did not say it to this witness.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Well, I know, I can't say that. I can only point to his own affidavit.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, give us some more that you yourself can personally refute.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I can refute all charges on three basic points that the plays we have done were subversive.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree to that, I am not asking—

Mrs. FLANAGAN. That the people in control of the project that I have appointed either on my staff or on my policy board are unprincipled, that they are anything except the type of people that they should be?

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a charge made that any of them were unprincipled.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not by name, but by inference throughout the whole record, it is said, and inferred constantly that the Workers' Alliance is in charge of the project. That is untrue, and I can absolutely refute it.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not undertake to disprove that six of your supervisors on one project were Communists; would you?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would like to know what the names are. You mean the ones mentioned in the brief?

The CHAIRMAN. The ones in the testimony.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. We have every one of those cases listed here with accompanying affidavits.

The CHAIRMAN. That they are not Communists?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No; on the charges.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever secure from any of the supervisors affidavits as to whether they were not Communists?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. So you are not able to produce any evidence on the question as to whether they are not Communists?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it comes down to this, as a correct statement, does it not, that with reference to the plays themselves you can say unequivocally that none of them were communistic?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. That you have personal knowledge of?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I do have personal knowledge of.

The CHAIRMAN. Because you have read each one of the plays, you supervised it, and so forth?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But outside of that you are not in a position to refute any of the testimony by any of the witnesses?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Oh, yes; I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Dealing with the communistic activities charged on the project?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes. For example, I quoted this morning Miss Huffman as saying we could not get any audiences except for communistic plays.

The CHAIRMAN. But that is not communistic activities on the project.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Let us narrow it down specifically to the solicitation of funds, and the posting of notices on bulletin boards, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, we heard considerable testimony which forms an important part of this, that numerous people working on the project were Communists. We got that from one or two who are members of the Communist Party themselves. We got it from their own signatures, and statements that they were Communists, and received testimony that Communist literature was disseminated through the premises during project time, that they were printed on the bulletin board until this investigation began and it stopped, that meetings of the Communists units were held on project time in the premises, and other testimony.

I am just citing you some of the high lights. Now, that is the material fact involved here, as to whether that was done.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. May I ask is that all in the record which I have studied, or are you referring to other records?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know what record you have studied, but that is in the record of the hearing, in all of the records.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I think you must be confusing some of our testimony, because I have read it very carefully, because I have not found a single witness brought up before us that said he was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Before us?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Before you.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. DeSolo said he was a Communist.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. But he is not on the Federal Theater Project.

The CHAIRMAN. He is on the Writers Project.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes; but not our project.

The CHAIRMAN. You are dealing with the Federal Theater Project.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Because that is what I have jurisdiction over.

The CHAIRMAN. You do remember the statements with reference to dissemination of communistic literature on the premises?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would like to say something about that. I spent about half of my time the first year in the New York project, it is half of our project, and I have never seen these activities carried on. I have never seen subversive literature or communistic literature on the project bulletin boards, nor to my knowledge, have I ever known of Communist meeting being held on project property. So that, what I have to go on, is that your principal witnesses alleged that such things took place. I say I want this immediately traced, and I want to find out about this. I have done that in every case.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you done?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I have gone to the supervisor of the project, the administrative officer, Mr. Paul Edwards, and Mr. George Carnduff, head of the Theater Project, and asked them to trace every one of those allegations.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they done it for you?



Mrs. FLANAGAN. They have done it, and the affidavits are in the brief of the whole testimony that I had hoped to be allowed to read, but which, in any case, I wish to write into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, they have all denied that communistic activities took place on the project as charged?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not cite a single instance where any of these things took place, did they?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. So that, it was a complete denial on the part of all of the supervisors and everyone that reported to you that a single communistic activity had taken place on the premises?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes, but this sounds, as you say it, as though 3,000 people testified. Ten people testified about some fifty other people. This is a project of 4,000 people.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am asking you is simply this, that all the reports you have——

Mrs. FLANAGAN (interposing). Have denied the allegation of communistic activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Denied them all?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In view of the fact that we have testimony that Stevedore has been produced, I think that we should set out in the record here these excerpts which were referred to by the chairman a moment ago, that those excerpts should be set out in the record from Stevedore.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

(The excerpts referred to are as follows:)

(Page 24:) LONNIE. God damn dem, anyhow. Whey dey think I am? Do I look like some kind of animal? Do I look like somebody who'd jump over a back fence and rape a woman?

(Page 29:) WALCOTT. You're too God damn uppity. \* \* \* You black — of-a — you can't talk to me that way.

(Page 42:) RAG WILLIAMS. Dat li'l skinny boy! Lawd, he couldn't rape nothing.

JOE CRUMP. Why dey have to go and start dat rape stuff up again?

(Page 43:) RAG WILLIAMS. He just a big hunk of horse rump, dat's all.

(Page 53:) LONNIE. God damn you, let go.

(Page 60:) AL. Well, I'll be God damned if you can use my car to help rape a nigger.

LEM. Christ Almighty? Rape nigger.

(Page 61:) AL. Well, by God some nigger raped her.

MARTY. Rape, my eye.

AL. Yeah, rape. You let 'em get away with it, and no white woman will be safe on the streets anymore. Christ, if a nigger raped your woman in your back yard how would you feel if we helped him?

(Page 62:) LEM. Don't be such a God-damned fool.

LEM. Aw, for Christ's sake, Al.

AL. Yeah. Like a God-damned nigger-lover.

(Page 86:) AL. Yeah! That "red" bastard! Nigger-lover.

MOB. Let's get that bastard. Nigger-lover! Throw him out of here! God-damned nigger-lover.

(Page 90:) MITCH (looking her over lecherously). Um-m, I'll bet you're a hot mamma. Think I'm your size, brown sugar? BINNIE. No. You couldn't handle me. You ain't man enough.

(Page 122:) MITCH. We'll kill every black bastard behind dat woodpile.

(Page 123:) BINNIE. That red-headed — of a —, I got him!

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any questions, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. Just one. Mrs. Flanagan, following up Mr. Dies' questions relative to communistic activities on the project, did Paul Edwards, the administrator in New York City, tell you that there were no communistic activities on the project in New York City?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. No, he turned over to me a brief, part of which had been compiled on his project, that is, compiled in respect to things which he would know, and that his supervisors would know.

Mr. THOMAS. In that brief did he deny that there were any communistic activities on the project in New York City?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. The brief does so deny, yes; point by point. Point by point it is refuted, point by point by affidavits.

Mr. THOMAS. And that brief was sent to you by him and it is his statement?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Not all of it, my own statement on anything relating to the plays and the chief of personnel running the project and the office, and of all charges made against me personally, I have written.

Mr. THOMAS. What I am trying to find out is this: I want to know in response to your inquiry of the administrator in New York whether or not Paul Edwards admitted to you there were any communistic activities on the project in New York?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. He never did.

Mr. THOMAS. He admitted that there were none?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. He turned over to me—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). He admitted that there were no communistic activities on the project in New York?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. He never said that there was communistic activity on the project.

The CHAIRMAN. What time is it, please?

Mr. STARNES. A quarter past one.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn for 1 hour. Suppose we adjourn for an hour and then we will hear Mr. Alsberg.

Mr. STARNES. Have you finished, Mrs. Flanagan?

Mrs. FLANAGAN. Just a minute, gentlemen. Do I understand that this concludes my testimony?

The CHAIRMAN. We will see about it after lunch.

Mrs. FLANAGAN. I would like to make a final statement, if I may, Congressman Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. We will see about it after lunch.

(Thereupon, at 1:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:15 p. m. of the same day.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of recess, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We are going to have to hurry along, because we have a number of witnesses here to be heard. We have two here from the west coast who have been waiting for 4 days, and we have the commander of the American Legion and a minister, and we have to hurry along as fast as we can.

Where is Mr. Alsberg? Is he here?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF HENRY G. ALSBERG, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION**

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Starnes will question you, Mr. Alsberg.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Alsberg, what is your official position with the Federal Government, or with relation to the Federal Government?

Mr. ALSBERG. I am the National Director of the Federal Writers Project.

Mr. STARNES. When were you appointed as the director of that project?

Mr. ALSBERG. In the summer of 1935.

Mr. STARNES. First, give us your name and address.

Mr. ALSBERG. I did; Henry G. Alsberg. I live at 3200 16th Street Northwest.

Mr. STARNES. Now, when were you first appointed as director of the Federal Writers Project?

Mr. ALSBERG. I believe it was in August 1935.

Mr. STARNES. By whom were you appointed?

Mr. ALSBERG. By Mr. Hopkins.

Mr. STARNES. Upon whose recommendation?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. You see, I had a job in the W. P. A. at the time in the reporting division.

Mr. STARNES. What is your background with reference to reportorial or newspaper work of any type or character?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have been an editor on the New York Evening Post for—well, in the first place, I was graduated at Columbia University with an A. B. and an LLB. I took a year's special work at Harvard; I practiced law for about 4 years, as a young man. Then, about a year or so after that, I obtained an editorial position on the New York Evening Post, which I held for about 3 or 4 years. Then I went to Europe as a correspondent and was a correspondent there for, oh, about, on and off—

The CHAIRMAN. Will you speak a little louder? It is very difficult to hear you.

Mr. ALSBERG. I was a correspondent there for a considerable time. I went back and forth three or four times as a correspondent.

Mr. STARNES. For what paper, or for what group of publications?

Mr. ALSBERG. I at one time represented the New York World, for quite a time in Europe, in various countries of Europe; I was a representative of the New York Nation; I have written for the New York Times; I have written for a number of American papers; I have written for the Manchester Guardian and I have written for the London Daily Herald, and a number of other magazines.

Mr. STARNES. You have given us now your complete reportorial background?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, I wanted to meet what you want.

Mr. STARNES. Go right ahead.

Mr. ALSBERG. I was director of the Provincetown Theater for 3 years; I was an adapter of a Jewish play which ran for 2 years in New York and which was played throughout the country, and which was acted as well in London.



I suppose that more or less covers it. I have written short stories; I have even written poetry which has been published in various magazines, and a short time ago one of my short stories appeared in a foreign collection of short stories in a book—15 years or so ago. I have not got the book with me.

Mr. STARNES. It has been alleged that in the conduct or operation of the Federal Writers Project, in New York City particularly, that an unusual amount of un-American activities, subversive activities of different kinds and character, have been carried on in that project. Do you know anything personally about that, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. I know something personally. I don't know whether the committee wants to know my attitude toward communism. I think I have a history on that—a personal history on that—which will make it quite clear that I am the very opposite of a Communist. Perhaps that is a background that the committee is entitled to know. I do think it is a part of it.

Mr. STARNES. All right, if you want to give that background, we will be glad to hear it.

Mr. ALSBERG. The background on that is that I was in Russia as a correspondent, a foreign correspondent; then I did a year's work in Russia in famine relief, under the American Relief Administration.

Mr. MOSIER. What year was that, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. That was in the year 1922-23. I have not been back in Russia since. I came back and made speeches and wrote against the dictatorship and the suppression of civil liberties, and the persecution of opposite parties. I published a book—I edited this book which was gotten out by an organization called the International Committee for Political Prisoners, which, at the time, was considered the most devastating attack on the tyrannical Russian situation, which was headlined and ran in the Sunday papers all over the country.

Mr. STARNES. Now, what Russian situation did you have reference to—under the Czarist regime?

Mr. ALSBERG. Oh, no; under the Soviet regime.

Mr. STARNES. Under the Soviet regime?

Mr. ALSBERG. These are letters from Russian prisons and documents and translations of the laws governing printing and the use of printing presses, and so on. I lost, I might say, most of my friends at the time, because I was considered the arch anti-Communist in America, because I had been a liberal.

The CHAIRMAN. How did that result in your losing your friends—coming out against communism?

Mr. ALSBERG. Because a lot of the liberals at that time felt there should be nothing said about Russia that was not completely favorable. That was back in 1925.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true today, is it not?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know; but a great many of them have changed their minds. I suffered; I was blacklisted; I could not get my articles printed.

Mr. STARNES. By whom were you blacklisted?

Mr. ALSBERG. I was not able to get anything printed in any of the liberal journals, such as the Nation, and the New Republic, for quite a while.

I have tried to give the picture, because I think it belongs to the picture.

Mr. STARNES. You have been able, in recent years, to get publications in the New Republic and the liberal papers, have you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I have not written much for them, because I have had this job now. I have been down there for 3 or 4 years.

Mr. STARNES. But you have had some?

Mr. ALSBERG. I think I have had some.

Mr. STARNES. Have you had anything in the New Masses?

Mr. ALSBERG. Never; I have never had a thing in the New Masses.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him complete his statement. You did not complete your statement, did you?

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, I think that is the background, except I might further say I was arrested in Russia and stuck in jail for several weeks and had a very difficult time getting out, in that I was considered hostile to the—I probably expressed myself as hostile. Also, I would like to add I was not permitted to go back to Russia, after I had left it in 1923.

The CHAIRMAN. I am very much interested in your statement that when you wrote this against Russia, many of your friends became incensed about it and many liberals were angered about it. I cannot understand why they would assume that attitude. Was it that they were sympathetic with Russia?

Mr. ALSBERG. I think at that time, as I was myself. I attacked them on the basis, as you will see from this book, if freedom of speech was important in Italy—and I have compiled a pamphlet against Italian fascism—if freedom of speech was important in Italy, it was important in Russia. And at that time they were saying “Russia is being blockaded,” this, that and the other thing, “and you must not do anything about it.”

I think a great many of these same people have changed their minds very much.

The CHAIRMAN. From some of the abuse and satire that has been heaped on this committee by certain people, I am very much in doubt as to whether they have changed their minds.

Mr. ALSBERG. Perhaps I should not have brought this up. I did not write about it.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been one of the most astounding phenomena to me, the very point you now mention, that some liberals take it as a personal affront when there is any attack made upon the Soviet regime, and you have had that experience and the committee has had it. That was why I was so much interested in your statement.

Mr. ALSBERG. I can give you some details on that.

Mr. STARNES. I wish you would give us some of those matters.

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, the fact—this happened 14 years ago, or 12 years ago—I think this book was published about 1925, and I am not here to attack any foreign government, it is not my place, but I do want to place myself and explain what my attitude is toward any kind of regime of violence and dictatorship.

The CHAIRMAN. And is it not correct to say that your experience in Russia convinced you the Soviet regime was one of the most illiberal governments in the world?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes. I don't think there is any question about that, and I am willing to go on record right here and now in saying that is the case today.

Mr. THOMAS. How do you happen to know it is the case today?

Mr. ALSBERG. Because I read the reports, and you cannot print anything in Russia, cannot make a speech in Russia, cannot exercise any of the freedoms that you can exercise in a democracy like the American democracy.

Mr. THOMAS. But your knowledge today of Russia is based upon what you read about Russia?

Mr. ALSBERG. What I read and what friends of mine come back and tell me.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give any reason for the phenomena which were mentioned by the chairman of the committee a moment ago that a committee which is investigating or inquiring into facts with reference to un-American and subversive activities in this country is attacked and caricature and called un-American itself because it seeks to find out the facts about communism?

Mr. ALSBERG. I hold no brief for the people who have attacked this committee. I have never uttered a word attacking this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had the same experience yourself?

Mr. ALSBERG. I had this experience which I am telling you; I cannot tell what you experience here. And to this day I am considered a reactionary, a liberal who is slipping.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they call you pro-Fascist?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; they have not done that, but they call me a poor liberal who has slipped, and that is the term that is applied to a great many liberals who do not go the full way.

The CHAIRMAN. They want you to go the full way or else some of the radical element denounce you as reactionary?

Mr. ALSBERG. That is more or less what has happened.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the full way would be communism?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, I don't know. I do not think I am asked to be a Communist, but I am asked—I think the attitude is to sign a blank check on things that are done, that you do not approve of. I have always tried to maintain my independence of judgment as to what people and governments do.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you are not going to be forced; you reserve the right to oppose the Soviet Union and communism? That is your fundamental right, is it not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And regardless of what your friends or so-called liberals say or anything else, still you maintain the right of every American to oppose a dictatorial form of government?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You say you have not been in Russia since 1922?

Mr. ALSBERG. Since 1923.

Mr. STARNES. 1923?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Whom did you go with at that time when you went to Russia?

Mr. ALSBERG. I tried to get into Russia from four or five different places. I started down in Bessarabia by myself with a Rumanian journalist, and we got across the boundary into Minilef, across the Dniester River at a place called Mohilef, and there the place had been



taken by a lot of bandits, and I was glad to get back across the river with my life.

Then I went up farther north to Poland, and I could not get a visa to go in there. And then I went to Latvia and stayed there for 6 weeks trying to get a visa to get in. Don't forget, this was in 1920, when it was difficult to get in. Finally I went back to Copenhagen and saw Mr. Litvinoff, and he gave me a visa. I had never met him; he was their representative in Copenhagen. Then I went into Russia with the British Labor delegation at that time, which was also going in there.

MR. STARNES. Were they having an international conference at that time?

MR. ALSBERG. No; they had it later; they had an international conference sometime later, but they did not go in for an international conference; they went in as kind of an investigating committee to find out what Russia was like. And there were some quite conservative members on that delegation, and there were some—there were Bertrand Russell, and Buston, and Tom Shaw. It was a mixed committee, but they picked me up on the way, notwithstanding I had not started with them and had no connection with them; so we went in on the same train together.

MR. STARNES. How were you going at that time? Were you going as an independent journalist, or a delegate of some sort, or just going as a matter of adventure?

MR. ALSBERG. I was going in as a journalist, but when I went in they gave me a card as a member of the British delegation, although I had no title to it whatsoever.

MR. STARNES. Mr. Litvinoff arranged that?

MR. ALSBERG. No; I don't know who arranged it; but when we got to Moscow I was on the same train, and they handed me a card calling me a member of the British delegation. But I had not been appointed that in England or anywhere.

MR. STARNES. Did you represent yourself as a British subject in order to get a passport?

MR. ALSBERG. No. I had an American passport and everything.

MR. STARNES. While you were in Russia, did you have an opportunity to meet Stalin?

MR. ALSBERG. No.

MR. STARNES. Or any other of the leading lights of the Communist group?

MR. ALSBERG. Well, Congressman, most of the people that I met are now dead—they have been purged. And they were no friends of mine. I did meet, I may say, Thomski, Zinoviev, Radek, and a lot of others, and for 3 minutes I spoke to Lenin—just for 3 minutes.

MR. STARNES. You did speak to Lenin for 3 minutes?

MR. ALSBERG. Somebody introduced me to Lenin as he passed through the room.

MR. STARNES. Where did that occur?

MR. ALSBERG. I cannot remember the building.

MR. STARNES. I mean, was it in Moscow, the capital?

MR. ALSBERG. Yes; in Moscow.

MR. STARNES. Was it some sort of an occasion—a meeting of any kind or character?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. I was with some Russian who was going, an interpreter—they gave you an interpreter—and they dragged me over and said, “Comrade Lenin, here is an American journalist.”

Mr. STARNES. What did you do while in Russia, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. I got news about what was happening in Russia and wrote articles for the Nation and London Daily Herald. That was the first time I was in Russia.

Mr. STARNES. That was the first time?

Mr. ALSBERG. In 1920.

Mr. STARNES. In 1920?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. When was the second time you were there?

Mr. ALSBERG. The second time I went in 1921.

Mr. STARNES. In 1921?

Mr. ALSBERG. In the winter of 1921 and by the spring I was starved out and I had to leave, because I had lost 25 pounds and there was not enough to eat.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you stay in 1921, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. I stayed about 6 months. I left sometime in May.

Mr. STARNES. How did you go over there at that time? Did you go over there as a journalist?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I went at that time as a newspaperman.

Mr. STARNES. For what publication did you go at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. I was still going for the Nation and the London Daily Journal.

Mr. STARNES. On that trip, in 1921, whom did you meet who were in positions of authority with reference to the Soviet Government—Stalin, Lenin, or any of that group?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; at that time I did not meet either Stalin or Lenin. I met mostly the lesser officials who got me news. I met Chicherin practically every night, because I had to get my news from Mr. Chicherin, and we had to sit up in the Foreign Office until 4 o'clock in the morning, because Mr. Chicherin did not give out his interviews until about 3.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend at any time during 1921, or during the 6 months you were there—did you attend any of their International meetings, or had any been held up to that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. They had an International every year. I don't remember; I don't think I attended it, but my memory as to that is not very clear—certainly not as a delegate of any kind.

Mr. STARNES. After 1921, when did you next go back to Russia?

Mr. ALSBERG. I went back in the fall of 1922 as director of the American Joint Distribution Committee, which was working as one of the organizations doing famine relief under the American Relief Administration, and I stayed about 9 months.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go then as an official delegate of any kind, representing either the Government or any private organization?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; well, I went as a director, as a temporary director to fill a vacancy on the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Who appointed you?

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Felix Warburg.

Mr. STARNES. Now, after the 1922 trip, when did you next go back?

Mr. ALSBERG. I did not go back. You see, that stretched around into 1923.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Did you see Emma Goldman on either of those trips?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I met Emma Goldman in 1920.

Mr. STARNES. In 1920?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes. I may add I had never met her before. I knew nothing about her American activities. I met her in 1920.

Mr. STARNES. When did you next see her?

Mr. ALSBERG. I saw her again in 1921, in the winter, in Russia.

Mr. STARNES. She was there in 1921?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And did you see her when she came to this country in 1934?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I saw her.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend a meeting given for her on February 6, 1934, in New York City?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; they gave her a dinner.

Mr. STARNES. They gave her a welcome at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, it was a dinner. A great many people were there.

Mr. STARNES. And you spoke on that occasion, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And your speech was reported in Freedom, of February 1934?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. I never saw it.

Mr. STARNES. But you did speak at that dinner?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And that was in the nature of a welcome, of course—a sort of a homecoming?

Mr. ALSBERG. Not a welcome. It was reminiscences of the hard times we had had in Russia. And my great point of agreement with Emma Goldman is that she approaches it from a different point of view, but we both hate the tyranny in Russia.

Mr. STARNES. Who gave this dinner?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't remember; possibly some friends of Emma Goldman. I had nothing to do with that.

Mr. STARNES. You cannot say, then, under whose auspices the meeting was held?

Mr. ALSBERG. No.

Mr. STARNES. How long did she stay in this country when she was here?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. I don't think I saw her but once more, either before or after that. She was here under a temporary visa that was granted, I think.

Mr. STARNES. You have not seen her since 1934?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have not seen her since.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall the last place you saw her?

Mr. ALSBERG. I imagine it was in Saint Tropez, in the south of France, and I was on the Riviera, and I think she was there and I saw her then, in 1932.

Mr. STARNES. What year was that?

Mr. ALSBERG. 1932.

Mr. STARNES. In 1932?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.



Mr. STARNES. Where have you seen her besides in France, New York City, and in Russia?

Mr. ALSBERG. I saw her in Spain. She was in Spain before the revolution.

Mr. STARNES. What year was that, do you recall?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't quite; it probably was in 1927.

Mr. STARNES. In 1927?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What were you doing there at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. I was doing newspaper work and also collecting material on political oppression. You see, until I got this job down here, I was writing a book on political persecution since the war in Europe, and I went to Spain to collect material and see what was happening there; I also went to Bulgaria, and I went to Rumania, and I went to Hungary, Austria, Germany, and I have a vast lot of material. Unfortunately, I did——

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Alsberg——

The CHAIRMAN. Let him finish.

Mr. STARNES. I beg your pardon; I thought you had finished.

Mr. ALSBERG. My only point is that I have never been able to complete that book, because my financial circumstances were such I had to take a job.

Mr. STARNES. What was Emma Goldman doing in Spain when you were there in 1927?

Mr. ALSBERG. She took a trip. She was not engaged in politics, because I saw a good deal of her.

Mr. STARNES. You saw a great deal of her while you were in Spain?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. She took no part in the political activities that were going on in Spain at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. None at all.

Mr. STARNES. And you did not either?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I was collecting material for my book, going around to Government offices and getting copies of laws——

Mr. STARNES. Did you exchange views with her at that time on the political situation generally, I will say, both nationally and internationally?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't remember. I suppose we talked about all sorts of things.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not your views coincided, as a rule, on international politics?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. We quarreled all the time, bitterly, because I did not believe in violent revolution—a quarrel that has been going on between Emma and me for years.

Mr. STARNES. She believes in violent revolution?

Mr. ALSBERG. She does, or did; I don't know how she believes now.

Mr. STARNES. When you saw her on the Riveria in 1932, I believe you said——

Mr. ALSBERG. I think it was.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you there?

Mr. ALSBERG. Oh, I don't know; I think a week or 10 days.

Mr. STARNES. What was she doing then—vacationing?

Mr. ALSBERG. She was writing her autobiography.

Mr. STARNES. And were you still engaged in journalistic pursuits at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. Not on the Riviera. I had been in Paris and I was collecting material for my book.

Mr. STARNES. That was in 1932?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In 1932 you also attended the Amsterdam World Congress Against War, in Amsterdam, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That was in August, the 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1932?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You went at that time as a delegate?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I don't think that is quite right. Will you let me tell you about it?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. ALSBERG. We had gotten out this book—this committee—and other things, and I received a letter from the committee would I go to the congress, which I did. But the congress was a very informal affair. There were a lot of people there without any real credentials. I had a letter and I went into the congress and I never made a speech, and there were about 2,000 people there, and I listened to it and then went away. But I do add this: That I refused to sign the blank check which they handed out at the end of the congress saying that the managing committee would draw up resolutions summing up what the congress did. I refused to take any part in that, because I did not want—I will say this: That, like all of these congresses, like the colonial congress, it turned into a Communist congress, which was not the intention. There were hundreds of people there—the women's peace organizations and I myself—interested in civil liberties, who did not want to sign the Russian check. An the point was this: That we wanted a resolution passed against all war and in favor of peace and they wanted a resolution passed against all imperialistic wars and to protect Russia. I did not sign that and I left the congress. It was very hot and all kinds of people talked. There were rows, because there were about 500 delegates from the French teachers' organizations which had the same kick as I did, only they were more vocal, and the congress just dissolved. And at the end of the congress they just passed around a blank and said, "Will you please sign this, authorizing the steering committee to draw up resolutions?" I said, "No; I will not sign it, because I don't like the way the congress has gone, and I won't sign a blank check."

Mr. STARNES. Now, the truth of the business is that congress was presided over by Henri Barbusse, a distinguished French Communist?

Mr. ALSBERG. He was chairman in reality, because Barbusse made the main speech. He is also a great French writer. I do not think he presided. They had a regular chairman, but Barbusse made the main speech.

Mr. STARNES. You went there, then, in defense of civil liberties, and when you arrived you discovered the Communists had control of the meeting, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; that is the way it developed. That is the way it happened with the congress, that I never attended on colonial matters, and it did develop that the Communists were in fact going to beat up

some Trotskyites who got up and objected and wanted to be heard—I remember that—and booed them, and there was quite a row on the floor.

Mr. STARNES. There were several hundred Communists in the meeting?

Mr. ALSBERG. At least, they dominated the situation.

They had an armory there seating about 2,000 people, and it was frightfully hot, because the skylights let through the boiling sun. But they did dominate; that was my conclusion; I cannot say it is so, but my conclusion is they did, and I did not want to underwrite that kind of a congress.

Mr. STARNES. Now, out of that congress there came the World Committee Against War, did there not, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know; I did not follow it up.

Mr. STARNES. You did not follow it down?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. That was all the connection I had with that congress, was attending it in the way I have told you.

Mr. STARNES. What are your specific duties on the Federal Writers Project, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. I am the national director.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have supervision of the various publications?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, I do. I have the responsibility for them, which is a little different from direct supervision. I have the responsibility. We have 50—I would like to sketch to you the set-up there—we have 50 offices in this country. Each office has a State director and in most of the States they have districts. Probably there are 300 different offices of the Writers Project. The last employment was about 4,500. We lay down the program for the kind of books they are to write. The field workers get the material together and send it to the State office. The State office writes it into the books and sends the first manuscripts in. The Washington staff criticizes them and sends them back.

And each book has a sponsor. In most cases an official body of some kind. No manuscript is published without the approval of the sponsor.

There have been at least 10,000 consultants, professors in universities, economists, historians, geologists, and so on. Every piece of copy, in the first instance, has to have the name of the consultant on it and the reference to the place where they got their facts, the book, and the page.

Mr. STARNES. Who assigns them their duties? Do you, as the national director, assign them their duties?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; because that is done by the State director.

Mr. STARNES. What employees take their instructions directly from you?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, pretty nearly everybody here in Washington comes in contact with me sooner or later. I do not direct everybody every day.

Mr. STARNES. Is Mr. Harold Coy an employee of yours?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who is he; where is he from?

Mr. ALSBERG. May I read his record? I have it here; let me read it. He did rewrites and had special assignments on the St. Louis Star; he was an assistant general manager of the St. Louis Provi-



dent Association; he has served on the Citizens' Committee on Relief and Employment in St. Louis; and was publicity director for the St. Louis Community Fund and also for the community council. He was manager of the Federated Press which is a service that services not only—it services both of the big labor organizations.

Mr. Coy's writings include articles and feature stories in Current History, the Survey, the Family, New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, and Baltimore Evening Sun.

Mr. STARNES. What about Mr. Coy; was he ever connected with any school or college in this country in any capacity?

Mr. ALSBERG. I believe at one time he taught at Commonwealth College.

Mr. STARNES. Where is that located?

Mr. ALSBERG. In Arkansas, I believe.

Mr. STARNES. When was he connected with that school?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have not the dates here. I know that at one time he was there, between 1926 and 1927, or 1927-28. It may be he was there again later.

Mr. STARNES. A moment ago I do not know whether I got you clearly, or not, or understood you clearly. Did you say that in your experience you had something to do with any national committee for political prisoners, or that Mr. Coy did?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I said I did.

Mr. STARNES. Oh, you did?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What was that connection, please?

Mr. ALSBERG. I was one of the members, but the chief publication of that committee, while I was connected with it, was this book on Russia.

Mr. STARNES. Who were the officers, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. What is that?

Mr. STARNES. Who were the officers on that committee? Will you give us the names of the officers of that committee?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, there seems to have been only one officer, Roger N. Baldwin. On the other hand, the committee was elected from every group of liberal opinion. If you read it, you will find that is the case. The reason for that was that I wanted every kind of liberal opinion represented, so that we could get the backing on this book.

Mr. STARNES. Will you set out for the record—you need not read them now—those names there? Will you furnish those for the record and let the reporter have them? There is no need of reading them, unless the other members of the committee want to hear them.

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

(The following were the names furnished the reported by Mr. Alsberg:)

#### INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

Roger N. Baldwin, chairman

Jane Addams  
Paul Jones  
Henry G. Alsberg  
Carleton Beals  
Louis B. Boudin  
Max Danish  
Clarence Darrow

Anna N. Davis  
Eugene V. Debs  
W. E. B. DuBois  
John Lovejoy Elliott  
Nathalie B. Ells  
Charles W. Erwin  
Elizabeth Burley Flynn

John G. Forbath  
 Felix Frankfurter  
 Lewis Gannett  
 Elizabeth Gilman  
 Arthur Garfield Hays  
 Norman Hapgood  
 John Haynes Holmes  
 David Starr Jordan  
 Paul U. Kellogg  
 Harry Kelly  
 Emil Lengyel  
 Robert Morss Lovett  
 Julian W. Mack

James H. Maurer  
 David Mitrany  
 S. E. Morison  
 Fremont Older  
 John A. Ryan  
 Nevin Sayre  
 Alexander S. Tardos  
 Graham R. Taylor  
 Norman Thomas  
 Girolamo Valenti  
 Ernesto Valentini  
 Oswald Garrison Villard  
 B. Charney Vladeck

Mr. STARNES. Did Mr. Coy teach journalism down at Commonwealth?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. I think he taught literature, as far as I can make out.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know about his making a visit to Spain in 1934 or 1935, when he was over there about 6 months?

Mr. ALSBERG. I know he was in Spain; I have not inquired when he was there.

Mr. STARNES. During the time he was there, you know he contributed a number of articles to the New Masses, did he not?

Mr. ALSBERG. I did not know that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether, in 1935-36, he acted as publicity man for the Council of Social Agencies over in St. Louis?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; so his statement says.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not he was sent to Spain in 1934-35 by the Communist Party as an observer and chronicler of events there?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. STARNES. You have no knowledge of that whatsoever?

Mr. ALSBERG. No.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the activities of his wife Mildred Price, who is an organizer for the Communist Party?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have no knowledge of his wife's activities at all. I only met her recently.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Dr. Jerome Cook and Jack Conroy?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have met Jack Conroy. I don't know Jerome Cook; at least, I don't remember him.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know that in 1936-37 Mr. Coy assisted in organizing the Inter-Professional Association, a Communist subsidiary for dentists, doctors, and other professionals, and he had associated with him in that role Jack Conroy and Dr. Jerome Cook?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not, in 1936-37, he went to New York as eastern manager of the Federated Press?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I know that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the background of Commonwealth College down in Arkansas?

Mr. ALSBERG. I know it is something of a liberal college; I have not investigated it.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not it has the reputation of being communistic?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know that.

Mr. STARNES. You don't know that; you do not know it was investigated by the Arkansas Legislature?

Mr. ALSBERG. I do not recall that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have a Mr. Wood who works under you, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. Charles Wood?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. What does he do?

Mr. ALSBERG. He passes through publications after they have been gotten ready, he does the work of getting them to the publisher.

Mr. STARNES. What is his professional background?

Mr. ALSBERG. I cannot tell you offhand. I can give you his record. He has been a writer, has worked for newspapers, has done special articles. I can furnish you with his record; I have it right here.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have a Mrs. Kellock who works for you?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us her professional qualifications and background?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I will. I am reading from a record which already appears in a House hearing:

MRS. KATHARINE AMEND KELLOCK

Born, Pittsburgh, Pa., no ancestor came to this country later than 1742, mostly Swiss, English, and Scotch. One great-grandmother, sister of Richard Henry Leeth; mother's father, S. J. Hayes, was cousin to President R. B. Hayes. Sisters and relatives members of Daughters of the American Revolution.

Not a member, and never has been, of any organization of any kind. Registered voter in Democratic Party in New York City.

Spent 2 years as resident of Henry Street Settlement and one of three recommendations for Government job came from Miss Lillian Wald; others were Ludwell Denny, an executive of the Scripps-Howard newspaper syndicate and now managing editor of the Indianapolis Times, and Mr. Richard Boeckel, chief of the Editorial Research Reports of Washington.

For 8 years has been doing free-lance research on history, biography, American folklore, and culture. Two short stories for Harpers; about 45 biographies for Dictionary of American Biography, which is being edited under auspices of New York Times and Council of Learned Societies; research for biographies of Houdini, Parson Weams, John Adams, last still unpublished. Did most of the Sunday feature stories on Washington subjects for the Scripps-Howard syndicate (N. E. A.) for 3 years, including a number on the Department of Justice, and so on.

Mr. STARNES. Is she the wife of Mr. Kellock who acts as publicity manager for the Soviet Embassy here?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know what his job is. She is the wife of Mr. Harold Kellock.

Mr. STARNES. Is that his reputed position here?

Mr. ALSBERG. I am here to testify—I don't think it is fair; I think you ought to get that from a witness who knows.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know on whose recommendation Mr. Coy was appointed?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; a Mrs. George Jellhorn, of St. Louis; Mrs. Sherwood Anderson, industrial secretary, leadership division, National Board Y. W. C. A., New York City; E. J. Brown, director, School of Business and Public Administration, University of Arizona; Hershel Auldt, general manager of the St. Louis Provident-town Association and the St. Louis Children's Aid Society. He is an outstanding leader in the field of child welfare and family work.



He took a leading part in the Pittsburgh community survey, and in various fields.

Mr. STARNES. Is that all who recommended him?

Mr. ALSBERG. I am trying to find it—Mayor Swan Routzahn, Social Work Publicity Council, Russell Sage Building, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. Did you bring up with you all the records of the people who are employed by you on this Federal Writers' Project?

Mrs. ALSBERG. No; I have not. I brought those only——

Mr. STARNES. Did you bring up the data on any others besides Mr. Coy?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. I brought Mr. Coy's and Mrs. Kellock's because their name appeared in the testimony.

Mr. STARNES. I see.

Mr. ALSBERG. That is all I knew of.

Mr. STARNES. Those were the only ones who had appeared in the testimony at any time or place?

Mr. ALSBERG. In this place.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall who testified about them here?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. I saw a release by your committee, and those two names occurred.

Mr. STARNES. Now, this Charles Wood you spoke of a moment ago as being one of your employees—is he the author of the book Heavenly Discourse?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I do not think so.

Mr. STARNES. He is not the author of that book?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; he is not the author of that book. I think he was one of the assistants to General Glassford.

Mr. STARNES. Have you an assistant director on your project, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. An assistant?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Clare Laning.

Mr. STARNES. Where is he now?

Mr. ALSBERG. He is now in California.

Mr. STARNES. What work is he doing out there?

Mr. ALSBERG. He is doing field work. He is trying to get the California book done in time so that it can be published and sold at the fair. The book has been lagging. I might add that Mr. Laning has been in the W. P. A. longer than I have. He was transferred from another department.

Mr. STARNES. When you are away, who is in charge of the office?

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Laning, when he is here, and ordinarily Mr. Maurice Howe, who was the director in Utah, who has been transferred to my office.

Mr. STARNES. Is Mr. Coy ever left in charge?

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Coy was left in charge for about a day while I was in New York.

Mr. STARNES. What does he have charge of—does he have charge of the material for these guidebooks?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; he has charge of getting the editorial work on them done, but there are a number of people that read the editorial material. Mr. Coy does not have the final decision on the editorial material.

Mr. STARNES. What do you know about Mr. Coy's experience with the Federated Press?

Mr. ALSBERG. I cannot answer that; I know nothing more than that he was eastern manager of the Federated Press.

Mr. STARNES. What is the Federated Press? Do you know about that?

Mr. ALSBERG. The Federated Press is a labor press which supplies information to the A. F. of L. labor unions and the C. I. O. impartially.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same group that previous witnesses testified to as being communistic in its activities or control?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. I have not seen that testimony, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. STARNES. I think you will find that two or more witnesses have testified to that effect.

Were you acquainted with Mr. Coy when he was affiliated with the Commonwealth College?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. I never met Mr. Coy until his name was proposed and letters were brought in about him.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Oric Johns?

Mr. ALSBERG. Oric Johns is a writer in New York. He originates in California. He got on to the New York City project.

Mr. STARNES. Was he ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know, but I have a letter from him which he wrote me recently. I have not seen Mr. Johns for 2 years, but there is a letter here in which he says he is not a member of the Communist Party, and says so. Shall I read that into the record?

Mr. STARNES. We understand he is not now a member. That is the information which comes to this committee, that he is not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ALSBERG. May I tell how Mr. Johns got on the project? I am trying to be completely frank.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; we appreciate you are being very frank.

Mr. ALSBERG. I did not come here in any spirit of hostility. I came—

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your attitude.

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Johns was going on the project by request, originally to supervise, when the project was started. The first project we had was called a reporting project. It was to report on W. P. A. activities and send reports in to Washington for use in the compiling of Nation-wide reports. We had those projects set up in a great many States. Mr. Johns was requisitioned by the then women's unprofessional service profession in New York City. I did not know Mr. Johns. They came to me and said—I was up there trying to get the project started and they came to me and said, "We would like to put this man on; he seems to be very good." I said, "If you will write a requisition to that effect and take the responsibility for it, I will put on Mr. Johns," because I did not know him. And that was done. And that is 3½ years ago.

There was a great deal of confusion when these things were started and they said, "He will make a good supervisor for the Reporters' Project." For quite a while there was nothing but a Reporters' Project in New York, until we got more people on, and Mr. Johns stayed as the Reporters' Project.

Mr. STARNES. He was a director for a time of the New York—

Mr. ALSBERG. I am getting to that.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. ALSBERG. Then, as you know, and it is unnecessary to talk about it, there was a row on the project between factions. I had been busy organizing, getting 6,700 people on this thing, sending out instructions of how to write guides and what to do, and I was on the telephone practically 24 hours a day getting the thing going, and I had left the project in New York in charge of two people who I thought could run it. Well, they could not and there was a ball-up. On one side there were accusations of fascism; on the other side, as you know from Mr. DeSolo's testimony, there was communism.

At that time I think there was an administrator in New York for these projects recently appointed. I went up to New York, as we had to cover that situation as quickly as possible, to put somebody in charge. The two people who were supposed to run it had not been able and made a mess, and they were out. So we put Johns in charge; we promoted Johns, without knowing anything about his political convictions, in order to get somebody in; because you had to run the Reporters' Project very quickly. It was the only part of the project where we did not have a row. We put him in as a director. He stayed for a certain time, then he resigned and I was rather glad he resigned, because I do not think the project was being run right before.

Then there was an interval in which we were looking for a director. A number of names were proposed. In the meantime, the project was in the hands of Mr. Donald Thompson—about whom there has been no testimony that he was a Communist, or anything of that sort; a Princeton graduate—as assistant director.

Finally, we found Mr. Harry L. Shaw, who was a professor at New York University, with the slightest recommendations for the place and with no political affiliations whatsoever, a consultant for Harpers, a writer of textbooks, and so on. We put him in charge of the project, and he was in charge for nearly a year.

Mr. STARNES. What did you all do then, when you found you had a mess up there? You frankly faced the fact and took remedial action, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I demoted—at that time, in 1936, I demoted all of the people who were making trouble. Some of them were transferred, others demoted. DeSolo has testified—I just saw some of his testimony—he was moved out to Staten Island. And we cleaned the mess up as best we could.

I do not mean to pretend here that the project in New York City has not suffered because there was a ball-up, and it is only now gradually rounding into shape as far as discipline goes. I am not here to say that the New York project, as far as disturbance, and so on, goes, has not been sort of a headache. I have had to spend a lot of time there, and once in a while, when the delegations were too ram-bunctious, I have had to go and attend to them, and use pretty rough language to them and saying, "We are not going to do this thing; we are not going to do that."

Mr. STARNES. That was when you had to go into the sit-down strikes?



Mr. ALSBERG. I had nothing to do with the sit-down strike. Without knowing it, I got out of New York the day before it happened, and, when it happened, an order was issued—and that holds today—"If there is any more disturbance on the project in New York City, the project will close down and those people will lose their jobs." That is flat. We will not tolerate another rumpus in New York City like that.

Mr. STARNES. You have had no trouble like that since Mr. Johns resigned, have you—that is, no real trouble up there?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; but there is this constant pressure from union delegations. Every time we drop a man there are delegations, there are protests.

Mr. STARNES. But that happens in private business—in private life?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well it goes further here, I might say; they have felt more free to protest. They have had street picketing. They have not done it in the last 6 months, but they had street picketing with banners, "Alsberg Unfair to Writers Project"—wanting to expand the Writers Project, wanting to do this and wanting to do that.

Mr. STARNES. They not only attacked you, but they attacked Colonel Somervell.

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know, because the projects have been separated. I suppose they have attacked Colonel Somervell. I know they attacked Mr. Ridder when he was administrator. He was the administrator for both of them, and so was Somervell in the beginning. They had a picketing line of the physically handicapped, anybody who could not walk or who was blind or lame, and they paraded asking for jobs, and Mr. Ridder said to me when I stepped in there, "Yesterday I picketed with them, because I am lame and have a bad lung and will probably be dead in a few years, so I marched around with them." But that was not on my project; that was up at Columbus Avenue.

Mr. STARNES. I understand that Oscar Fuss, who was first vice president of the Workers' Alliance there, accused Mr. Ridder at that time of making prostitutes out of single women who had been on relief, because he was ordered by Washington to make reductions in the force on relief work, and when he separated those who were single, both men and women, and who had no dependents, he was accused of making prostitutes out of the single women working on relief.

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know about that.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Johns was at one time editor of New Masses, was he not?

Mr. ALSBERG. I do not think he was editor; I think he had a byline, but I want to make it clear that Johns was taken on the project at the instance of the authorities in New York, and not at mine. I did not know Mr. Johns.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, that is all I have to ask Mr. Alsberg.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Alsberg, let me say I think you are one of the frankest witnesses that has appeared before this committee and your attitude should be commended in the highest terms, because you have come here not with a belligerent and antagonistic attitude, but you have come here perfectly frankly to give us the benefit of whatever information you have.

Now, let me ask you a few questions.

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had, as you have said, a great deal of trouble with communistic activities on the project?

Mr. ALSBERG. In New York City only.

The CHAIRMAN. In New York City only?

Mr. ALSBERG. May I interrupt you?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALSBERG. In my case, the New York City project is a rather small proposition. It has attached about 400 people. It started with 140 and worked up to 500, then was cut, and then worked up again, and is now about—nearly 500. My whole country-wide employment is 4,500, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand; but it ought to be made plain, as we have repeatedly tried to make plain, there is no attack upon the great majority, the overwhelming majority, of those who work on these projects, but the testimony we are considering is testimony dealing with specific projects. You have done everything in your power to meet that situation from time to time, have you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have done the best I could.

The CHAIRMAN. You, as an administrator, are absolutely opposed to communistic activities, or any other subversive activities—Fascist, communistic, or whatever it is—on the project?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; decidedly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that true?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; we have given orders repeatedly there must not be any. But, again, I will say what Mrs. Flanagan said. I have been in New York frequently and I even object to their having their literature downstairs on the street, at the door. I said the last time I was up there, around election—will you pardon my strong language—I said, "For Christ's sake, cannot they peddle their literature somewhere else except the entrance to the project door?"

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen the names signed to this book by Earl Browder?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I have not read them all carefully; I have seen the list.

The CHAIRMAN. There are about 105. How many do you have altogether, on that project?

Mr. ALSBERG. About 500.

The CHAIRMAN. Well the Communists on the project are not content with working; they want to carry on their activities and their propaganda on the project, do they not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, not on the project; at least, we don't let them. I mean to say the director is not a Communist and he has instructed time and again to see that it is not carried on. But now there is a big floor, their floor they have there, that is about 150 feet square, with partitions and so on, and I cannot guarantee you that somebody does not do something on that project that he should not do, you see. But the Director and the present Director, a man by the name of Howard Strauss, was a member of Kovichi Friede. He writes signed reviews in the New York Times. He has never been accused of any such thing. All I know is they are complaining in New York now, since he is on, that he is too snobbish. What is meant by that is that he is easy with them.



The CHAIRMAN. When a writer is certified to you on relief, under the law, of course, you cannot go into his political affiliations; that is true, is it not?

Mr. ALSBERG. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. However, with reference to the supervisors and those in supervisory control, you will not permit Communists to hold those positions when you know it?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. The people have to have a trial; they have to be questioned, and that is being gone into now. There are 6 there—there are 50 supervisors on that project, 6 of whom seem to have signed that book. Their signatures have to be verified and it has to be found out what their attitude is about subversive activities. I think that has to be gone into.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the Guide, the Chair procured some galley sheets. From these galley sheets—these are not the ones that we procured from your offices Saturday, I believe, was it not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; we sent you up a whole lot.

The CHAIRMAN. Before then, we procured a number of galley sheets which the Chair examined and found a number of statements in the galley sheets that very definitely appear, at least to the Chairman and others, to promote class hatred—to present this thing from a partisan angle. Have you had any trouble with that? When this material comes into your office, do you find a great many statements that are assumptions?

Mr. ALSBERG. We find statements of all kinds that are unwarranted, or overstatements—claims made that “This is the biggest something or other that ever was”; that “This is the most beautiful piece of scenery.” “We have millions of Indian leaps,” and that sort of thing. And we often have biased statements on historical matters. There is a question in Tennessee, or in Kentucky, now, where the university president feels we have not been fair about some statement about the War between the States. The thing is being submitted to him. There is no question about it, that we have to watch out on that continually.

The CHAIRMAN. But these particular statements I am calling your attention to are not of the kind you describe. The statements I am speaking about are statements—

Mr. ALSBERG. Where are they? I have them here.

The CHAIRMAN. I have got them here, if I can ever find them.

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, may I make a statement about the New Jersey book, in general, which perhaps will help you?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALSBERG. We have struggled with the New Jersey book because of the tendency of the New Jersey State staff, frankly, to overstate and to sharpen statements about labor. These galleys—I mean not galleys, but manuscripts, have gone back and forth and the thing has dragged out since last June. These galleys—it is hard to spot them all, but we have attempted consistently to tone it down—you had some testimony mentioning Mr. Hague, and you find the statement mentioning Mr. Hague and his tear gas was deleted in the galleys.

The CHAIRMAN. I have some of those galleys here.

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes. I would like to spot them.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a galley proof, is it not [exhibiting]?



Mr. ALSBERG. That is a galley proof. I don't know which one it is.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the Montana, I think.

Mr. ALSBERG. Oh, this is Montana?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ALSBERG. You see, we keep on revising galley proofs. They get sent out to the sponsor—the galley proof gets sent out to the sponsor, for his final approval. The sponsor, in the case of Montana, I believe, is the road commission of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am asking you is, Did these galley proofs on New Jersey and Montana come back to you after the manuscript had been sent to the Viking Press? Is not that right?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir; but there is also an explanation. On 12 of the cities, there was criticism. I was in New York and there were instructions given to send them back. On 12 of the cities, the last revised manuscripts, somebody in the office sent them back. Everything else was right, but the 12 cities were sent in with the earlier version, which was edited by a man by the name of Barrows, in my office. He is quite a distinguished writer, but they would not approve those 12 cities. Now we find ourselves in a mess. Some of those galleys will have to be reset entirely. There has been bitter correspondence between the Viking Press and us, because they say, "You sent us those 12; now you want us to reset them. It is going to cost \$1,200. Who is going to pay it?"

The CHAIRMAN. This is Montana, not New Jersey.

Mr. ALSBERG. Montana is all right, but the New Jersey one was not even the final manuscript, as I am trying to tell you, and we are in a mess with the publisher on that.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get is this: The manuscript which was sent to the Viking Press, from which they made this galley proof, had not been finally approved?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; that is the trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. So that when we received the galley proofs concerning New Jersey, containing here what I would term "violent statements" in many respects, you are taking them from the galley proofs?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; we are trying to. Then they have to go back to the sponsor, the Newark Public Library, to see if they approve it.

Mrs. Woodward got quite a lot of rough handling here because she did not know the details on this business. Now she could not have known it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true.

Mr. ALSBERG. But Mrs. Woodward will not pass these galleys until we have annexed to those galleys the O. K.'s of the sponsors, the list of consultants who have approved, and right on down the line.

These galleys are not anywhere near publication yet. It is going to take us 2 months before we get them back in shape. And when it all gets in shape and my staff all the way down finally agrees and checks up with the New Jersey staff, then I have to read those galleys myself—to take a week end off and read them myself, finally.

The CHAIRMAN. So that when you finally approve them there will be nothing inimical in there?

Mr. ALSBERG. Not only them but this list of books against which there has not been a kick, or as to which there has not been any kick. We are not going to muckrake the Congress of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is responsible for putting in this material? Take these galley proofs and some of the statements in there?

Mr. ALSBERG. In this case they mostly came from the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Montana had some of it, and New Jersey had a great deal of it.

Mr. ALSBERG. The New Jersey stuff came from the State, and it has been a running battle since June to tone the copy down so that it will not be offensive or unfair.

As to the Montana galleys, the most of that was written in Montana. The labor essay, I think, which is in question, the original labor essay, was very poor. It was sent back and the Montana people were asked to rewrite the labor essay, which they did. And this labor essay, with some toning down in the galleys, is the one which they wrote. We tried to do something about the labor essay in our office, and it was hopeless; we did not know enough about it.

I want to correct this impression. We get as much as half a million words in galleys and copies in this office every week, in various stages of the process, from page proofs to books. We watch the page proofs in the end and make the publisher re-do the plates if there is any question that comes up.

Mr. Wood and a lady by the name of Lazelle are the people who read for policy. If they have any questions, usually the questions are straightened out before they get to me; because I have no time to read the galley except in the very last when I take the book home and read it. I mean in these preliminary stages I do not indicate anything or say "Do this or that," but they come to me with definite questions.

For instance, in the almanac on San Francisco they had written into that something about the *Mooney case*. Miss Lazelle came to me and said, "I do not think an almanac is a place to discuss the *Mooney case*. This is light literature and is not the place to discuss the *Mooney case*." Other people in my staff said, "Why not?" I said, "Out it goes; because if the *Mooney case* is to be stated in the State guide, it will have to be done in a fair and unbiased manner, so that we won't run into trouble." So the *Mooney case* went out.

There are a number of problems which arise. For instance, in the New York State book they came to the Corning Glass Works. The Corning Glass Works probably is the most interesting industrial establishment of the country, and they had only given it two lines. I came back and said, "Here is something the tourists want to locate; here is where they made that big telescope, and you have to put in a paragraph or two telling what they really do at the Corning Glass Works."

Other problems are not usually of policy. Our policy usually is to see they put things in the books that ought to interest the tourists.

The CHAIRMAN. But you agree absolutely with the statement that articles put in publications such as the guides, which are paid for by all of the taxpayers, should not contain biased statements or partisan statements?

Mr. ALSBERG. Quite.

The CHAIRMAN. Or statements that take a controversial side and play up one class against another?

Mr. ALSBERG. Quite. But you will agree with these books and the criticisms and approval of them from the university professors and sponsors. Governor Herring is writing the article on Abraham Lincoln for the Illinois book——

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that, but you agree with that statement?

Mr. ALSBERG. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. You agree those books should not be published for the purpose of presenting some idea along economic or social lines, do you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Certainly. We would publish no such book.

The CHAIRMAN. Because, manifestly, if it is done today under one administration favorable to labor, tomorrow, under an administration favorable to business, that same thing would be done and that would be manifestly unfair, would it not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Quite.

The CHAIRMAN. So that, so far as those guides are concerned, the galleys here do not represent what will finally be printed?

Mr. ALSBERG. No, sir. There is going to be plenty of conference on every paragraph; then I will have to go up to Newark and talk to the lady who is the head of the Newark Public Library.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who is responsible for the insertion of a great many of these statements that we have put in the record from New Jersey?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, I don't know. The personnel has changed there a great deal. The director has just resigned—she resigned 3 months ago, but I held up her resignation because I wanted to get out the book, and her assistant, Alex Crosby, has resigned.

The CHAIRMAN. But there has been a very definite attempt from New Jersey to put this kind of thing in the guide?

Mr. ALSBERG. There has been some attempt. I would say it has not been violent propaganda, but it has had a little tart flavor all of the time. Very often any one statement was not bad, but when you read 50 pages you begin to feel those people were knocking New Jersey. There were very often wise cracks about this town, and that town, which in themselves passed, but when you have 10 of them, you begin to feel, "This is not fair."

The CHAIRMAN. Now here in the Washington office, is it not a fact that some of those insertions have been made in the Washington office itself?

Mr. ALSBERG. There may have been a few; I don't know. Which one do you refer to, Congressman?

The CHAIRMAN. Now take this statement right here, take this rack 5, slide 87, galley 111.

Mr. ALSBERG. Is that New Jersey?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, which was added by the editor to the original text:

The congregation—

SS. Peter and Paul's Russian Orthodox Greek-Catholic Church—

is sharply divided (1938) over whether the church shall be placed under the jurisdiction of a bishop sympathetic to the U. S. S. R. or one who, faithful to the Czar, fled during the revolution. Litigation and even physical combat have marked the dispute.



Mr. ALSBERG. I have not that here. I did not know that was in question, Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; I will get some more, showing them to be inserted by the editors.

Mr. ALSBERG. I am trying to say this, that some of those insertions were made by New Jersey. What happened is, Mr. Coy took—when we found out that on 12 of these towns a lot of material had not been approved copy, they had to take it back to New Jersey and we said to the New Jersey editors, “Now, you straighten this out.” Now, it may be that Coy had something to do with that insertion, but a lot of those insertions were made back again in Newark, because they had the originals. They had their own version. We wanted to straighten it out with the least amount of proofreading. We could have taken the whole final version and said, “Reset it,” but we felt it might save some of that resetting if we went back there and restored the originals. A great many insertions were made in New Jersey. But I do agree with you it is wrong to put in things which seem offensive, unfair, prejudiced, or partisan, or from a class angle. We want to present a fair picture. I think what we have done is a fair picture of what we are going to do, and you ought to take us on trust to that extent.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. You are going to do the same thing with reference to the guides?

Mr. ALSBERG. There is nothing coming out of our office which is going to be censorable for being unfair.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Alsberg, it is not clear to me who appointed you originally.

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Hopkins, I understand. I was in the W. P. A., you see, in the handling of reports.

Mr. THOMAS. But who appointed you as National Director of the Writers' Project?

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Hopkins appointed me, as far as I know.

Mr. THOMAS. Was not there an acting administrator there at that time? Was not Mr. Baker the one who appointed you?

Mr. ALSBERG. No, he did not appoint me. The appointment came direct from Mr. Hopkins.

The CHAIRMAN. Again, the Chair wants to commend you, Mr. Alsberg, for your frankness, for your desire to give the committee the facts and for the attitude you have assumed, rather than to come here in a belligerent way, in an effort to cover up anything, or to assume an attitude that nothing is wrong, everything is right. I think you are to be complimented for that sort of attitude. And if we can have that attitude generally by all of us, we can be of considerable help in clearing the situation up.

Mr. ALSBERG. I want to thank the committee for being fair in questioning me, and I am at their disposition at any time to furnish anything they want.

(The committee thereupon adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, December 7, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 1 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, please. Dr. Abernathy has not come in, has he?

Mr. MOSIER. No; he has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Captain Keegan, come around, please.

## TESTIMONY OF CAPT. JOHN J. KEEGAN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Starnes will examine the witness.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Keegan, give your full name and address to the stenographer.

Captain KEEGAN. Portland, Oreg., police bureau, chief of detectives.

Mr. STARNES. You live in Portland, Oreg.?

Captain KEEGAN. I do.

Mr. STARNES. What is your business or occupation?

Captain KEEGAN. Chief of detectives, Portland police bureau.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you acted in that capacity?

Captain KEEGAN. The past 4 years.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been a detective or police officer?

Captain KEEGAN. Twenty-seven years.

Mr. STARNES. What was your experience prior to that?

Captain KEEGAN. Laborer.

Mr. STARNES. Laborer?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Captain Keegan, as chief of the police force, I believe—

Captain KEEGAN. Chief of detectives.

Mr. STARNES. As chief of detectives of Portland, Oreg., have you had occasion to make an investigation of alleged un-American and subversive activities in Portland and along the Pacific coast area?

Captain KEEGAN. I did.

Mr. STARNES. What did you find as a result of your investigation?

Captain KEEGAN. We found that Harry Bridges, leader of the Longshoremen's Union on the Pacific coast, was an alien and a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and also that Harold Pritchett was a Canadian subject and also a member of the Communist Party. He is president of the Timber and Saw Mill Workers' Union International.

Mr. STARNES. Have those two men been active in and around the Portland, Oreg., area as well as in other areas on the Pacific coast?

Captain KEEGAN. They have.

Mr. STARNES. In what form have they been active? Have they been Communist as well as labor leaders, and have they been active as Communist agitators? I will put it that way.

Captain KEEGAN. They are working under the guise of labor leaders.

Mr. STARNES. They are working under that guise?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What would you say they are in reality?

Captain KEEGAN. Both members of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Based upon your investigation and the affidavits which you have stated in executive session you can furnish to the committee, is it your opinion that this capacity of labor leader under which they both act is merely a disguise, a cloak for their real purpose?

Captain KEEGAN. It is.

Mr. STARNES. And their real purpose is what, Captain?

Captain KEEGAN. In my belief it is to undermine the Government and overthrow it by force and violence when the proper time comes.

Mr. STARNES. That is based upon the investigation that has gone on for a number of years?

Captain KEEGAN. Since 1918, conducted by the Portland Detective Bureau.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have many witnesses in the Pacific coast area who can give us a first-hand rendering of facts with reference to the activities of these two men, Bridges and Pritchett, as well as other Communist leaders on the west coast?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How many of them, in your judgment, would be able to testify before a committee in session on the Pacific coast?

Captain KEEGAN. I would say at least 20.

Mr. STARNES. Could they give us vital and important information with reference to the activities of Communists in that area and other subversive un-American activities?

Captain KEEGAN. They will give you definite proof of operations of the whole Communist Party on the Pacific coast.

Mr. STARNES. Based on your years of experience as an officer of the law and the investigations which your city has conducted, what is your opinion with reference to the extent and the scope of un-American or subversive activities on the west coast?

Captain KEEGAN. In my opinion, the Communist movement on the west coast is getting to be a very dangerous, I might say, condition as far as our Government is concerned.

Mr. STARNES. How are they operating? You keep referring to the fact that they are—that it is dangerous; how are they operating on the so-called political front out there?



Captain KEEGAN. Their political front—Harold Pritchett was down into Oregon during the last election campaign trying to advise the people how to vote.

Mr. STARNES. And you say he is a Canadian subject?

Captain KEEGAN. He is a Canadian subject and a member of the Communist Party, and he took an active part in recent political campaigns.

Mr. STARNES. In the State of Oregon?

Captain KEEGAN. He did.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about Harry Bridges' political activities, if any, in that area?

Captain KEEGAN. No; I do not myself.

Mr. STARNES. Or along any other area along the coast?

Captain KEEGAN. Harry Bridges, as president of the Longshoremen's Union on the Pacific coast, is naturally in a position to do the directing there along labor lines and the water-front federations.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the approximate membership of the Longshoremen's Union out there?

Captain KEEGAN. No; I do not.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of any other un-American subversive activities at work in that area other than communism?

Captain KEEGAN. I do not know from personal investigations, but there are files in our office going into communism, fascism, and nazism.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any member of your force or anyone connected with your investigating staff who could elaborate more fully from personal knowledge and from personal investigations upon either of these subjects for us?

Captain KEEGAN. I have.

Mr. STARNES. Will you be kind enough, then, to furnish the committee with the name or names of those parties prior to your leaving? In other words, so it can be included in your testimony?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes; Detective Walter B. O'Dale, who was in the intelligence service during the war and conducted the same kind of investigation, and we have had him on our staff since the war, exclusively on that work. He is well qualified, in my opinion.

Mr. STARNES. Will his information be available to this committee if sessions are held on the coast?

Captain KEEGAN. His information is available to this committee wherever they meet.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any affidavits with you or documentary proof to substantiate the statements which you have made with reference to the activity of both Harry Bridges and Harold Pritchett?

Captain KEEGAN. I have.

Mr. STARNES. Will you submit those to the committee so that they may be attached as exhibits to your testimony?

Captain KEEGAN. Gladly. Here is a sworn statement by John E. Ferguson, sworn to on the 13th day of December 1937.

Mr. STARNES. John E. Ferguson is present today, however, and can testify, is that right?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That being true, we do not care anything about the affidavit. We would rather have his personal testimony. We would rather have the affidavits of those who are not present to testify.

Captain KEEGAN. Here is one from Herbert Mills, taken on the 9th day of December 1937, sworn and subscribed to.

Mr. STARNES. To what does that affidavit refer?

Captain KEEGAN. To the activities of Harry Bridges himself and the Communist Party.

(The affidavit above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 1, Keegan, Washington," and filed with the committee, being the affidavit of Herbert Mills.)

Mr. STARNES. Did you furnish either the Department of Justice or the Department of Labor with that affidavit?

Captain KEEGAN. The Department of Labor was furnished that information.

Here is one from John L. Leech.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that L-e-a-c-h or L-e-e-c-h?

Captain KEEGAN. L-e-e-c-h.

Mr. MOSIER. L-e-e-c-h?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes. This is the sworn affidavit of John L. Leech on the 8th day of December 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Who is he?

Captain KEEGAN. John L. Leech is a painter by trade. He says:

I further state that in June of 1936, I was a regular and official delegate of the Communist Party to its ninth annual convention held in Manhattan Opera House in New York City.

Mr. STARNES. What was the date of that meeting?

Captain KEEGAN. June of 1936.

Mr. STARNES. What is the substance of his affidavit to that meeting he attended?

Captain KEEGAN (continuing):

and that as such delegate I discussed with my codelegates of California, the nominating of Harry Bridges as a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, United States of America.

Mr. STARNES. All right. What other excerpt do you have in that affidavit that touches upon the fact that Harry Bridges is a Communist and has taken part in Communist activities?

Captain KEEGAN (continuing):

was successful in seeing his name put in nomination and later elected to said central committee.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Captain KEEGAN. John L. Leech was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. He so testifies?

Captain KEEGAN. He so swears in this affidavit for the years 1934, 1935, and 1936.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the State Central Committee of California of which he was a member?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir; the State Central Committee of California of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Was he ever a candidate himself of the Communist Party in California?

Captain KEEGAN (continuing):

I was a candidate for the California Sixty-seventh Assembly District on the ticket of the Communist Party, and that in 1936 I was the Communist Party congressional candidate in the Seventeenth California District.

Mr. STARNES. That is for the United States Congress?

Captain KEEGAN. United States Congress, congressional candidate.

Mr. STARNES. That is Leech?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

(The affidavit above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2, Keegan," and filed with the committee, being the affidavit of John L. Leech.)

Mr. STARNES. You are giving his background?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Captain, before we go further, did you investigate the background of the parties making these affidavits?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Chief, you mentioned the meeting in Manhattan. This man was a delegate to that convention?

Captain KEEGAN. May I read this, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I think you ought to read it.

Mr. MOSIER. Read the affidavit.

Mr. THOMAS. Read the whole affidavit.

Captain KEEGAN. Entirely?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Captain KEEGAN (reading):

My name is John L. Leech, and prior to August 1937 I resided at 1675 East Eighty-third Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

In 1932 I joined the Communist Party, Los Angeles section, Los Angeles, Calif. Through 1933 and 1934, and on until 1936, I served in the functions of subsection organizer, Los Angeles County, organizational secretary, and Los Angeles County organizer of the Communist Party, United States of America.

My purpose in giving this affidavit is to reveal to the public the fact that I am unalterably opposed to certain trade-union leaders who, to my knowledge, are members of the Communist Party, using their party influence and party directives to mislead labor to its detriment. For this reason I hereby voluntarily of my own accord and free will state that I personally know, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, that Harry Bridges, west coast director of the Committee for Industrial Organization, is and has been since 1934 a member of the Communist Party in District 13.

In the early part of 1936 I attended an enlarged meeting of the California State Committee of the Communist Party held in the Redmen's Hall, San Francisco, at which Harry Bridges rendered the report for the California State Committee of the Communist Party, in which he gave the party positions in the impending maritime strike, which took place in 1937. In addition to the above-mentioned meeting held in Redmen's Hall, I was present in at least two other meetings held in residences in the San Francisco area which were open only to bona fide members of the California State Executive Committee of the Communist Party, at which Harry Bridges was also present.

I further state that in June of 1936 I was a regular and official delegate of the Communist Party to its ninth annual convention held in Manhattan Opera House in New York City, and that as such delegate I discussed with my codelegates of California the nominating of Harry Bridges as a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, was successful in seeing his name put in nomination and later elected to said central committee.

While the identity of Harry Bridges was generally concealed and discussed in whispers by the rank-and-file membership of the Communist Party, it was general knowledge among the State committee and top leadership in California, that Bridges was a member of District 13, Communist Party, United States of America.

I further state that Harry Bridges was known within the party to me and to other leading forces by the title of Comrade Rossi.

Mr. STARNES. That is one of his aliases in the Department of Justice.

Captain KEEGAN (*continuing*):

In addition to the foregoing information—



The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you could suspend for 1 minute. Reverend Abernathy was here this morning and we were unable to hear him because of the fact that we had to hear these two witnesses in executive session. They have been here for 3 or 4 days, and have to leave. We have sent for Reverend Abernathy to be heard this afternoon. I do not know what time we will get him in here, but we will finish with him, and we have another witness, Mr. Ferguson, who is going to testify, and then we have Mr. Chadwick, national commander of the Legion. That will be our program today, those witnesses. I thought I would make that statement with reference to Reverend Abernathy so it would be understood.

Mr. STARNES. Finish reading the affidavit.

Captain KEEGAN (continuing):

In addition to the foregoing information, I state that for the years 1934, 1935, and 1936, I was a member of the California State Committee of the Communist Party; that in 1934 I was a candidate for the California sixty-seventh assembly district on the ticket of the Communist Party and that in 1936 I was the Communist Party congressional candidate in the Seventeenth California District.

I state that my party membership book carried the name of John A. Lewis, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief leading party members assigned by the party to trade-union work invariably take party names and are known by such names other than their true names, while within the party.

I have voluntarily, of my own accord, without promises of reward or without duress, given this statement in the hope that the authorities of the State of Oregon and the Federal Government may successfully bring to a conclusion present labor disruptions which I, personally, attribute to such misleadership and to protect the democratic form of government within the United States.

I have read the above statement and it is true.

JOHN L. LEECH.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of December 1937.

[SEAL]

JOHN J. KEEGAN,  
Notary Public for Oregon.

Witness:

CLIFTON H. WATSON.

Mr. STARNES. Captain, you have made an investigation of the background and character of these witnesses, as you said?

Captain KEEGAN. Our witnesses are brought by our department to the immigration authorities, and have been investigated thoroughly before a statement was ever given.

Mr. STARNES. You have further reason to believe, based on your investigation, and your long years of experience that those statements are reliable in every respect?

Captain KEEGAN. I do.

Mr. STARNES. You stated a moment ago that Harry Bridges and Harold Pritchett were operating under the guise of labor leaders in this country?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did I understand you to say, though, that based upon the results of your investigation and the information in your files, that in your opinion, their real purpose was to overthrow this Government by force and violence?

Captain KEEGAN. That is the real purpose.

Mr. STARNES. They are moving in that direction through labor union, and any other method that is open to them?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You say that unequivocally. That is your opinion based on the affidavits on file and the results of your investigation over a period of years covering their activities on the west coast?

Captain KEEGAN. We have evidence in our files to prove my statement conclusively.

Mr. STARNES. That they do seek to overthrow this Government by force and violence?

Captain KEEGAN. They do.

Mr. STARNES. You have stated, I believe, that you have furnished the Department of Labor with testimony with reference to the activities of both of these men, is that correct?

Captain KEEGAN. They have the information on file in the Labor Department, and I would like to submit to this committee a photostatic copy of the illegal set-up within the Communist Party in case of revolution. I submit that as evidence.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you get that document?

Captain KEEGAN. That came out of the hands of Detective Walter B. O'Dale, who is a witness available, who will prove that it is authentic, happy to, ready to.

Mr. STARNES. Would you include that as an exhibit to your testimony?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

(The document above referred was marked, "Exhibit No. 3, Keegan, Washington," and filed with the committee, being a document entitled on the cover page "Illegal set-up.")

Mr. STARNES. Now, do you have any other affidavits with reference to Harry Bridges that you wish to introduce?

Captain KEEGAN. I have an affidavit here signed by Arthur Kent which should be in the files of the Department.

Mr. STARNES. May I state, for the benefit of the record, and for your information that that affidavit is in the files of the Department of Labor. We have the Harry Bridges file in our possession and the original copy of it is in the file. You may submit such copy of the affidavit. Will you give us the sum and substance of that affidavit by Arthur Kent?

Captain KEEGAN. She is a dandy. It contains your whole Communist set-up in San Francisco. This man was an organizer for the Mooney Defense League and other organizations.

Mr. THOMAS. How many pages are there to that affidavit?

Captain KEEGAN. Thirteen.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you get into reading anything from Arthur Kent, for the sake of the record, this man Arthur Kent has got a very bad background, has he not?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes; he has.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a criminal, isn't he?

Captain KEEGAN. He is in jail right now.

The CHAIRMAN. For what offense?

Captain KEEGAN. Burglary.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I am asking you that is because his credibility as a witness is in very serious question. I know the Chair had in mind taking this man's testimony, but in view of his bad background the Chair seriously questioned whether or not such a witness as that should be used by this committee. I want to state

that. What reason have you to believe that the testimony of a witness of this kind should be considered?

Captain KEEGAN. I have every reason in the world to believe this man. Through him we did an enormous amount of work. He has never lied to any of my men once. Everything he told us we have proved before we submitted it to the immigration authorities.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the committee recognizes that it is almost a daily occurrence that convictions are obtained upon the testimony of self-confessed criminals who participated in the crime who turn state's evidence. We recognize that.

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We find that to be the fact.

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A good many times you have to go to that class of people in order to get your information.

Captain KEEGAN. We have to go to all classes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have to?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Nevertheless, that testimony ought to be considered very carefully before it is given very much weight.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, my idea was that he might submit this affidavit as an exhibit to his testimony, and the committee can decide whether they want to use it or incorporate it in the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. We know statements will be made about this witness' background.

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As to these other witnesses, I do not suppose anything will be said about their background; but this particular witness, I happen to know something about him.

Mr. STARNES. I am glad the chairman brought that out, because we realize jailbirds and persons who have served prison sentences and others have been used before Senate investigating committees and other congressional committees, and we are not in the position of vouching for the testimony. I suggest we introduce it as an exhibit to his statement, and the committee can take whatever action it sees fit, whether to include it in the record or even consider it.

Captain KEEGAN. When you corroborate this testimony you have to pay some attention to it.

**(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 4, Keegan, Washington," and filed with the committee, being the affidavit of Arthur Kent.)**

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other affidavits touching upon Harry Bridges and his activities?

Captain KEEGAN. No; I have not. They are all in the files of the Department of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you submit an affidavit by Herbert Mills?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he not have a criminal background also?

Captain KEEGAN. Disorderly conduct, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Disorderly conduct?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes. He got drunk here a year ago New Year's and pretty nearly shot a fellow.



Mr. THOMAS. Is it possible, for the record and for the advantage of the members of the committee here, to get a short summary of that long affidavit?

Mr. STARNES. I do not see how it is possible, Mr. Thomas, without taking up the time and adjourning the hearing to read it.

Do you have any affidavits, then, that you wish to submit in connection with Harold Pritchett's activities?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes; I have, to show that he is a Communist, but they are now on file in the Labor Department also. If you care to have further affidavits submitted, I have some here.

Mr. STARNES. We do not have anything with reference to Pritchett's record here in our files, nor have we subpoenaed his file from the Department of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you get to that I wonder if I could ask a question: Do all of these affidavits show that not only are Harry Bridges and Pritchett Communists and aliens, but also that they have preached the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Captain KEEGAN. Not in those same words, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but do they show that they belong to a party which advocates force and violence?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So, your testimony is not only with reference to the fact that these two men are Communist aliens, but it goes further and shows that they are members of a party which advocates force and violence?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Doesn't it go further and show that these men advocate force and sabotage?

Captain KEEGAN. I do not know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your evidence go further and show that Harry Bridges and Pritchett made speeches in which they advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Captain KEEGAN. Well, I have a dispatch here from the Associated Press on a speech made by Harry Bridges in Seattle. Is that what you mean, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. In which he advocated the violent overthrow of the Government?

Captain KEEGAN. Well, I will read it, if you like.

Mr. STARNES. If it is short, why read it.

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, it is very short. The following is an Associated Press dispatch, Seattle.

Mr. MOSIER. What date is that?

Captain KEEGAN. May 14, 1937.

Harry Bridges, West Coast president of International Longshoremen's Association, today told the University of Washington Luncheon Club, a student organization:

"We take the stand that we as workers have nothing in common with employers. We are in a class struggle, and we subscribe to the belief that if the employer is not in business his products still will be necessary and we will be providing them and there is no employing class. We frankly believe that day is coming."

Bridges whose policies were criticised in San Francisco last night by Seattle's Mayor, John F. Dore, added:

"We use politicians as long as they benefit the labor movement, and when they don't, we fight them."

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I am asking you that is there is some confusion in the public's mind with reference to this one question, and that is what I want to clear up. Your affidavits show not only that he is a Communist alien, or, rather, the contents of them purport to show he is a Communist alien, but they go further and show that he belongs to a party which advocates the overthrow of this Government by force and violence, is that true?

Captain KEEGAN. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. The affidavits in the file go further than that and credit to Mr. Bridges' statements in which he advocates mass force and violence, they go further and show credit to him statements made by him in which he preached sabotage. Any one of those grounds are sufficient for deportation under the law?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You may now submit your affidavits with reference to the activities of Harold Pritchett.

Captain KEEGAN. This is not an affidavit, by the way. You do not want that, do you?

Mr. STARNES. No; we do not want anything unless it is an affidavit.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you submit those later before you leave here, those affidavits with reference to Pritchett.

Captain KEEGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you check the background and activities of the men who made the affidavits?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir; made by police officials of Vancouver, British Columbia, out of their official files up there, the police department files.

Mr. STARNES. You have every reason to believe they set out the true facts, based on the investigations of these witnesses and their background and their credibility?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You may attach them as an exhibit to your testimony, and the committee will consider them and determine whether or not they will be included as a part of the record.

Captain KEEGAN. This is a copy of a signed statement by John Williamson before R. P. Bonham, district director, at Seattle, Wash.

Mr. STARNES. That is evidence in the file of the Labor Department. I would like to have that.

**(The statement above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 5, Keegan, Washington," and filed with the committee, being the statement of John Williamson, dated Seattle, September 29, 1937.)**

Mr. THOMAS. You say duplicate affidavits or similar affidavits from the same people are in the files of the Department of Labor?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What makes you believe they are in the files of the Department of Labor?

Captain KEEGAN. Pritchett, I think, has gotten a half dozen visas to come back into the United States again.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you seen the files of the Department recently on this particular case?

Captain KEEGAN. I have never seen them.

Mr. THOMAS. But you know that similar affidavits or duplicate affidavits were sent to the Department of Labor?

Captain KEEGAN. That is my information; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. The sum and substance of these affidavits with reference to Pritchett is he is an alien?

Captain KEEGAN. An alien and a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. That he has been active not only in organizing along political fronts in the United States of America—

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. But that he belongs to a party which seeks the overthrow of this form of government by force and violence?

Captain KEEGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right; that is all.

Mr. MOSIER. You came here to Washington to say to this committee that the police department of the city of Portland, Oreg., has a vast amount of material, and that you can and will have witnesses, many of them, who will testify before this committee if we want the material and the witnesses?

(A letter on the letterhead of the Police Department, Peter Bruce, Chief of Police, New Westminster, British Columbia, dated September 3, 1937, was handed to the reporter and marked "Exhibit Keegan, Washington, No. 6," and filed with the record.)

(An affidavit of William Henry Walsh, dated New Westminster, Province of British Columbia, dated September 4, 1937, was handed to the reporter and marked "Exhibit Keegan, Washington, No. 6," and filed with the committee.)

Captain KEEGAN. Absolutely; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Thank you very much.

Mr. THOMAS. Captain, do you advocate that this committee or a similar committee proceed with an investigation of this matter on the Pacific coast?

Captain KEEGAN. I would say this committee should go out there by all means, because you will get information out there, gentlemen, that will stagger the country. It will shock the country; it will not only break down communism, but all the other "isms."

Mr. STARNES. You feel that there are many witnesses out there who can give us very valuable facts from first-hand knowledge about un-American activities, who would not care to submit affidavits, but who would come in under a subpoena to testify before a congressional committee?

Captain KEEGAN. Absolutely. They will not give a sworn statement, but when they are subpoenaed by the United States Government they feel that they have the protection of the Government back of them, and they will testify before this committee.

Mr. STARNES. Or a like committee?

Captain KEEGAN. Or a like committee.

Mr. STARNES. That is all I have to ask, Captain.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Captain.

Mr. STARNES. We will call Mr. Ferguson.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN E. FERGUSON

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STARNES. Give us your name and address.

Mr. FERGUSON. John E. Ferguson, 1424 Southwest Montgomery Street, Portland, Oreg.



Mr. STARNES. How long have you lived there, Mr. Ferguson?

Mr. FERGUSON. For about 14 months.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you lived in the United States?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have been here since 1920.

Mr. STARNES. 1920?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What is your background with reference to experience, and so forth. Are you a seaman, or what is your profession?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have been going to sea, Mr. Chairman, since 1915, up until about 1932. During all of those years I have been connected with a union. I transferred from the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland into the International Seamen's Union of America in 1920. During the past years, especially since 1932, I have held some rather important positions in the trade-union movements.

Mr. STARNES. What were they? What union did you belong to?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers' Association.

Mr. STARNES. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have been a member.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join?

Mr. FERGUSON. I joined the Communist Party; I joined in June of 1936.

Mr. STARNES. What unit or faction did you belong to; where did you belong?

Mr. FERGUSON. I joined the Communist Party in Portland, Oreg., in June of 1936, and in August of 1936, I was called down to San Francisco to commence negotiations, and whilst there attended all top fraction committees of the Communist Party, waterfront section in the city of San Francisco.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Who recruited you for the Communist Party, Mr. Ferguson?

Mr. FERGUSON. An attorney now dead, by the name of Harry Gross.

Mr. STARNES. How do you spell his name?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe it is G-r-o-s-s.

Mr. STARNES. Where did he live?

Mr. FERGUSON. In Portland, Oreg.

Mr. STARNES. Why did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. I joined the party to save my job. It was either join the party or be thrown out as the business agent for the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders and Wipers' Association.

Mr. STARNES. Now, do you know Harry Bridges?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do, well.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you known Harry Bridges?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have known Harry Bridges since 1935.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether he is a Communist?

Mr. FERGUSON. He is a member of the Communist Party. I have sat in top fraction meetings with Harry Bridges.

Mr. STARNES. Where?

Mr. FERGUSON. In the city of San Francisco.

Mr. STARNES. When?

Mr. FERGUSON. On dates too numerous to mention.

Mr. STARNES. Has the Communist Party on the Pacific coast been active in trade-union movements during the past few years, and was it particularly active in the trade-union movement, Mr. Ferguson, when you were a member of the party?

Mr. FERGUSON. So active, Mr. Chairman, that through the Communist Party and their program they have been able to rape some of the stanchest trade-unions we have had on the coast, and so active did they carry out their program that today Bridges in carrying out the instructions of the Communist Party has left wasteful disruption and dissatisfaction.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the Communist Party has been a disruptive force in the trade-union movement on the coast?

Mr. FERGUSON. Absolutely.

Mr. STARNES. Is it not a fact that a number of trade-union movements are no longer affiliated with certain national labor organizations out there because of the fact of Harry Bridges' activities and leadership in trade unionism?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite true.

Mr. STARNES. All right. I will ask you some specific questions. Were you given a membership book?

Mr. FERGUSON. I was.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have that book?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; no, sir; I destroyed it.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you stated you belonged to the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers Labor Union?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did the Communist Party have an organizer working in that union?

Mr. FERGUSON. It did.

Mr. STARNES. Who was it?

Mr. FERGUSON. A man named Ermanda Guerro.

Mr. STARNES. Who was Ermanda Guerro?

Mr. FERGUSON. Ermanda Guerro was a member of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers Association, one of the stooges, and he was working in the International Longshoremen's Association on a permit card.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a citizen of the United States, do you know?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is something I can't answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Who was Lawrence Rose?

Mr. FERGUSON. Lawrence Rose at the time I knew him was the editor of the Western Worker.

Mr. STARNES. Is he a Communist?

Mr. FERGUSON. He is.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever sit in meeting with Lawrence Rose?

Mr. FERGUSON. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Who sat in the meeting with you?

Mr. FERGUSON. There are quite a number, Mr. Chairman. If you care for the names, I could recall most of them.

Mr. STARNES. Name some of them.

Mr. FERGUSON. There was Aubrey Grossman, an attorney.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same Grossman you mentioned a while ago?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. The other one was Gross. This is Aubrey Grosman, an attorney who defended the accused in the *King-Ramsey-Conner case*. There was Mervyn Rathbourne, secretary of the American Radio Telegraphists Association. There was a Henry Schmidt, vice president of the International Longshoremen's Association. There was Walter Steck, a member of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers Association. There was Al Quittenton, then secretary of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific. There was Crabtree, first name unknown, of the Master Mates and Pilots Union; and William Sondheim, head of the thirteenth district, Communist Party, State of California.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same district which it is alleged Harry Bridges belongs to?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You know it to be a fact that Harry Bridges belongs to that?

Mr. FERGUSON. I sure do, sir; and myself. You might as well put me down there, too.

Mr. STARNES. Did he, Bridges, sit in this particular meeting you have just discussed?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; and he tried to bring out that—

Mr. STARNES. He was present at this meeting?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Where was the meeting?

Mr. FERGUSON. That meeting was held in the Occidental Hotel, on Montgomery Street.

Mr. STARNES. In what city?

Mr. FERGUSON. San Francisco.

Mr. STARNES. About what date, do you recall?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; I would say that was in August, the 29th, around the 29th.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say of what year?

Mr. FERGUSON. 1936.

Mr. STARNES. What helped you to fix the date?

Mr. FERGUSON. Because at that particular time the Communist defenders were drawn together to arrange for the defense of King, Connor, and Ramsey.

Mr. STARNES. Of those three men?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What were they charged with?

Mr. FERGUSON. They were charged with, I will put it in, murder.

Mr. STARNES. Of whom?

Mr. FERGUSON. Of George Alberts, the chief engineer of the Point Lobos.

Mr. STARNES. Was he murdered on the Pacific coast?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; he was murdered at the Encinal Terminal in Alameda.

Mr. STARNES. Who was this man?

Mr. FERGUSON. Chief engineer of the *Point Lobos*.

Mr. STARNES. Now, at this meeting, as I understand it, you say that the Communists that you have named here met to discuss details for the defense of the three men whose names you called a moment ago for their connection with the alleged murder of George Alberts?



Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite correct.

Mr. STARNES. How do you spell that?

Mr. FERGUSON. A-l-b-e-r-t-s.

Mr. STARNES. George Alberts?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. They also discussed other details in connection with the alleged murder?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, following that meeting of the members of the Communist Party of the United States, at which the persons named were present, was there a trial of the people accused of the murder of George Alberts?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can't get that clear, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Was there a trial after that; was there a trial and conviction over this *George Alberts case*?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; it was after that.

Mr. STARNES. It was after this meeting?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is it, Mr. Chairman. These people met together to make arrangements for the financing of this trial.

Mr. STARNES. The defense of it?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. I think there is a little misunderstanding on the record. There was no conviction, though?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not at that particular time.

Mr. STARNES. I asked him if the conviction followed.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; there was a conviction after the meeting; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. There was a conviction?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is that clear Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Who was convicted, Mr. Ferguson?

Mr. FERGUSON. Earl King, E. G. Ramsay, Frank Conner, and George White.

Mr. MOSIER. Of these 4 men who were convicted, do you know of your own personal knowledge whether any of those men were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Who were they?

Mr. FERGUSON. Earl King.

Mr. MOSIER. Earl King?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. What position did Earl King occupy in the labor movement, if you know?

Mr. FERGUSON. He was secretary of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders and Wipers Association.

Mr. MOSIER. Were these men after their conviction sent to jail?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; from 5 years to life at San Quentin.

Mr. MOSIER. From 5 years to life?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Are they still there?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Phyllis Edmonds?

Mr. FERGUSON. Phyliss Edmonds was secretary to Earl King while he was secretary of our organization, and also was my secretary when I was executive secretary of the organization.

Mr. STARNES. What relation did she bear, if any, with Lawrence Rose?

Mr. FERGUSON. She was either his wife or at least lived with him for 4 years.

Mr. STARNES. Was she active in Communist work?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very active.

Mr. STARNES. In what capacity?

Mr. FERGUSON. She was the go-between between the likes of William Schneiderman and the water-front section.

Mr. STARNES. What was the link between the party leadership; and when I say party leadership, of course, I am referring to the Communist Party, and the Firemen's Union?

Mr. FERGUSON. Pardon me.

Mr. STARNES. What was the connecting link at that time?

Mr. FERGUSON. The connecting link was Miss Phyliss Edmonds.

Mr. STARNES. She was the connecting link between the two?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever present at a Communist fraction meeting that was attended by Earl King and Ramsay?

Mr. FERGUSON. Never with Ramsay. I was with Earl King.

Mr. STARNES. Where was that meeting?

Mr. FERGUSON. That meeting was held in a restaurant on Market Street in San Francisco.

Mr. STARNES. When was that meeting, approximately?

Mr. FERGUSON. That meeting was about a week prior to his arrest, which would put it around about the 18th of August 1936.

Mr. STARNES. Who was present at that meeting?

Mr. FERGUSON. There was Earl King, myself, Henry Schmidt, and William Schneiderman.

Mr. STARNES. All Communists?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What was the subject matter of that meeting?

Mr. FERGUSON. They were then discussing the advisability of Earl King scamming, as they knew that the *King-Ramsay-Conner case* was about to break.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, his proposed flight?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. By the Communist top fraction, do you mean the Communist top fraction of the Marine Federation of the Pacific or of District 2 of the federation?

Mr. FERGUSON. I mean the top fraction which puts forth and carries out the program of district organizer No. 2 of the Marine Federation of the Pacific.

Mr. STARNES. Who was the principal organizer?

Mr. FERGUSON. The fraction organizer was William Sundheim.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Betty Gannett?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us a list of some of the meeting places of the fraction that you have just referred to?

Mr. FERGUSON. It would be rather difficult to give all of the addresses, but it was always held in a house whose ownership was a

member, a member of the party, or, at least, in sympathy with the party.

Mr. STARNES. Was Arthur Mills ever present at any of the meetings that you attended of the top fraction?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Was Roy Hudson?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same Roy Hudson who was on the east coast?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When was he over there?

Mr. FERGUSON. During the strike of 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Did he take any part or play any part in the conduct of the strike; was he active?

Mr. FERGUSON. A very important part. He gave orders which Bridges, myself, William Sundheim, and the other Communist members obeyed.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, he was the directing genius; he was head of the board of strategy directing the Communist Party activities during that longshoremen's strike?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; during the seamen's strike of 1937.

Mr. STARNES. All right; how many meetings did you attend at which he was present?

Mr. FERGUSON. I attended two meetings at which Roy Hudson was present.

Mr. STARNES. Was John Shoemaker ever present at any of these meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What role did he play, or what part did he take in any of these meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. John Shoemaker was a member of the International Longshoremen's Association and also publicity director for the longshoremen.

Mr. STARNES. What group does John belong to?

Mr. FERGUSON. John belongs to the top fraction.

Mr. STARNES. Now, did he belong to any trade-union local?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; I just stated that he belonged to the International Longshoremen's Association.

Mr. STARNES. I did not catch that. Was Ben Fee present at any of these meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not know the name, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Was Z. R. Brown?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Z. R. Brown?

Mr. FERGUSON. At that particular time he was secretary-treasurer of District Organization No. 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

Mr. STARNES. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. He was.

Mr. STARNES. Was Walter Williams (?) ever present at any of these meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; I cannot place the gentleman's name.

Mr. STARNES. Now, at this meeting that was held over there in San Francisco with reference to the King-Ramsay-Conner defense com-



mittee, do you remember to agreeing to Scott's proposal that Louis Coe be hired to do the publicity work of the committee?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can't place the man's name or his face.

Mr. STARNES. Well, did you agree to get someone to handle publicity for the committee or for the defense?

Mr. FERGUSON. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, what was the nature of that defense to be, from a publicity standpoint?

Mr. FERGUSON. It was an attempt to ridicule Earl Warren, who was prosecuting attorney, and to bring out to the public that they were not guilty of this alleged murder, but that the shipowners were concentrating all of their efforts on breaking the attempt or forthcoming strike, by having our men put in jail.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you hired a publicity agent for the purpose of painting these men as martyrs?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right.

Mr. STARNES. To the labor cause?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the shipowners were going to make martyrs of these people?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right.

Mr. STARNES. And you were to ridicule the prosecutor out there?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right. They spent \$16,000 on publicity alone.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you get that money?

Mr. FERGUSON. By assessing the members of the various trade-union movements.

Mr. STARNES. Did any organizations contribute from their treasury, that you know of?

Mr. FERGUSON. Oh, yes; we donated on several occasions. The first time, and it is a matter of record in the minutes, we gave \$3,000 2 days after they had been arrested at one meeting of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders and Wipers' Association. We also volunteered a five-dollar assessment, which, had every one paid it, would have amounted to over \$40,000, as we had a membership of upwards of 8,000 at that time.

Mr. STARNES. That was in what organization?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders and Wipers Association.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the International Labor Defense Committee come into the picture in any way on the defense of these men?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; they did not.

Mr. STARNES. They did not?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. It was handled practically entirely through the medium of the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right.

Mr. STARNES. Is it not a fact that it is part of the Communist Party strategy in the trade-union movement that they get hold of the funds of different trades unions, wherever they can, and dissipate them in such matters as these and in other ways?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right, and they are very successful in getting hold of funds, too.

Mr. STARNES. They are very successful through their method of publicity or propaganda in selling themselves to the unions or trade-union movements, certain of them, as aiding, or friends to or champions of the cause of labor; is that right?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right.

Mr. STARNES. They have been rather successful in that program of salesmanship with certain units of labor?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very successful.

Mr. STARNES. And when they have been successful in so doing they have been successful in large measure in destroying those local unions, or, at least, destroying their effectiveness as trade-union movements; is that right?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right.

Mr. STARNES. How many different meetings, that you can recall now, did you sit in with Harry Bridges? I am talking about Communist meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. At least five.

Mr. STARNES. At least five?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, how was he known or called in those meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. I never called him anything else but Harry.

Mr. STARNES. You never called him anything except Harry?

Mr. FERGUSON. Never did.

Mr. STARNES. There is no question of mistaken identity on your part. You have known him for years?

Mr. FERGUSON. And I'll always know him.

Mr. STARNES. Have you attended meetings with Harry Bridges where anyone except Communists could be admitted, or would be admitted?

Mr. FERGUSON. I want to state that at any top fraction meeting of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers Association no one but a Communist could get in through those doors.

Mr. STARNES. That is the kind of meeting, or some of them, that you attended with Harry Bridges?

Now, let us get down to this seamen's strike out there in 1936, and what was the importance of the part the Communist Party played in it. You, as I understand, are able to give us some information first-hand that you experienced yourself. Do you know of any strikes or sabotage or work out there by the Communist Party on the coast in connection with strikes?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, I have here the abstract of logs of several vessels, which conclusively proves that the shipowners were over a barrel.

Mr. STARNES. All right, before you go further with the log, who kept those records?

Mr. FERGUSON. The United States Shipping Commissioner has these logs at the end of every voyage.

Mr. STARNES. I see.

Mr. FERGUSON. And, of course, the master has to swear to these logs.

Mr. STARNES. I see.

Mr. FERGUSON. As you know, anything that goes on on board ship is put in the daily log.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. And they cannot be altered, changed under any circumstances and, of course, these would come into my hands from the shipowners complaining about strikes, job actions, quickie strikes, and everything else.

The CHAIRMAN. When did they come in, while you were an executive?

Mr. FERGUSON. Whilst I was the executive secretary.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, you know that those are exact copies of the original logs?

Mr. FERGUSON. Positive, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You have compared them?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; I have not compared them, but it is down here official extract from official log book.

Mr. STARNES. I see. We will permit you to introduce those as exhibits to your testimony.

Mr. FERGUSON. O. K., thank you.

Mr. STARNES. Introduce those as exhibits to your testimony, and assist the reporters after you have concluded your hearing. Assist them as to identifying them and number those as exhibits to your testimony, and the committee will then examine them and decide whether they should be included as part of the record, and whether or not they should be considered as having any probative force, because, manifestly, we do not want to take the time now to interrupt the hearings to go into them.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, may I be permitted to introduce these too? This is in the *King-Ramsay-Conner case*.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; I want to do that in a moment. But let us go back, first, to your King-Ramsay-Conner case. Do you have any samples of the publicity which was put out at that time there by the Communists?

Mr. FERGUSON. This [exhibiting] is a sample of some of it.

Mr. STARNES. Of some of it. All right, will you introduce that as an appropriate exhibit to your testimony. What do those set out—their attacks on the prosecutor, as you stated?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right—attacks.

Mr. STARNES. And also their picture?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is called here "Earl Warren's Murder Case."

(The pamphlets above referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 1 and 2, Ferguson," and filed with the committee, being entitled, respectively, "The King-Ramsay-Connor Frame-Up. Earl Warren's Murder Case," and "Not Guilty, The Ship Murder Frame-Up.")

Mr. STARNES. Those were financed and put out by the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Before we leave this particular case, I want to ask this question: In any of the five Communist meetings you attended with Harry Bridges, was there also discussed the *Tom Mooney case* in any of those meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You never heard that discussed at any of the five meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; not at the five meetings.



Mr. THOMAS. At which Harry Bridges was present?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you hear it discussed at any of the Communist meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; very often.

Mr. THOMAS. Meetings which you attended, at which Harry Bridges was not present?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have heard it discussed—I want to give this in my own way; I have heard it discussed at numerous meetings which I attended of which I was executive secretary.

Mr. THOMAS. How about Communist union meetings?

Mr. FERGUSON. I don't think I ever heard that there, because they had other things that were more important, such as the King-Ramsay-Conner case.

I might state this, too: At our meeting, one of the meetings, I was instructed by the membership, which is a matter of record, that Mrs. Mooney, who is the wife of Tom Mooney, was to be made an honorary member of the Pacific Coast Firemen's Union, whose book was signed and sent to her.

Mr. STARNES. We will try to clear up all of the Communist activities before we go into the strike situation, because we want to deal with that in one place.

Getting along with this question of the King-Ramsay-Conner defense, who were the attorneys that were employed to defend these men?

Mr. FERGUSON. The attorneys for King were George Anderson, who was the attorney for the Communist Party, and Aubrey Grossman, an attorney—

Mr. STARNES. Where did those two gentlemen live?

Mr. FERGUSON. San Francisco.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. FERGUSON. And Aubrey Grossman, an attorney, and also a member of the Communist Party, and a person whom I have sat with in top fraction meetings on numerous occasions.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know how much money was paid to those men for the defense?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know what was promised. There was \$5,000 promised to them, but I doubt if they have gotten it yet.

Mr. STARNES. Most of the money was spent how—that \$16,000 that was raised? For publicity, propaganda, and how?

Mr. FERGUSON. I beg your pardon. You say most of the \$16,000. I said there was \$16,00 alone spent on publicity.

Mr. STARNES. Oh, yes. All right.

Mr. FERGUSON. So I think, conservatively, the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen's Association alone kicked in at least \$3,000.

Mr. STARNES. So that there was no need then for the International Labor Defense to step in, in this instance?

Mr. FERGUSON. None whatsoever.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever hear of the Youth Congress?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What do you know about the Youth Congress?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very little, except we sent a delegate back to Cleveland, Ohio, from San Francisco, at a cost of six-hundred-and-some-odd dollars to the union.

Mr. STARNES. To take part in their activities?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What year was that?

Mr. FERGUSON. That was 1935.

Mr. STARNES. Who was that man?

Mr. FERGUSON. I cannot recall the name of the delegate now.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Do you know any other Communists holding key positions or top positions in the labor movement on the Pacific coast, other than Harry Bridges?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. STARNES. Who are they?

Mr. FERGUSON. Henry Schmidt, vice president of the International Longshoremen's Union.

Mr. STARNES. Henry Schmidt?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Who else?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mervyn Rathborne, whom I believe is——

Mr. STARNES. How is Schmidt's name spelled—S-c-h-m-i-d-t?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And who is the other one?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mervyn Rathborne.

Mr. STARNES. Spell that for us.

Mr. FERGUSON. M-e-r-v-y-n R-a-t-h-b-o-r-n-e. He is now president of the A. R. T. A. That is the American Radio Telegraphists Association, affiliated with the Congress for Industrial Organization.

Mr. STARNES. What is Henry Schmidt?

Mr. FERGUSON. He is vice president of the I. L. W. U.—the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. THOMAS. And that particular union is part of what national union?

Mr. FERGUSON. For many years it was part of the American Federation of Labor, but, due to the activities of the party and the program which Harry Bridges carried out——

Mr. MOSIER. You mean the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right, the Communist Party—he turned around and bit the hand that had been feeding him during the 1934 strike and the 1936-37 strike, and stuck them into the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Mr. STARNES. Now name some of the leaders in the trade-union movement on the Pacific coast whom you know to be Communists.

Mr. FERGUSON. Al Quittenton.

Mr. STARNES. How do you spell it?

Mr. FERGUSON. Q-u-i-t-t-e-n-t-o-n. There may be a slight error in that, but that is as close as I can get to it.

Mr. STARNES. What position did he hold?

Mr. FERGUSON. He was then assistant secretary-treasurer of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific.

Mr. STARNES. All right; are there any others that you can recall now?

Mr. FERGUSON. Earl King, secretary of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, he is in prison now?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. All right; are there any others?

Mr. FERGUSON. Shoemaker.

Mr. STARNES. John Shoemaker?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right—publicity director for the longshoremen's union. And George Wolf, who was then president of the ship scalers' union, now connected with the fishermen's union in Seattle.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not all of those men are American citizens?

Mr. FERGUSON. I could not say, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Is it alleged that some of them are not?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have repeatedly heard that Harry Bridges is not a citizen.

Mr. STARNES. Is an alien?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Harry Lundeberg?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Is he a Communist?

Mr. FERGUSON. He is not.

Mr. STARNES. Has he ever been a member of the Communist Party, so far as you know?

Mr. FERGUSON. To the best of my knowledge, Harry Lundeberg has never been a member of the Communist Party. And I want to state here that Harry Lundeberg is one of the few remaining bulwarks that the seamen's union has against communism.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now let us get down to the general seamen's strike in 1936 and 1937, in which you said the Communist Party took such an active part. That was the time, I believe you said, when Roy Hudson came out and took active direction of the strike. Is that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite correct.

Mr. STARNES. How long did that strike continue?

Mr. FERGUSON. That strike lasted for 97 days.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have any official connection with that strike? What I mean by that is, did you have any part in directing the activities of the strike, or attempting to bring about a settlement with the shipowners, or anything like that?

Mr. FERGUSON. I did; I played a very important part.

Mr. STARNES. Who else served with you in that connection?

Mr. FERGUSON. Harry Lundeberg.

Mr. STARNES. Who else?

Mr. FERGUSON. Eugene Burke.

Mr. STARNES. Who else?

Mr. FERGUSON. Well, all of the unions had representatives in a committee that was known as the joint policy committee.

Mr. STARNES. How many were there on that joint policy committee?

Mr. FERGUSON. I could not say right now, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Did you serve on a smaller group of about five members?

Mr. FERGUSON. I served on a group—I would like to explain that. There was a strike breaking out in 1936. The union of which I, at that particular time, was business agent of the city of Portland—

Mr. STARNES. What union?



Mr. FERGUSON. The Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers' Association.

Mr. STARNES. And when you speak of "your" union, that is the union you are referring to?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is the one in which you held an official position?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed.

Mr. FERGUSON. Prior to the strike breaking out, we elected a coast-wise negotiating committee, and they were to conduct negotiations.

Mr. STARNES. How many were there on that committee?

Mr. FERGUSON. There were five on that committee.

Mr. STARNES. Who were they?

Mr. FERGUSON. Three of them were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Three of them. Do you mind naming them for us?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes. Of their Communists, there was H. T. O'Neil, Walter Stack, and John E. Ferguson—that is me.

Mr. STARNES. So that the Communist Party had control of that committee?

Mr. FERGUSON. Complete control.

Mr. STARNES. And that—

Mr. FERGUSON. Now, just a minute, Mr. Chairman. I am not exactly correct there.

Mr. STARNES. You had five on that central committee?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to clear something up here.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. FERGUSON. You asked the names of the committee. In the first place, the original committee we had consisted of Harry Farrell, Ben Drysdale, H. T. O'Neil, Gray—his first name unknown—and myself. The party did not have the controlling votes; that is, three of them were looked upon as conservatives or reactionaries.

Mr. STARNES. That is an important point that I want to get. In other words, when that committee was first set up, the Communists were not sure of control?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite correct.

Mr. STARNES. There were three members on the committee that they regarded as too conservative?

Mr. FERGUSON. As reactionaries or phonies.

Mr. STARNES. "Reactionaries" they called them?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is the negotiating committee?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right.

Mr. STARNES. All right. We want to keep that perfectly clear now, when we are speaking of the strike angle.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. The negotiating committee—that is the one that had negotiations with the shipowners, Department of Labor representatives, and so forth; is that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is quite right.

Mr. STARNES. Then there was another committee; is that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; it is not.

Mr. STARNES. How did you effect a change in the membership?

Mr. FERGUSON. The party was outvoted; that is, only two members of this committee—that is, H. T. O'Neil and myself—were members of the party, and when we would suggest something, if they thought the party was behind it, they would vote it down. So Ben Drysdale was recalled by the Seattle branch, because the Communists put out propaganda that he had been seen talking to the shipowners, and in his place it elected one of the most forward and, I might say, most prominent Communists on the Pacific coast. Walter Stack was then elected to the negotiating committee. We then had control of our organization.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct. All right. Now, then, did you have any difficulty in settling that strike with the shipowners?

Mr. FERGUSON. So much that I even forget it.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask this question: Who did the Department of Labor send out there as consultant to help in the negotiations?

Mr. FERGUSON. Edward F. McGrady, the then Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Mr. STARNES. Did you find that Mr. McGrady was helpful in this conference?

Mr. FERGUSON. I found that Edward F. McGrady worked both day and night to find a solution of that costly strike.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you feel he made a very effective and fine contribution?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe I would bestow the credit upon him and no one else.

Mr. STARNES. Now I will ask you this question. Since you were a member of that negotiating committee and you belonged to the group which held the majority vote on the committee, insofar as the unions were concerned, could or could not that strike have been settled earlier if it had not been for the activities of the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. Through the maneuverings of the Communist Party the strike was prolonged at least 45 days longer than it should have been.

Mr. STARNES. Who was largely responsible for that?

Mr. FERGUSON. I would say the propaganda machine that the Communist Party used to misconstrue the facts and the issues.

Mr. STARNES. Who directed that propaganda campaign?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is something I could not say, Mr. Chairman. The Communist Party, but the individuals, I could not say who they were.

Mr. STARNES. What Communists on the coast, or from other sections of the country who were out there participating in the direction of strike activities, advised against an earlier settlement?

Mr. FERGUSON. Roy Hudson.

Mr. STARNES. Roy Hudson from the east coast?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Was Harry Bridges involved in any way in this particular strike?

Mr. FERGUSON. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How?

Mr. FERGUSON. The International Longshoremen's Association of the Pacific Coast was also on strike.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Well, while he was not on the negotiating committee, did you sit in any conference with him and discuss strike settlements, or anything like that?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, he was on the negotiating committee.

Mr. STARNES. I see.

Mr. FERGUSON. The committee I have described here was the committee for my union only.

Mr. STARNES. Oh, I see; but he was on the larger negotiating committee?

Mr. FERGUSON. He was representing the Pacific coast longshoremen.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Now do you have any letter or any other communication from the Department of Labor, or the Secretary of Labor, giving you any expression on the part of the Department of Labor with reference to your activities in the settlement of that strike?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have, Mr. Chairman, but I just cannot lay my hands on it at the present moment—yes; here it is. May I read it?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. It is dated February 9, 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Read it slowly, now, and distinctly.

Mr. FERGUSON. It is headed:

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR,  
*Washington, February 9, 1937.*

MY DEAR MR. FERGUSON: I wish to congratulate you, as a member of the negotiating committee, on the part which you have played in bringing to a close the maritime strike. The procedure followed in the settlement—direct negotiations of all questions—has been of long duration, and costly to all parties involved. I hope and believe, however, that this method of settlement will bring about a new day in maritime labor relationships.

Having settled the strike through face-to-face discussions; having come to know each other's problems better than heretofore; having arrived at agreements acceptable to the membership of the organizations by such a large majority, I think we have every reason to look for a finer relationship in the future. The services of this Department will constantly be at the disposal of both parties for this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCES PERKINS,  
*Secretary of Labor.*

Mr. THOMAS. What was the date of that letter?

Mr. FERGUSON. February 9, 1937.

Mr. THOMAS. And were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. I dropped out of the Communist at the beginning of December.

Mr. STARNES. Will you introduce that letter now as an exhibit to your testimony?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

(The letter above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 3, Ferguson," and filed with the committee.)

(At this point the taking of the testimony of Mr. Ferguson was suspended and the committee proceeded to take the testimony of National Commander Stephen F. Chadwick, of the American Legion, at the conclusion of which the taking of further testimony from Mr. Ferguson proceeded as follows:)



Mr. STARNES. Mr. Ferguson, I believe you gave us the union to which you belong, did you not, in the beginning? If not, give us the name of the union to which you belong, please.

Mr. FERGUSON. I belong to the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers' Association. I have held the offices of assistant secretary-treasurer: I have also held the office as business agent in the city of Portland, Oreg.; and I was finally nominated and elected to the office of executive secretary of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers' Association.

Mr. STARNES. Do you still hold your membership in that union?

Mr. FERGUSON. I still hold—I was expelled by the Communist element in that organization, but on writing back to Victor Olander, and a letter that I sent to Mr. William Green, and also Edward Vandellore, of the American Federation of Labor of California, I was exonerated and am still a member in good standing of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. STARNES. All right, then. That union at one time, not now, was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? Is that right?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir. It was part and parcel of the International Seamen's Union of America.

Mr. STARNES. I see. And from the fact you were a Communist and at one time served the party as other Communists do, is it not a fact, which has been brought out here repeatedly by responsible parties, who are in a position to know, that communism has attempted to and has in some instances infiltrated into all trade-union movements? Is not that correct?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir. That is part of the Communist program.

Mr. STARNES. At this particular time, does that union to which you formerly belonged there—that local or that unit—is it now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir. Through the State federations. We are affiliated with the California State Federation of Labor; we are also affiliated with the Oregon State Federation of Labor; and also affiliated with the Washington State Federation of Labor.

Mr. STARNES. Very good. Now, then, let us get back to the activities of Harry Bridges.

The CHAIRMAN. I think for the sake of the record and to clarify this thing, the Chair should make this statement, that these witnesses were sent here by the city of Portland, that is, Captain Keegan was, and the Chair was informed Mr. Ferguson would accompany him.

The Chair made it plain to the mayor there and the city council that the committee had only a few dollars left and could not pay the expenses of those witnesses, and that we would not agree to hear them until we heard them in executive session, even after they came. The witnesses came here, we heard them in executive session this morning—all of these gentlemen here on the committee—and we decided the nature of their testimony was such and their background was such and the documentary evidence that accompanied it was such, that they were entitled to be heard.

I want to make that statement so that the full facts will be known.

Mr. STARNES. And your position was such in labor circles, that the Secretary of Labor of the United States wrote you a personal letter

thanking you for your services in settling the strike on the Pacific coast?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. So that you at least had that much reputation and standing in labor circles with the Department of Labor?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, let us get back to Harry Bridges and his activities in connection with the seamen's strike of 1936-37. Will you relate to us in further detail some of the activities of Harry Bridges in connection with that strike? Tell us whether or not, by reason of his interest and activities, the strike was prolonged unnecessarily; that a settlement could have been reached earlier but for him and his influence and that of his colleagues in the Communist Party?

Mr. FERGUSON. Just prior to the beginning of December, in 1936, at a meeting of the top fraction of the Communist Party, which I attended, Harry Bridges who was present amongst others, lots of the representatives who were members of the Communist Party, and Roy Hudson, who was in the city of San Francisco, in the background, all during that strike, in no uncertain terms, said that strike, at all costs, must be prolonged; that that was the party line; and, under no consideration was arbitration to be considered in any way, shape, or form.

The negotiating committees that has been elected by referendum vote, and mine in particular with three members of the Communist Party on that committee—all we did when we went into a meeting with the shipowners was to sit around the table and call one another names. And I am a seaman, too, so I could explain some of them, but I had better not. So we never got any place and that went on day after day, day after day. So Edward F. McGrady called me one night, and this was about the first or second day of December, and said, "Ferguson, I have been in touch with Harry Lundeberg," and he said "Now, I believe we can pave the way for you and Lundeberg to go in, and Eugene Burke, and commence negotiations. But," he said, "you must drop that committee, because with those dam 'Coms' [the Communists] on it, you will never get any place."

I realized that then, and I said, "Well, I would see what could be done."

After I hung up the phone, I called Harry Lundeberg and he said, "Yes, I think we can do something." So I went to William Schneiderman of the Communist Party, who was head of the thirteenth district, and when I told him that Edward F. McGrady was contemplating making arrangements whereby Lundeberg, myself, and Eugene Burke, could meet the shipowners, he threw his hands up and said it could not be done. He did not give any specific reasons, other than to say that it was opposing the party line. After a heated debate there quite awhile, I told him to go some place and threw my book—no, I did not throw my book, but I had a debate with him and told him I was going down there whether he liked it or not.

The following morning, Harry Lundeberg, Eugene Burke, and myself went up and met the shipowners. That, by the way, was the first time I ever met a man by the name of T. G. Plant, better known on the coast as "Tear Gas Plant" and, according to the descriptions that had been painted to me of Thomas Plant, he was a guy with horns on. However, after sitting around the table a day or two, I began to re-



verse my opinion; because I found not alone was he willing to grant us all of our fundamental demands we had been howling about so long, but he was even willing to give us a better break than we had expected. For instance, I think it was the first time any agreement signed with the Seamen's Unions that had memberships in the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, and the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, which permitted us 15 minutes in the morning, at 10 a. m., for "coffee and," and then again at 3 o'clock they can have 15 minutes.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection, I want to ask you if you knew, until these negotiations, when you say Schneiderman told you that you should not enter into any agreement with the shipowners, that that was opposed to the party line—it was against the principles of the party line?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right; I was violating party policy.

Mr. STARNES. Now sticking to what part Harry Bridges played in this, right on down, what do you know personally of Harry Bridges' activities in prolonging unnecessarily the settlement of the strike?

Mr. FERGUSON. Lundeborg and I, I think about the end of the week, had a tentative agreement and we came over and it was our intentions then to permit the membership to vote on that agreement whether they wanted to accept it or reject it, and immediately the Communist Party heard we had reached a tentative agreement, they came out with "Mr. Scandalsheet," the Western Worker, and literally covered the waterfront with slanderous statements to the effect that Lundeborg and myself had sold out to the shipowners, and advised the men under no circumstances were they to vote on this tentative agreement.

Now, they were powerful, because I have here the official minutes of the special meeting called by myself as acting secretary of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers Association, in which I went over the agreement, and the resolution is presented by one Jew Russell, a member of the Communist Party and a former solicitor for the I. L. D., that is, the International Labor Defense, during the 1934 strike, when he was out soliciting funds, and I would like to read this into the record.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed.

Mr. FERGUSON (reading):

SPECIAL MEETING AT HEADQUARTERS M. F. O. W. AT SAN FRANCISCO, DECEMBER 22, 1936

Meeting called to order by Brother Ferguson at 11 a. m. Brother Francezon elected chairman. Brother Ferguson announced that the meeting was called for the purpose of going over the tentative agreement which had been reached between the shipowners and the M. F. O. W. Before reading the agreement, Mr. Melnikow, retained to act in an advisory capacity to the negotiating committee, was given the floor to discuss the agreement.

Mr. Melnikow spoke on the improvements gained to date and the status of negotiating with other unions. He expressed himself as feeling that the tentative agreement was a good one to submit to a referendum, but not until all other unions were ready to vote on similar tentative agreements.

Brother Ferguson read the agreement. Brother Sotomeyer and another brother asked a question regarding the agreement. Brother Russell read the following resolution as passed by the strike committee:

"Whereas the shipowners and our representative, Brother Ferguson, have been negotiating and have reached a tentative agreement, and

"Whereas the M. F. O. W. coastwise negotiations committee has not been called in and the contents of the tentative agreement and the problems of



submitting it to the membership requires the greatest care, less it be misinterpreted or be the cause of confusion or a split amongst the several unions not yet entered into negotiations: Therefore, be it

*"Resolved,* That the coastwise negotiating committee be called in to analyze, and confer with Brother Ferguson, the tentative agreement in order that they may be able to bring back to their respective branches an intelligent and thorough report on the tentative agreement; and be it further

*"Resolved,* That mimeographed copies of the tentative agreement be distributed amongst the membership at headquarters and at the branches; and be it finally

*"Resolved,* That all action by headquarters or branches going on record or calling for a referendum vote as approving the tentative agreement or any part of it, be held in abeyance until all the other striking unions of the Maritime Federation have reached a tentative agreement."

In other words, Lundeborg and myself had reached an agreement and all that remained to be done was to submit it to the memberships of our organizations for their approval or rejection, but the Communist Party, through their stooges, would not permit that to be done.

Now they took this tentative agreement and they took certain features which they thought were bad and made a mountain out of a molehill. Then, of course, they came out with a blast, "How much did Ferguson and Lundeborg get from the shipowners?" The only thing I got was headaches from them.

Mr. STARNES. What part, if any, did Harry Bridges play in this meeting, if you know?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have the minutes here where Harry Bridges came down and even advised our membership, my membership, that they should not vote on that tentative agreement.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you have the minutes there showing he advised they should not vote on it.

Mr. FERGUSON. Positively.

Mr. STARNES. Not on either accepting or rejecting it, but not even taking any action whatsoever.

Mr. FERGUSON. Not taking any action whatsoever.

Mr. STARNES. And thereby prolong the strike?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now what was done out there at various times by members of the Communist Party when those strikes were under way, to put the shipowners and others to unnecessary expense? Can you give us any light on that—on their tactics in that connection?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, in 1935 I recall this instance as one of the clearest. I was then the business agent of this particular union in the city of Portland, Oreg. I was not then a member of the Communist Party. This, I believe, was around April or May. And in the city of Portland, the major steamship company there is the State Steamship Co., which is an affiliate of the Quaker Line. I was called up by Captain Trout, who was at that particular time port captain. He called me and said, "Ferg, come down to the dock." I went down. There was one of the vessels in there. Of course it had been built, I suppose, about 16 years ago, and it was a large forecastle which all of the firemen and seamen slept in—a large forecastle, which is customary. So the ship's delegate had had a meeting and decided they wanted not a forecastle, but two-men rooms. Now the ship was about ready to sail and, of course, it was putting the company to a lot of expense. However, we did not mind that, but the tying up

of the vessel. So, after trying to appease them, they demanded that the fore-castle be torn out and they put the men in new bunks with two men to a room.

Mr. STARNES. Was that done?

Mr. FERGUSON. So Captain Trout said, "All right; we will do it." So they put a gang of carpenters to work that night, I think about 16 carpenters, and at the end of 3 days they had two-men rooms, that is, rooms built with two men occupying each room.

Now that vessel left the city of Portland and went up Puget Sound to Seattle. She was gone, I believe, about 10 days and then came back to the city of Portland, where most of the boys got paid off and got on a drunk, and I then shipped another crew to fill the vacancies, and I was again called by Captain Trout and he said, "What in the hell is going on? I just put in two-men rooms, and now they want those two-men rooms torn down and want the fore-castle back again and it will have to be done, or else."

That is one example.

Mr. STARNES. You mean to say the Communist members of your union had brought about such action?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; the Communist Party speaking through the ship's delegate.

Mr. STARNES. Getting down to Harry Bridges, you said that he even came before your union and fought even a vote on a tentative agreement which had been reached there.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That was an agreement which Mr. McGrady had helped to reach, acting as consultant for the Department of Labor.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is the agreement which we got from the ship-owners by listening to the wisdom of Edward F. McGrady and going in there and commencing negotiations.

Mr. STARNES. I see. After that, did Harry Bridges take any other action on the coast in 1936 and 1937, during that seamen's strike, to prolong the strike unnecessarily?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, the joint negotiating committee—you see, I had part of my negotiating committee negotiating for my membership; then, again, we were all thrown together into what was called a joint negotiating committee. That was representatives of the M. E. B. A.—The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association; the Masters, Mates, and Pilots; the Radio Telegraphers; the Longshoremen; and Sailor's Union of the Pacific, the Marine Cooks and Stewards' Association—and out of all of those men the Communist Party had the controlling votes when it came to a vote on the policy of the union, and one stooge would make a motion and the other would immediately second it, the vote was called for and over it would go.

Mr. STARNES. Was Harry Bridges' influence actively felt in the Communist strike there?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very.

Mr. STARNES. Did he take an active part in negotiations?

Mr. FERGUSON. He certainly did.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us now any of his other activities out there in either the trade-union movement, or any other movement? Do you know anything about his political activities, or if he has ever taken any part along what we will call the Political Front out there in California?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, the political activities that Bridges was conducting in the Communist Party was done through the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. The Maritime Federation of the Pacific—I might go back to the 1934 strike—in the 1934 strike in the Port of San Pedro, where I actively participated in that strike, we had what was known as the United Front Seamen's Central Strike Committee. The name was probably the child of the Communist Party and even my picketing group was too. The United Front Seamen's Central Strike Committee was formed by what was formerly known as the Marine Workers' Industrial Union. The Marine Workers' Industrial Union was part of the Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. MOSIER. The Trade Union Unity League is a Communist front too, is it not?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; absolutely. Today it is extinct; it has been dissolved.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. So, after the strike had been won in 1934, the Communists then decided they would dissolve the Marine Workers' Industrial Union and advise all of the members that they must get into the International Seamen's Union at any cost; this, of course, because of the fact that the International Seamen's Union had been recognized as the bargaining agent or representative for the seamen.

Now, when they got in there, the next move made was the formation of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and the Maritime Federation of the Pacific was formed to unite all of the unions. But the Communists calling it a "united front," they decided upon the name "Maritime Federation of the Pacific."

Now, through the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, they could either make or break a politician and, as Bridges stated here in what one of the former witnesses testified to here, they had made the statement that if they could use politicians; they would get behind the politicians when they could use them, and would kick them out when they could not.

Mr. STARNES. If they could not use them, they would destroy them?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; as a matter of bringing this point up, during the 1936 and 1937 strike, Mayor Dore, of Seattle, took a very prominent part in our strike by going up and down the coast preaching about the maritime strike, and at one time he stated publicly, on the stand in San Francisco, at a mass meeting which was attended by many thousands of people—he patted Bridges on the back and said he was one of the greatest labor leaders the world had ever had. And shortly after that strike was settled, the Communist Party requested Mayor Dore to rent them the Civic Auditorium in Seattle, Wash., for a party meeting. But Mr. Dore by that time was getting wise to this hypocrisy, and he refused to give them a meeting place, and then the Communists came out and said he was one of the biggest funkies and phonies they had ever put into office in Seattle.

Now, through this Maritime Federation set-up they had the voting power, the party had, because it was a united front, merely using the name "Maritime Federation of the Pacific," and their program was and is today, if they are ever successful in getting the East—the Atlantic coast, Gulf, and Great Lakes into a federation—they want a national maritime federation now and, when they get a



national maritime federation, if they are ever successful in doing that, then you had better look out, because the fireworks will start.

Mr. STARNES. What will be their program?

Mr. FERGUSON. Their program, I believe, will be to carry out joint action, stoppages of work, sympathy strikes, and finally a general strike, if they can possibly maneuver it, which will result in bloodshed and martyrs being made, and eventually revolution.

Mr. STARNES. That is all. Thank you. Now, the documents you have there, turn them over to the Reporter.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Chairman, I might as well turn over the whole batch there.

(The papers submitted for the record by Mr. Ferguson were marked "Exhibit No. 4, Ferguson," and filed with the committee, consisting of miscellaneous letters, minutes, telegrams, clippings, and pamphlets.)

(The taking of the testimony of Mr. Ferguson was interrupted previously in order to take the testimony of the national commander of the American Legion, Stephen F. Chadwick, as follows:)

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen of the committee, we will be privileged to hear from National Commander Stephen F. Chadwick of the American Legion. And before hearing from the National Commander, in behalf of the committee, Mr. Chadwick, I wish to express our deep appreciation for the splendid help that the American Legion is giving to this committee throughout its investigation. Not only we, but the country also are indebted for the splendid aids which we have received from Legion posts and from the national organization, in the way of giving us the benefit of information which they had collected from time to time.

We are very pleased to hear from you. Is there anything you are going to give us which is in the nature of testimony, so that you should be sworn?

Mr. CHADWICK. I do not know that there is but I would prefer to be sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

#### TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN F. CHADWICK, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. CHADWICK. If you gentlemen will bear with me: Upon the receipt of your invitation to present to you the Legion's thoughts with reference to the purposes of your committee, I prepared a statement which I would prefer, if it meets with your approval, to read and possibly indulge in some discussion at some points of the statement.

The American Legion which I have the honor to represent as National Commander, at its 20th Annual National Convention, again this year went on record as unalterably opposed to communism, fascism nazi-ism, and any or all like thoughts and forces that seek to destroy our form of Government. Also as a part of the report of our Americanism committee, our organization commended the Congress of the United States for its action in making possible the investigation now in progress to disclose the extent of the activities of the

various subversive "isms" within our borders. We now urge the completion of the job so well carried out to date by your committee and urge that the Congress provide those additional funds essential to the completion of the work.

Your committee is, in the testimony being produced before it, making disclosures which to most of our citizenry appear startling, but to the American Legion the things which the committee has thus far heard have been known over a period of years. We, in our endeavors to combat the "isms" which beset the body politic, have not been able to secure the audience which the seriousness of the situation warrants. It was for this reason that the American Legion requested and supported the appointment of a congressional committee, and as the committee delves into the facts upon which its ultimate findings must be made, we of the Legion feel that no hurdle should be placed in its way, for it is concerning itself with a diseased condition in our internal affairs which, if suffered to go unchecked, may cause our national destruction from within, just as completely as external danger might do so from without.

With the November elections out of the way, the work of your committee should continue, free from the implications of partisan color which, unfortunately, was asserted during the fall campaign. As national commander of the American Legion, therefore, I should like to present for the committee's deliberations those resolutions adopted at our last national convention, held at Los Angeles, Calif., which pertain to the subject of the committee's investigation. Our program on this subject this year is a large one and includes resolutions pertaining to immigration, deportation, and naturalization, which are closely relating to the proposition of combating subversive activities.

#### "ISMS"

Our most direct resolution calls for the bitter opposition of our organization, composed of nearly 1,000,000 World War veterans and an Auxiliary of nearly one-half million women, to the un-American "isms."

The resolution reads:

*Be it resolved by the American Legion in this its National Convention in Los Angeles, Calif. (1938), That we affirm our bitter opposition to communism, fascism, nazi-ism, and any or all like forces and organizations that seek to destroy our form of government, and*

*Be it resolved, That we condemn all organizations and demand the expulsion from our country of all aliens who promote loyalty to some other government; and be it further*

*Resolved, That we urge national legislation that will punish American citizens who advocate the overthrow of our Government by force, fraud, or violence or seek to promote race or religious prejudice, and deport all aliens who do likewise.*

Another one of our resolutions reads:

*Be it resolved, That the American Legion in national convention in the city of Los Angeles, firmly condemn all doctrines and influences prejudicial to our present democratic form of government, and pledges us to combat more forcibly all un-American propaganda, activities, and influences; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the creditable work of the National Americanism Commission and the department Americanism committees be augmented in order that the American public as well as the Legion be more fully aware by reports, education, and otherwise of the increasing dangers to our form of government.*

For a number of years our organization has conducted an educational campaign against un-American "isms" but our eighteenth annual national convention, held at Cleveland, Ohio, September 22 to 25, 1936, mandated what we believe was one of the most intensive drives to rid America of un-American propaganda ever undertaken by any organization. Realizing that sinister forces were expending greater effort than ever before to wreck the Nation; and voicing the sentiments of millions of our people, the American Legion stated emphatically that all destructive alien "isms" must be driven from this Nation. In this connection, the American Legion has published and distributed thousands of copies of a publication entitled "Isms." In carrying out the mandates of our national conventions, our National Americanism Commission placed under way a number of educational projects, all of which are designed for the purpose of combating the menace of destructive alien "isms" and for the teaching of sound Americanism. During the year 1937, we found it necessary because of the great demand for our publication "Isms" to have published a revised edition.

I should like to quote one paragraph from the foreword of the latest edition, which reads:

It is vitally important to keep in mind at all times the fact that the American Legion is not a law enforcement body. Our mission is an educational one. It is to acquaint the public with the growth of subversive activities, and to recommend the legal cure; to show the public that communism is attempting to undermine our Government; that it is reaching into the schools, industry, and agriculture, and, in fact, into every phase of our civilization.

Before I move on, I do not know whether you have, for the purposes of your files, a copy of our book entitled "Isms". If not, I will be glad to file one with you.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to receive it.

Mr. CHADWICK. We, of the American Legion, who have been closely associated with the work of combating subversive activities within the United States, realize our limitations. We know we are not in a position to place before many of our citizens the information in our possession which should be in their possession. We know that the work of your committee, and its startling disclosures, is reaching a greater proportion of the American public than we could ever hope to reach. That is the reason we insist the good work of your committee be continued. That is the reason the un-American forces are exerting themselves to the end that the work of your committee be discontinued.

A resolution was adopted at our last national convention on this subject, reading as follows:

*Be it Resolved by the National Convention of The American Legion in Convention at Los Angeles, Calif., That we commend the Congress of the United States for its action in making possible the investigation now taking place to disclose the extent of the activities of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism within the United States; be it further*

*Resolved, That we urge the completion of the job so well carried out to date and that Congress be urged to provide such additional funds as may be essential for the completion of the work, and it further*

*Resolved, That this convention commend all public officials of our Government, both of State, and Federal, who have condemned subversive influences and who have recommended legal action to defend our form of government against such influences.*



Our most recent expression upon a desired change in the existing law covering deportation is as follows:

Whereas there has been an apparent indifference on the part of those authorities of our Federal Government charged with the responsibility of expelling from our country those undesirable aliens whose residence here constitutes an increasing menace to our economic security and public safety, a glaring example of which is Harry Bridges: Therefore, be it

*Resolved by the National Executive Committee of The American Legion,* That we call upon the Congress of the United States to amend the act of October 16, 1918, entitled "An Act to Exclude and Expel from the United States Aliens who are Members of the Anarchist and Similar Classes" to read "An Act to Expel from the United States Aliens Who Are Members of Anarchist, Communist, and all other Groups Who Advocate the Overthrow of our Government by Force and Violence."

(Adopted at the November 1938 meeting of the national executive committee.)

The American Legion has had as part of its Americanism program a number of resolutions pertaining to immigration, deportation, and naturalization. If we Americans should become too lax on these subjects we shall soon find ourselves in a sorry plight. We shall soon find in our midst more undesirable people with no love for this America of ours, whose sole purpose is the wrecking of our present form of government, those who seek its replacement by another form of government where liberty and the pursuit of happiness are unknown to the fearful populace who are forced to live under it. We of the American Legion feel strongly that when there are deportable aliens within our borders they should be deported forthwith.

Departing from my written record, I want to say that I, personally, feel that we extend too many rights to some of the aliens within our borders—rights of appeal which are accorded to American citizens, that should be accorded to those who seriously express their intention to become American citizens, but to those who live here for a great length of time, or they have let their applications lapse, or have not attempted to become American citizens, it seems to me the same rights which are accorded only to American citizens, accorded by our Constitution and laws, might well be cut off from such aliens. Unless we respect our American citizenship by law, it will not continue to be the fine thing and the privilege which we feel it is. We feel it is the duty of our public officials to enforce our laws as they find them.

With this in mind, our organization has gone on record as requesting the Congress of the United States to conduct an investigation of the failure of certain of our officials to comply with existing immigration laws. Our resolution reads:

Whereas certain officials of the Department of Labor have failed miserably in the enforcement of laws relative to immigration and deportation; and

Whereas said officials of the Department of Labor have consistently blocked the passage of new and much needed laws to regulate immigration and deportation; now therefore be it

*Resolved by the American Legion in National Convention at Los Angeles,* That it requests the Congress of the United States to investigate the failure of these officials to comply with the existing immigration laws and take such steps as may be necessary to correct this unwarranted failure of duty.

As is generally known, the American Legion is interested in the *Harry Bridges case*. Your committee has had the Department of Labor file before it for study. We feel there is no excuse for delay in proceeding with this matter. I realize of course that the Depart-

ment of Labor declares it is waiting upon the United States Supreme Court for a decision in the *Strecker case*. We feel, however, that each of these cases should stand on its own facts; that each should be determined on the facts publicly produced; separate and apart from all other cases. Our resolution on this subject reads:

*Be it Resolved by the National Convention of the American Legion in Convention assembled, That we demand the immediate trial and deportation of Harry Bridges and like undesirable aliens.*

As national commander of the American Legion and acting under authority of this resolution I have carried on a correspondence with the Secretary of Labor. Answering the Secretary's argument that the Department of Labor is marking time pending the *Strecker* decision on whether Communist Party membership constitutes cause for deportation, I have maintained such party membership was only incidental in the *Bridges case*. I said:

Our concern is that for a period of 4 years, according to your own statement, you have had before you charges that Mr. Bridges is one who believes and advocates the overthrow of our existing form of government by force and violence. That he is charged with being a Communist is not, or should not be, the determinative issue. It is, in our opinion, only an incidental fact to be considered with all others in arriving at a final and just conclusion upon the facts when publicly produced.

I believe the *Strecker* decision was a poor one to take to the Supreme Court because its record does not contain the manifesto of the Communist International and the constitution of the Communist Party in America, which are stock exhibits in similar cases considered by other circuit courts of appeals. I append a copy of my exchange of letters with the Secretary of Labor.

Proposals to make America asylum for refugees: Much as we, as Americans, sympathize with persecuted minorities in other nations, it is the considered thought of the American Legion that proposals to make this country an asylum for any or all political and religious refugees throughout the world are inimical to the welfare of the United States. It will be recalled by the members of your committee that during the Seventy-fifth Congress certain bills were introduced which would result in the making of the United States such an asylum. This resulted in our national executive committee, at its meeting, held May 5 and 6, 1938, at Indianapolis, Ind., adopting a report reading as follows:

There was referred to this committee three proposals all of a kindred nature and commended to the principle of making the United States an asylum for all political and religious refugees throughout the world. These proposals are inimical to the welfare of the United States and, while our sympathies may be directed toward the sufferings of those who are being persecuted in other lands, our duty to our own citizens under the present distressing circumstances compels consideration even to the exclusion of those in foreign countries however sympathetic we may be toward them in their present plight. In addition the powers that would be conferred under these resolutions are so unlimited in scope as to make impossible of comprehension even at this time of the extent to which our present number of unemployed and indigent residents might be increased. We believe it our duty to oppose the enactment of this legislation.

Of course the proposals in the Seventy-fifth Congress which led to the adoption of this report by our national executive committee died with the adjournment of the Seventy-fifth Congress. Should similar proposals be introduced in the Seventy-Sixth Congress, it will be my



duty and the duty of the officials of our organization to oppose them under the text of the resolution adopted last May.

Total restriction of immigration: Considering the problems involved in our own economic condition, the great number of unemployed, including a considerable number of ex-service men who are in that unemployed group; considering also the problem of assimilation which has been ours for a considerable period of years in this country, at our Los Angeles convention, we adopted a resolution which recommends "that immigration be totally restricted for a period of at least 10 years, or until such time as we in this country can take up the slack and find jobs for the unemployed citizens of the United States."

Deportation and naturalization: It is unnecessary for me to present to your committee all the recommendations of the American Legion which concern immigration, naturalization, and deportation. These, in their entirety, will be presented at a later date to the appropriate committees of the Congress. However, there are certain of these which I would like to place in the record with the thought they may be of some assistance when your committee drafts its legislation to remedy some of the cancerous conditions you have found to exist.

Among our recommendations are the following:

That statutes be enacted providing that all aliens upon entry be issued forms of declaration of intention to become citizens, prepared in the language of their native country, advising them of our citizenship laws.

That entry be permitted for only a period of 5 years, unless steps are taken to complete citizenship, in which event the period might be extended not exceeding 6 months in order to permit of complete qualification for citizenship, and if the citizenship is not acquired upon such declaration, that the individual be declared undesirable and deported to his native land.

That a time limit of 5 years be fixed for all resident aliens in this country to either acquire citizenship or be deported.

That there be no lowering of existing qualifications for naturalization.

That laws designed to favor special groups be opposed.

That conviction of a felony in any court in the United States of an alien shall render the convict immediately deportable.

That all persons entering the United States illegally shall upon apprehension be immediately deported.

That any alien who has been engaged in espionage for a foreign government shall be deported.

That the administration of all alien and immigration laws enacted by the Congress shall be strictly according to the provisions of said laws. We recognize, however, the possibility of meritorious exceptions arising and the necessity of judicial interpretation of appeals from strict enforcement of the deportation provisions (such as recommended by the American Legion), and therefore recommend the power to exempt from deportation be vested in the judges of the respective United States district courts before whom all such appeals should be heard.

And one of our resolutions on the subject of naturalization reads:

We rededicate ourselves to the high duty of citizenship as defined by our United States Supreme Court in the *Schwimmer* and other United States Supreme Court decisions, wherein it is held that "It is the duty of citizenship by force of arms when necessary to defend the country against all enemies," and we abhor any consideration being given, particularly from any official of our Government to those aliens seeking United States citizenship concerning wherein there is any doubt about their willingness to bear arms in defense of the United States of America against all enemies.

At our Los Angeles convention a resolution was adopted which I think is of extreme importance and to which your committee might well give its consideration. It concerns the denial of admission to



this country to nationals of other countries which refuse to accept these nationals if they are found to be deportable.

It reads as follows:

*Be it resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled, That the immigration laws of the United States be amended to provide that admission to the United States shall be denied the nationals of any country which refuses to accept the undesirables of that nation when deported from the United States.*

I am sure you will agree with us that no nation ought to expect us to accept any of its people if it refuses to accept their citizen undesirables when the latter are found to be deportable from this country. You, with the findings of your investigation before you, can easily understand our national predicament, and the great harm to our country, if agitators for dictatorial forms of government are allowed to enter and then those governments aid and abet their own agitators by refusing to accept them back.

A situation exists there which explains the Legion's position with reference to never having approved and always having been opposed to the recognition of Soviet Russia, where we find our hands tied and we are unable to deport native-born citizens of that country, or its predecessor, to that country. They are here and Russia will refuse to accept them. We think we might well refuse to accept any of those aliens, any of those natives from countries which will not accept their native-born citizens back from us when they are found unacceptable here and are returned to those countries.

**Nazi-ism:** The Dies committee—we refer to it as the Dies committee, because the press refers to it in that way—has received evidence of the un-American activities of certain Nazis in this country. The American Legion was and is disturbed to learn through the daily press that consulate registration of German citizens in the United States was contemplated. Our feeling in this matter is reflected in a resolution adopted at the last national convention, reading as follows:

Whereas the newspapers of Washington, D. C., and elsewhere throughout the Nation published the following article:

#### GERMANY REGISTERS ITS CITIZENS IN UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1938 (A. P.).—German Embassy officials said today that Germany's new "matriculation" law requiring all German citizens abroad to register at consulates would become effective this month. No special date for registration was set but Embassy officials said German consuls in this country already were busy, accepting the registration forms from Germans and Austrians residing here. The registration requirement was described as a return to German policy of closely tabulating its citizens in foreign countries. Since the war, officials said the requirement stipulating that Germans must register or lose their citizenship was allowed to lapse. Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the American Legion in twentieth annual national convention assembled, That the Congress be petitioned to take appropriate action to procure for the records of the United States Government copies of all such consulate registration of all aliens now in this country; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the Congress be petitioned to take appropriate action to have the names, addresses, fingerprint records, and occupations of all such aliens registered, placed in the public registry in their respective communities.*

**Free speech:** I feel that no one can question the Americanism of the American Legion. Our members have demonstrated their love of country. We firmly believe that the American right of free speech

is essential to keep us a free people. We feel, however, that free speech must not be such as to incite to violence or crime, and that reasonable limitations to this end are lawful as a protection to the self-made freedom of speech.

Your committee has had ample opportunity to observe the methods of those who, while advocating the overthrow of our form of government and seeking the destruction of our Constitution which insures our protection under the law, guarantees our freedom of speech and freedom of conscience, nevertheless, when challenged in their nefarious purposes, seek the protection of those things which they would destroy. With these thoughts in mind, our organization at its last national convention went on record as follows:

*"Resolved by the American Legion national convention assembled at Los Angeles, That:*

"1. The right of free speech is essential to keep a people free. A people cannot long remain free, if they cannot fairly object to the conduct of those they have themselves placed in authority. This guarantees freedom not only to the one who agrees with us, but to the one who disagrees with us. Such is the proud constitutional heritage of America.

"2. But, like all other rights, the right of free speech must be exercised in a civilized community with due regard to the rights of the rest of the community. A right granted by the people for their own protection creates no right to destroy the people. Hence free speech must not incite to violence and crime, or to corrupt the public morale. Reasonable limitations to this end are lawful as protection to freedom of speech.

"3. The American remedy to end violations of the right of free speech is, not the use of lawful force, but the use of lawful methods. Complaint should be made to the duly constituted authorities; and if one is lawfully deputized, such authorities may be directly aided.

"4. The American remedy to overcome the preaching of unwise doctrine, though in a lawful manner, is not unlawful suppression of the preaching, but education in wise doctrine. Wisdom in the end will always overcome folly, and meanwhile an orderly society will be preserved."

The director of the Americanism commission of the American Legion has previously upon your invitation appeared before your committee and presented to you a mass of documentary evidence of our organization's findings on un-American "isms" in this country. It is needless for me to repeat them. However, I should like to reiterate certain suggestions for combating un-Americanism as contained in our publication *Isms*, which read as follows:

The "red" movement must be met and overcome, but that cannot best be done by "viewing with alarm," "red baiting," riding professional martyrs on a rail, and vainglorious "flag waving." When an emergency calls for militant action in dealing with the "reds," the function properly belongs to constituted authority, which can always draw on the loyal citizenship of the country to carry out its mandate.

The greatest weapon with which to successfully combat communism, and its kindred diseases, is education. Focus patriotic educational activities upon the foreign colonies in America. See that the boys and girls of this country are given a thorough understanding of the slowly developed and soundly tested principles on which the American Government is founded so that they may be able to judge rightly between these and the airy ideas of the radicals.

Properly train the youth of this land and you not only accomplish a passing hurt to communism, but you throw a safeguard around the next generation. Take an active, friendly interest in the boys of this country—teach them leadership and loyalty through such media as the school, Boy Scouting, Reserve Officers Training Corps, Citizens Military Training Camps, and clean sports, and there can be no doubt as to their reaction to the approach of the economic fiction from the Communist and Fascist tongue and pen.

Many things in America need changing; things that served well in the past are outworn. With the growth of this country new needs have come. We are



faced with heavy tasks and problems in going ahead with the development of America. The Communist and the Fascist move with a desire to blast away the fruits of the labor, toil, and sacrifices of the generations which have gone before. Upon the wreckage and ruin they would attempt to create a fairyland or Utopia.

There is no short cut to a better America. The path is confused by difficult many-sided problems. The way does not lie over the ruins of the things that have made America great, but rather by continuous study and strong-hearted labor, building patiently on the work of those who have preceded us, where the work is sound, and replacing it where found faulty; replacement to be by methods provided by the Constitution. To do this, constant effort must be made to arouse the citizens of the country to a point where a greater percentage of them will interest themselves in government, take part in the councils of their party, and go to the polls thoroughly informed on the issues at stake. In many places Legion posts have established open forums to promote public discussion, for in this way may be solved the problems that confront the progress of the country.

Slowly but surely the people of the United States are beginning to realize the priceless value of the Constitution of the United States and the danger of carelessly departing from its spirit and purpose. The study of it in our schools, clubs, civic and commercial associations, forums, and churches is worthy of consideration by every person living under the American flag and on American soil.

Professional martyrs, who would weaken our national character and destroy our national ideals, want the field of discussion to themselves. Whenever a loyal American citizen or a patriotic group moves forward to the teaching of American ideals, arousing interest and love of country; pointing out the need of an adequate national defense; or striving to inculcate in the individual mind a patriotic sense of responsibility, to community, State, and Nation, the professional martyr and certain groups of self-styled intelligentsia throw up their hands and shout aloud "superpatriotic."

This is the same group that would use the right of free speech as a screen to pollute the minds of our young, incite to crime, corrupt public morals, and overthrow our Government.

It is a fundamental principle that the freedom of speech which is secured by the Constitution of the United States does not confer an absolute right to speak without responsibility, whatever one may choose, or an unrestricted and unbridled license that gives immunity for every possible use of language and prevents the punishment of those who abuse this freedom. Freedom of speech does not protect disturbances to the public peace or the attempt to subvert the Government. It does not protect publications or teachings which tend to subvert or imperil the Government. In short, this freedom of speech does not deprive a State of the primary and essential right of self-preservation, which, so long as human governments endure, they cannot be denied.

The American Legion can never watch unconcerned the abuse of freedom of speech. Freedom of any kind to be a benefit rather than a curse must be used with intelligence, decency, and a regard for the rights of others. If not, it will become discredited, refuted by the people, restricted by law, and destroyed. The right of the entire Nation to free speech may be endangered by the flagrant abuse of the right by a few. Already other liberties have been restricted because of their abuse. We, of the Legion, take our citizenship seriously. We do so because it came to us as a heritage from our fathers with privileges and opportunities known to the citizenship of no other nation in the history of the world and was earned for this generation by hard work and great sacrifice and sanctified by the blood of our comrades. We would be derelict in our duty if we would merely dig in and attempt to hold the ground that has been gained.

The Legion is ever working to keep America a place where there is political and economic justice for all; to keep it a country where occupation and industry offer opportunity to all its people, and where social conditions are such as to add to the pleasure and happiness of life.

In order that you may have a better understanding of the present conditions of government, of the deprivations of freedom as we know it, and of the hardships which form a daily part of the lives of citizens of the Soviet Union, we would suggest that you read the following books: *The Tragedy of Russia*, by Will Durant; *The Terror in Europe*, by Ziltman; *The Russian Crucifixion*, by Mackenzie; *Stalin, the Career of a Fanatic*, by Essad-By; *Kapoot*, by Carveth Wells; *The Communist Shakes His Fist*, by Bruce Reynolds.



I have with me many documents here, gentlemen. They are not mine. I will be glad, though, to put you in touch with the owner and if out of these documents there is any evidence which you care to bring before your committee, I know the documents can be made available to you. They represent, largely, documents submitted by the American Civil Liberties Union and distributed in great numbers to our people—misconceiving, as we believe, civil liberties and advocating under the name of "Advisory Committee," which contains the names of well-known persons in our country, doctrines which we think are definitely subversive and some of which even traduce the decencies which as citizens we respect.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like very much to have those documents.

Mr. CHADWICK. I will be very glad to see that they are made available to you.

Gentlemen of the committee, I want you to know I deeply appreciate the opportunity you have given me to appear before you to present the views of the American Legion on the subjects you are investigating. You are doing a serious and important work in a splendid and courageous manner. We hope the Congress will continue the life of your committee and will provide you with sufficient funds to complete your task. Insofar as the American Legion is concerned, we are determined to continue our work of attempting to reach as many Americans as possible so that they may know something of the "boring from within" tactics used by the advocates of un-American "isms" in this country to the end that they may join with us in the battle to crush, for all time to come, every destructive alien "ism" in America.

I want it to be distinctly understood that we of the American Legion do not oppose reasoned progress in government. The Constitution of the United States, our basic law, provides the orderly, American way for such progress. It reserves to the citizens the right to change that basic law as they, in their conscience and judgment, decide may be necessary. That traditional American principle must not be denied. The American Legion demands only that we shall proceed and progress in the peaceful, orderly, and reasoning way, every citizen reserving to himself the inalienable right to support or oppose changes as he sees fit.

Gentlemen of the committee, we must ever remember that not all change is progress, that resort to revolution to accomplish change under our system of government is anarchy.

That to counsel or advocate the overthrow of our Government by force and violence is to ignorantly deny man's right or ability to govern himself.

You are concerned with these truths and our protection against this venality and ignorance. May your endeavors be fruitful for the security and perpetuity of our country.

That concludes, gentlemen, the formal statement. I would be glad to answer any questions you might care to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any of you gentlemen any questions to ask the commander?

Mr. THOMAS. I have one question. I notice a fair amount of your statement had to do with the Harry Bridges matter.

Mr. CHADWICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And you have accompanied your statement with certain letters between you and the Honorable Frances Perkins.

Mr. CHADWICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say, as a result of the investigation of the Bridges matter, that the Secretary of Labor has violated her oath of office?

Mr. CHADWICK. No. The difference which exists—as I am prepared to agree with her—is a difference in judgment with reference to the enforcement of our laws. The result of her exercise of judgment is to give Mr. Bridges, if deportable, a considerably longer stay in this country than I, in my judgment, think he should have. I think, and the Legion thinks, that there being a case which warranted the issuance of a deportation warrant, there should be no delay in bringing that case to a hearing. Whether mere delay, when coupled with the suggestions which she makes with reference to the *Stricker* decision and its influence upon her judgment, would constitute a violation of her oath of office, I would not go so far as to say.

Mr. THOMAS. Supposing after the *Stricker* case was decided that the Department of Labor still delayed, would you then consider it a violation of her oath of office?

Mr. CHADWICK. I do not know that her oath of office goes to the speed of her performance of public duty, but the speed of her performance of public duty is distinctly involved.

Mr. THOMAS. I might say this and this is all I have to say, just this one thing; I am also a Legionnaire and have been ever since the war. I have looked into this *Bridges* case very thoroughly. I am convinced that, for some unknown reason, Harry Bridges is the blond-haired boy of the Department of Labor and I am sick of it. And unless a quick decision is rendered after the *Stricker* case, I am going to take the necessary action in the next Congress.

Mr. CHADWICK. May I state I appreciate that expression from you, because of an additional resolution which I referred to in my initial letter to Madam Perkins, that substantially advises her that when the Congress convenes the conduct of her office, both as it affects the *Bridges* case and other matters in the Department, will be made the subject of representations to the Congress by the American Legion.

The CHAIRMAN. May I say in that connection, too, Commander, this committee has heard evidence not only with reference to Harry Bridges, but out in Detroit we heard reference to other Communist aliens whose names are in the record—aliens who had been arrested and concerning whom the local police had considerable evidence that such aliens belonged to organizations advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and that the aliens themselves had advocated such violence; yet in the face of that, the aliens were still here.

For instance, in the case of Joseph Kowalski, he was deported some years ago to Russia and returned after spending several years there and taking a very prominent part in the governmental as well as the activities of the Communist International, and he was even in charge of one of the penitentiaries, as I remember, and later returned to the United States, where he has been ever since and has been a Communist alien active in agitation, and yet he is still in this country.

So the *Bridges case* is only a typical case; there are other cases, and it seems to affect the policy of the whole country.

Mr. CHADWICK. I think you gentlemen will appreciate the American Legion is a democratic organization, operating through democratic forms. That resolution adopted by the convention of the American Legion is representative of the opinion of substantially a million members of the Legion. You will note our resolutions are studied and carefully worded and you will note in our resolution we said, "Harry Bridges and other undesirable aliens." I know the American Legion has in mind these other cases which your committee has in mind, and our resolution speaks to the whole administration of the deportation section of the Department of Labor.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection, of course the Legion is well aware of the fact that in thousands of cases of aliens who are clearly deportable, the deportation warrants are mandatorily withheld for a period of 5 years?

Mr. CHADWICK. I know that has been a matter of discussion in all of the rooms where those resolutions have been drafted.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, we are faced, as you say, with the question of the speed or lack of speed of administration by our Government departments.

Mr. CHADWICK. Exactly.

Mr. STARNES. And it amounts almost to an administrative nullification, rather than enforcement.

Mr. CHADWICK. We have gone so far as to call it a dereliction, and it has ripened now almost beyond that.

Mr. THOMAS. I think dereliction is a good word for it.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you if you knew anything or have learned anything about the radio program—26 programs to be scheduled by the Columbia Broadcasting Co. dealing with immigrants to this country?

Mr. CHADWICK. No; I have not been advised of that.

The CHAIRMAN. I happened to get some folders over in my office, some of the literature advertising it, being sent out under frank, and it purports to start soon, in script form, with 26 programs dealing, as I understand, with immigration.

I wonder what that is—if it has a purpose of leading to the weakening of our immigration laws.

Mr. CHADWICK. I have no information on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no information on the subject?

Mr. CHADWICK. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Relative to your position on immigration here, I notice, with interest, that the Legion is on record as opposed to making this country an asylum for all political and religious refugees.

Mr. CHADWICK. I think we said "any and all."

Mr. STARNES. Any and all?

Mr. CHADWICK. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I think that is a very correct statement of fact, and it is a misguided humanity that would permit a weakening of our present laws in this connection and the bringing into our borders of thousands of destitute people, regardless of how much we sympathize with them, when we have millions that we are contributing billions to support, who are already living in this country.



Mr. CHADWICK. It seems strange that we are not able to protect ourselves, as a people, against that.

Mr. STARNES. I call your attention to the fact that a recent editorial I noticed, I think from one of the great metropolitan dailies, but which was carried in the local press, made the startling proposition—this is the substance of it—that the best way to cure unemployment in this country and to hasten the processes of recovery, was to throw the floodgates open as soon as we can, and bring in teeming millions, and that some how, some way, our economic recovery would be effected by it. Has that been drawn to your attention?

Mr. CHADWICK. No, sir; but you never heard of anybody getting rich out of a poker game in an almshouse.

Mr. STARNES. No, sir. And that is the way it appeals to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know whether you want to express an opinion on this, but with reference to legislation dealing with organizations that advocate communism or fascism, or any form of government diametrically opposed to our system, such as the Communist Party, I have been wondering about the advisability of passing legislation requiring such organizations to file semi-annual reports with some governmental agency, giving who their contributors are, who their officers are, and how the money is being expended.

You see, what we have discovered is that a tremendous amount of money is being raised now for all sorts of purposes in the United States. We do not know where the money goes—who is getting the money. It may be they raise the money to aid some foreign cause. Last year over a million dollars was raised by one organization, the League for Peace and Democracy, and the thought has been, in my mind, whether or not it would be advisable for a law to be passed requiring such organizations to file semiannual reports with some governmental agency.

Mr. CHADWICK. I think, Mr. Dies, it would be highly desirable. I think any truly patriotic and public-serving organization within the country should be pleased to file such a report. It is like the fingerprint situation. The Legion has always advocated universal fingerprinting. We were all finger printed during the war. We feel no stigma attached to it. We think the light of day and identification at death, and a thousand and one things, justify it. But, for some reason or other, there are always people who are afraid of the light in this country. They convict themselves. They started in on your committee before you started. They are afraid to let the light of day shine upon them.

I can say, speaking for my organization, that we do file an annual report to Congress—I think from time to time it has been published—as to our revenue, how it is expended, and the like of that. And I do not see why all of the so-called patriotic organizations and all organizations which seek to serve these fancy purposes, like the League for Peace and Democracy, and the league for this, and the league for that, should not do the same. They should turn the light of day on them and find out who they are and what they are.

The CHAIRMAN. We have received considerable testimony, which I think would be acceptable in any court, showing that the Communist Party, by their own admissions, is a section of the International; that the central committee or comintern of the International

dictates the policies of the Communist Party in all countries. We have had that testimony, and you can take their own membership books and you can take their own literature, and you can take the testimony of witnesses who were members of the Communist Party, and some of them functionaries, and it all shows that.

Mr. CHADWICK. The circuit court of appeals of the circuit in which I live, the ninth circuit, have confirmed that record judicially time and time again.

The CHAIRMAN. We also have a law passed by Congress that any agency of a foreign principal shall register with the State Department. That law has not been complied with by the Communist Party and a number of other organizations—particularly by the Communist Party. It would therefore seem to the Chair that, in view of the evidence, the Department of Justice should institute proceedings against the Communist Party to require them to register under the law as the agent of the Third International, and bring that issue to a showdown, so that a jury may pass upon the connection between the Communist Party of the United States and the Third International.

Mr. CHADWICK. It seems to me the issue has been determined so far as the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Ninth Circuit is concerned, because they have found a connection, and the verdict found there has been confirmed several times, and I think the Department of Justice might be justified in acting upon the present state of the record, and proceed under the law. If not, then we, as American people, sitting here before a committee of Congress, should reflect the sentiment of the American people that we would think such procedure desirable.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one other point I want to ask. Under our existing immigration laws, of course, we have a quota of some 100,000 a year that applies to any European country. If there is any question you do not want to answer, just say so frankly, but I just want to get your statement. We have this quota and then we admit, as you say, people under temporary visés, with little or no restrictions. So, as a matter of fact, the administrative heads can admit large numbers of people outside of the quota, who visit this country under temporary visés. Now once they come here, some do not depart. There have been many records of that kind. But those who operate legally after they get here—they can obtain extensions. I was wondering about the possibility of some sort of legislative action that will require more restrictive measures to be taken as to the type of people who can come in on temporary visés.

Mr. STARNES. You mean restrictive action upon the administrative authority, if I may interrupt.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CHADWICK. I know behind the American Legion's thought is that there has been too much laxity with those entries; that the country is full of them; that they represent their portion of the unemployed portion of the people of this country and add to the citizens' burden of unemployment, and under the present administration of the law you have an active and acute situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, what is difficult to get to the public is that seamen, under the La Follette Act, when they land on the American shores—and I think this is the only country in the world that



permits it—can get off of the ship without any restrictions. There is no governmental agency that can restrict them, and they can stay on the shore for 90 days.

Mr. CHADWICK. And go over the hill.

The CHAIRMAN. And many of them disappear. Now, there was a regulation some years ago requiring them to be fingerprinted. It is my understanding that regulation has either been suspended, or abolished, and that no longer do they fingerprint aliens who come into the country.

What is occurring to the minds of many of us is this facility with which foreign agents can come into this country. They can cross the Mexican border, which is only policed by a handful of men, or they can come in the guise of seamen and desert, or they can come under temporary visas, or some procure entrance under a forged passport. So that when we come to the question of national defense in the next Congress and will be asked to appropriate billions of dollars to strengthen the defense of this country, should not something be done to make a check-up, at least, on the foreign agents who are operating in the United States?

Mr. CHADWICK. Decidedly so. The recent trial in New York and the recent disclosures down at Panama are evidence of active espionage in this country, and you have brought out evidence which evidences an active foreign influence of foreign nations, or of some of the nations and societies in this country, and it is your wisdom to solve these situations and protect us.

Our dangers, as I point out in my written statement, are not alone from without; we have dangers from within which are just as great. And if I had concrete suggestions to present to you on that subject, I would; but I am hopeful, as I say, with the seriousness of purpose in the investigation in which you gentlemen are engaged, that out of your deliberations you will be able to present to Congress something that will take care of each of these situations.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you do not know how many members there are of the Communist Party. They are permitted to join the Communist Party under an assumed name and many of them you could never locate for that reason, because they go under the name of Bill Smith, or any other name. So that, in time of war, in case we ever had a conflict with Russia, over here would be a large number of people who have joined an organization under an assumed name, but an organization which is pledged to follow the discipline and dictates of a foreign power. So that you would have approximately its membership as a potential espionage group in the United States in time of war.

Mr. CHADWICK. No doubt of it.

The CHAIRMAN. And I was wondering if it would be any invasion of freedom to assemble, to require people when they join organizations, to join under their correct names, and records to be kept and available so that we can find out who are members of organizations like the Communist Party.

Mr. CHADWICK. Of course the alien has no constitutional rights, and an alien seeking to subvert our form of government should not be accorded any of our rights.

I want to point out, again, that the Legion has, for years, favored universal fingerprinting. You have down here in one branch of the



Government the fingerprints of every man who was willing to serve the Government during the World War, and I think it would be a good idea, if that organization operates as you say it does with a membership built up on assumed names, for us to go ahead and enact a universal fingerprint law and identify them in that manner. At least we would be able to pick them up if at any time the country was ever challenged.

Mr. STARNES. At least the United States should know who is a citizen, or who is not?

Mr. CHADWICK. I agree with you on that. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is this literature, if any member of the committee wants to see this, advertising 26 radio programs on the question of "Americans All or Immigrants All." I tore off, at his request, the name of the person to whom it was sent under frank.

Mr. STARNES. Of course our first duty with people who are in this country, who are aliens, is to absorb and assimilate them in our social, economic, and political structure, provided they have the capacity to become citizens. That is our first duty, of course.

Mr. CHADWICK. And I think we all recognize that the group who have been assimilated and who have appreciated and have taken out American citizenship compose a fine part of the body of our people.

Mr. STARNES. Certainly.

Mr. CHADWICK. I do not want to be understood as condemning aliens as such. They are among our finest people; they are among the finest members of our American Legion that I represent here today. But there are those among them who have no appreciation of the privilege which they have gained in coming to these shores and who do not seek American citizenship. And there are a few who have not taken out American citizenship in good faith, but they are very few and far between. But we do concede that those who have no desire to take out American citizenship and who still serve foreign masters, or a foreign philosophy, are entitled to short consideration from us, I think, as a people.

The CHAIRMAN. We are the one country in the world, as far as I have been able to find any record of, that does not maintain some check-up on the aliens within our midst. I do not see how anyone can say how many aliens there are in America; because there is no way of determining the ones who are illegally here. There is, of course, a census taken; but that only applies to those who want voluntarily to give their names. But the great body of those who come in here illegally, we have no method of determining who are here.

Mr. CHADWICK. I have never heard anything more than wild estimates on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very grateful to you and to the American Legion.

Mr. CHADWICK. Thank you.

(The letters submitted with the statement by Commander Chadwick are as follows:)

(Thereupon the committee adjourned until Thursday, December 8, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

NOVEMBER 15, 1938.

HON. FRANCES PERKINS,  
*Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MADAM SECRETARY: The American Legion, whom I this year have the honor to command, at its national convention held in Los Angeles, Calif., September 19-22, inclusive, adopted two resolutions which I feel it my duty as national commander to call to your attention, since their subject matter concerns matters of public import which are the responsibility of the Department of Labor. The two resolutions are as follows:

*"Be it resolved by the national convention of the American Legion in convention assembled, That we demand the immediate trial and deportation of Harry Bridges and like undesirable aliens.*

*"Whereas certain officials of the Department of Labor have failed miserably in the enforcement of the laws relative to immigration and deportation; and*

*"Whereas said officials of the Department of Labor have consistently blocked the passage of new and much needed laws to regulate immigration and deportation; now therefore be it*

*"Resolved, The American Legion in national convention at Los Angeles demands that the Congress of the United States investigate the failure of these officials to comply with the existing immigration laws and take such steps as may be necessary to correct this unwarranted failure of duty."*

In carrying out the responsibilities of my office with reference to the foregoing resolutions in the name of the American Legion, I am respectfully making demand that the pending matter of trial and deportation of Harry Bridges, if deportation be warranted upon the facts as developed at an immediate trial, proceed.

The subject matter of the second resolution quoted will, of necessity, be made the basis of a demand upon the Congress.

In my official responsibility I have withheld addressing you until the elections were out of the way in order that my thus addressing you should not be considered as a matter of political implication. The interest of the American Legion is in the welfare of our country and in the prompt and proper performance of duty by our public officials, and enforcement of existing law.

We are interested that every persons subjected to charges which might warrant deportation should have the benefit of those legal rights with which all people charged with offenses against our Government are protected.

We do not prejudge any situation but we do demand that the orderly processes designed for the protection of our country, its peace and happiness be pursued.

I am,

Respectfully yours,

STEPHEN F. CHADWICK,  
*National Commander.*

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
 OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
 WASHINGTON, November 18, 1938.

MR. STEPHEN F. CHADWICK,  
*National Commander, American Legion,  
 Indianapolis, Ind.*

MY DEAR MR. CHADWICK: This is to acknowledge your courteous letter transmitting the resolutions adopted by the American Legion at its convention.

I am in entire agreement with your thoughtful and responsible expression of opinion with regard to prompt, proper enforcement of law by orderly processes.

In order to give you the full facts in the procedure of the Department in the *Bridges case*, I am embodying a brief statement of it in this letter.

According to the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Harry Bridges, a native of Australia and a British subject, was legally admitted to this country in 1920. He filed declarations of intention to become an American citizen in New Orleans in 1921 and in San Francisco in 1928, both of which were permitted to expire. It was not until after he became a prominent figure as a result of a labor leadership which developed during the long-shoremen's strike in 1934 that any question was ever raised as to his status as a quota immigrant legally entitled to reside in the United States. During the strike the Department received letters charging that Bridges was a Com-



munist and should be deported. Those charges were carefully investigated at that time and in 1935 the San Francisco District of Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that an investigation of all these charges failed to show that Bridges was connected with the Communist Party or with any other radical organization. Investigation showed that the criminal prevention detail of the San Francisco police department also had been unable to obtain any evidence indicating that Bridges had ever been a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it. It was not until last autumn when the Seattle office submitted some affidavits signed by persons who alleged that they had seen Bridges participating in Communist Party meetings that any concrete charges were filed in this Department. With my approval a further investigation was then undertaken which failed to show conclusively whether these affidavits were true or false.

In view of the gravity of the charges, however, a warrant was issued last winter and the case set down for hearing in San Francisco in accordance with the regulations of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which, of course, gives every alien an opportunity to be heard and be represented by counsel before any deportation order is issued. A few days before this hearing occurred, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in a case entitled *Strecker v. Kessler*, held that membership in the Communist Party was not a ground for deportation. I was advised by the Solicitor of the Department of Labor that he had concluded after conference with the officials of the Department of Justice that unless this decision was reversed that the charges brought against Bridges, even if proved, had no legal significance whatsoever. The Immigration Act of 1918 as amended by the act of 1920 does not, as you know, make membership in the Communist Party a ground for deportation. The law provides for the deportation of persons \* \* \* who belong to an organization which advocates the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence." The Solicitor pointed out that there had to be proof that even if membership was shown that the Communist Party was an organization or society which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence and that the documentary evidence offered on this point in the *Strecker case* was precisely the kind of evidence upon which the Department had been relying in similar cases for the past 15 years. Accordingly both he and the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization recommended that the *Strecker case* be appealed to the Supreme Court and that until the highest court passed on this question that all pending cases in the Immigration Service which fell under this category, including the *Bridges case* among others, be suspended in keeping with the usual Government legal practice of avoiding unnecessary expense and multiple litigation in the lower courts, when a test case was pending in the higher courts. The warrants in this class of cases have not been canceled—litigation has merely been postponed.

Criticism has been directed at the Department for the postponement of the *Bridges case*. It has been said that the *Bridges case* and the *Strecker case* are not similar. Actually the only difference between the two is that Strecker admitted his membership in the Communist party, whereas Bridges has denied that he has ever been a member. There is no evidence to show that Bridges in his speeches advocated the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence and, therefore, there is no ground for attempting to distinguish the cases on that theory. It has also been said that the *Strecker case* was not in conflict with holdings of the court sustaining the deportation of Communist Party members. It has also been said that in the *Strecker case* no evidence was submitted to show the nature of the Communist Party and consequently the holding of the court was purely on a procedural ground and, therefore, the Department might have relied upon earlier decisions of the circuit courts of appeal and proceeded with the *Bridges case*. This argument can be advanced only by persons who have not studied the record in the *Strecker case* nor the decisions of other circuit courts of appeal. The *Strecker case* was in conflict with other decisions on which the Department has relied.

As I have stated, documentary evidence was put in the record of the *Strecker case* showing the doctrines of the Communist Party and this documentary evidence was so similar to that received by the courts in other cases of this character that both the legal staff of my Department and the Solicitor General were of the opinion that this case was contrary to the earlier decisions of other circuit courts of appeal. It was upon this basis that the Government filed its petition for certiorari before the Supreme Court; namely, that there was a conflict of decisions among the circuit courts of appeal. Since under the rules



of the Supreme Court a writ of certiorari would not be granted unless there was a conflict, the Supreme Court conceded in effect that the legal position taken by the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice was correct since the Court recently on October 17 granted the petition for the writ. The case will be argued this winter and it is hoped that the decision of statutory construction, that the administrative branch of the Government can feel sure of its legal ground in dealing with other cases arising under the 1918 act.

Yours very truly,

FRANCES PERKINS.

NOVEMBER 24, 1938.

HON. FRANCES PERKINS,  
*Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MADAM SECRETARY: I wish to acknowledge your considered letter dated November 18, the copy which I received was postmarked November 21 at 4 p. m. from Washington, D. C., and although I had read the letter in the press, I awaited the receipt of the original before replying. I particularly appreciate your extended statement covering your Department's position in the *Bridges case*. Your statement offers the occasion of my defining the differences of opinion which exist between the American Legion together with the millions of citizens who are supporting us and your Department.

Underlying the whole Bridges situation is the first point covered by your letter. Mr. Bridges has twice filed declaration of intention to become an American citizen, and has twice evidenced such lack of interest in American citizenship as to permit his filing to expire. It is my thought that no presumptions or favors should be indulged with regard to one who, by his conduct, has demonstrated such a lack of interest in so important a privilege as American citizenship.

The question, if there be such, as to circumstances surrounding Mr. Bridges' quota entry is one on which I have no information, and as a consequence will not express myself. With what you refer to as Mr. Bridges being "a prominent figure" in "a labor leadership" we of the American Legion are not concerned. Our concern is that for a period of 4 years, according to your own statement, you have had before you charges that Mr. Bridges is one who believes in and advocates the overthrow of our existing form of government by force and violence. That he is charged with being a Communist is not, or should not be, the determinative issue. It is in our opinion only an incidental fact to be considered with all others in arriving at a final and just conclusion upon the facts when publicly produced.

The term "Communist" for your information, is generally used by our people as descriptive of those who teach, advocate, counsel, direct or believe in the undermining or overthrow of our Government by force and violence. The communications to which you refer as having been received in 1934 were undoubtedly intended in this popular sense. It is, we feel, unfortunate, as appears from your letter that you have been inclined to so limit the construction of the word as to embrace only those whose formal associations with the so-called Communist Party of America can be exactly and "conclusively" established.

The investigation in 1935 of your San Francisco district office if limited, as you indicate, to the proof of being "connected with the Communist Party or with any other radical organization" was doubtless too restricted in its scope to develop the facts surrounding the principal issue, the issue which prompts our impatience as an organization and the consequent demand with which I have addressed you.

The charges which you refer to of the autumn of 1937 you state were submitted by your Seattle office and supported by affidavits. Instead of relying upon the sworn record thus submitted by your civil service employees, you admit that you elected to investigate the investigators to determine "conclusively" whether the affidavits were true or false. This, we of the American Legion consider a most singular procedure. The verity of the affidavits accepted by your Seattle office might, in our opinion, have been better determined by public hearing upon a warrant for deportation issued in accordance with the desires of your Seattle office, and public cross-examination of the persons whose sworn affidavits were before you.

As you state, a warrant was issued in the winter of 1937-38 \* \* \* We of the Legion are not satisfied with the averments supporting the particular

warrant is issued, if they are, as you indicate, susceptible of a construction which limits the issue to being "connected with the Communist Party" for, as you will observe, we consider connection with the Communist Party as only evidentiary of the principal issue involved. Notwithstanding our dissatisfaction with the character of the averments made in support of the warrant for deportation there was, nevertheless, urgent demand among our members and the people generally that hearing proceed upon the warrant as drawn. But, as you state, such delay was effected that the opinion in *Strecker v. Kessler* was delivered before hearing on the Bridges warrant was had. Since the delivery of the opinion in *Strecker v. Kessler* your Department, for the reasons assigned by you, has elected to remain dormant as to the Bridges and similar cases. Your Mr. James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, shortly after your Department's having arrived at this decision came to Indianapolis and addressed the national executive committee of the American Legion and stated to us orally:

"One thing I want to correct right at this stage of my talk. I read a great deal about the humanitarian ideas of the Secretary of Labor, and I have read editorials in which she was accused of being a social humanitarian. As a matter of fact, the Secretary of Labor pays very little attention to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. We are the largest individual unit in the Department of Labor. We have 3,700 employees out of about 5,000 in the Department of Labor, but I have often complained that because we are not interested along the line of labor problems we do not really get the attention we ought to get. The idea that the Secretary of Labor sends me orders as to whom should be let into this country or whom should be kept out of this country, I want to say right now, is wrong. Therefore, gentlemen, I am up here to say that any criticism of the Immigration Service since the first day of September, when I took office, is a criticism which I have got to answer for. I am responsible and anything you gentlemen have to criticize in the administration of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is on my shoulders \* \* \*

"We proposed to have hearings on Harry Bridges. The hearings were set for the 25th of April. Harry Bridges was served with a warrant of arrest in Baltimore on the 5th day of March, and he is now released on his own recognizance and subject to hearing on his own deportability. We were sending two of our men out from the Department and they were being joined by men from the coast who have been conducting preliminary hearings, the hearings on Harry Bridges deportability. The travel orders were issued when we received the findings of the court in the case of *Strecker v. Kessler* in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, which held that the membership in the Communist Party, standing alone, was not sufficient to deport \* \* \*. We have deported 100 aliens in the last 3 or 4 years for membership in the Communist Party. We were not sustained. We immediately took counsel among ourselves to to whether to go ahead and develop our testimony against Bridges in the face of that decision. We counseled with the Department of Justice and with our own legal department, and it was our considered opinion that we would do better to ask the Supreme Court to review that case and to withhold until we got a review which might better define what we must prove to make a good case of deportation against a man who is accused of being a member of the Communist Party, and until the Supreme Court might hand down a clarifying decision to determine what we ought to do to prove it.

"From some conversation I had in this hall before I came up here, I judge that our decision is not being received very favorably by some members of the Legion who have given some study to the problem."

Mr. Houghteling was not only correct in his conclusion that some members of the Legion looked with disfavor on his and your position, but was promptly advised by the national executive committee of the American Legion through a resolution adopted while he was in the hall that we demanded that the hearings upon the *Bridges case* proceed. This was done with knowledge of the issues involved in the *Strecker case*. The Legion repeated this demand in its national convention, the resolution of demand being the subject of my first communication to you.

As spokesman for the American Legion, I must say that we cannot and do not agree with either the reasons assigned for your deferring hearing in the *Bridges case* or your course of inaction in the premises. The *Strecker* opinion is a slender reed with which to stop the orderly processes of Government, orderly processes which you admit characterized the conduct of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in its handling of deportation matters for the "past 15



years." We are not satisfied that the hearings on deportation cases should be held up by decisions as doubtful as to their finality or entire applicability as the *Strecker case*. To mention avoiding "unnecessary expense" in matters of such importance and public interest seems to us unreasonable indulgence to one charged with being a menace to our peace and order. The possible loss of witnesses through delay completely overbalances such a consideration.

You know, and I know, and the people of America generally know, that numerous deportations have been made upon the single basis of an individual being a Communist. The district courts in the ninth circuit (upon proof that has come to be accepted as stock exhibits) are replete with such instances. Mr. Bridges has generally made his residence in the ninth circuit, and until the ninth circuit changes its rule of decision membership in the Communist Party with proof of its purposes by stock exhibits remains a sufficient ground for deportation within that circuit.

The *Strecker case*, if we read it rightly, did not give the Communist a clean bill of health. Rather it remanded the case upon the existing record for trial de novo. Much complaint has been made of the record in the *Strecker case*. The manifesto of the Communist International and the Constitution of the Communist Party (usually considered stock exhibits in such cases) were not introduced. Some have gone so far as to say that this weakness in the record is conclusively so. At any rate, the Strecker record is no where near as complete as the record in the *Bridges case* could be and should be.

Mr. Bridges should not be held for deportation upon the life record of Mr. Strecker. It is our thought that if deportable, he should be deported upon his own life record, and that can only be established by early hearing.

There are those who feel that the *Strecker case* should not have been appealed, since the record was not as complete as it could have been and the decision of the circuit court in that case had only remanded the case for new trial. We are informed that a solicitor of your Department in writing to the Attorney General of the United States admitted with reference to the record in the *Strecker case*:

"It is true that \* \* \* the manifesto of the Communist International and the Constitution of the Communist Party of America (apparently the stock exhibits considered by other circuit courts of appeal) were not introduced."

Faithful employees of your own Department in documents now public property have advised you with reference to the Strecker record that:

"Service failed to introduce adequate proof, party teaches violence \* \* \* case rests only on the absence of such facts or proof and not upon any fundamental question. An appeal will not cure the situation in my judgment but rather complicate it."

We of the Legion concur in this opinion of a long time and highly respected civil-service employee of your Department. The *Bridges case* can only be identical with the *Strecker case* in the event you, by your averments in support of the warrant for deportation elected to make it so. Neither that course of action nor the withholding of action until the *Strecker case* is decided will be satisfactory to the American Legion.

Appeal in the *Strecker case*, when all that the court had ordered was a new trial was, in our opinion, inexcusable for, without such an appeal, there might not have been a conflict between the fifth and the ninth circuits in their decisions. Upon a new trial with a full and complete record deportation might have been ordered in the *Strecker case* by the Circuit Court of Appeals in the fifth circuit. Notwithstanding your reasons as stated in your letter of November 18, we of the Legion feel that the orderly processes of government still the law in the ninth circuit, should not be suspended. This even though by departmental action those processes designed for the protection of the Nation from those who conspire to or seek its overthrow by force and violence should have been suspended in the fifth circuit. We trust that the hearings in the *Bridges case* will not be further delayed.

I am,

Respectfully yours,

STEPHEN F. CHADWICK, *National Commander.*





# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:45 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its sessions. In keeping with the policy announced by the chairman of the committee, Mr. Dies, the committee today will hear a statement by one of the outstanding civic leaders of the Nation on methods and means of combatting un-American and subversive activities, and we are delighted to have with us Mr. Eugene I. Van Antwerp, who is commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. We will be happy, Mr. Van Antwerp, to have your statement.

Before proceeding, is there anything in your statement that might be deemed evidence or testimony of such a character that you would want it to be sworn to?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. I do not believe so, Mr. Chairman. I believe that the statement speaks for itself, and it is not necessary that it be made under oath. However, if it is the wish of the committee, I would be very glad to submit to being sworn, but I do not think it is necessary.

Mr. STARNES. All right, we will swear you, if you have no objection.

**STATEMENT OF EUGENE I. VAN ANTWERP, COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
BEFORE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D. C.**

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Mr. Van Antwerp.

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Special Committee on un-American Activities, I appear before you today, as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, in response to an invitation by the Honorable Martin Dies, chairman of this committee, to present the recommendations of our organization as to a constructive program. First, to eliminate the foreign "isms" from this country; second, to promote and safeguard Americanism; and third, to preserve America, her ideals and institutions.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, or the V. F. W., as it is commonly referred to, is an organization composed exclusively of American citizens, who have seen service in the armed forces of the United States in some foreign country or in hostile waters, during some war, campaign, or expedition in which our country has been engaged, and for which a campaign badge has been officially authorized.

The protection of America and the preservation of its ideals and institutions is not, to members of the V. F. W., a mere academic subject. It is a cause for which they have left the shores of their homeland to serve their country in its most hazardous employment; for which they have endured the physical hardship and exposure incident to participation in armed combat; for which they have faced possible death at the hands of the enemy; for which thousands of their former comrades have actually made the supreme sacrifice; for which many thousands of them must bear through life the burden of handicapping wounds and disabilities, and to which all of them have devoted 1 or more years of the most productive periods of their lives. This personal contact which members of the V. F. W. have had with war has imbued them with the unalterable determination that the sacrifices of their buddies and their own sacrifices shall not have been in vain.

Had there been doubt in the mind of any citizen as to the immediate danger to American institutions and ideals from the insidious infiltration of foreign "isms," then that doubt must have been dispelled by the testimony of the great number of witnesses who have appeared before this committee, including the convincing evidence of Mr. Walter S. Steele, who testified on behalf of several patriotic organizations, among them the V. F. W. I shall therefore confine my remarks to what we believe to be a constructive program for the elimination of foreign "isms" for the protection and promotion of Americanism, and for the preservation of America and its ideals and institutions.

Although the elimination of communism, nazi-ism, and fascism, and their respective agents, agencies, and ideologies from this country is our immediate concern, nevertheless their successful elimination is so inextricably linked with the protection and promotion of Americanism as to be well-nigh inseparable. Fundamentally, we are convinced that the promotion of Americanism is its best protection.

Americanism, according to our conception, is belief in and loyalty to the fundamental concepts and principles of the American form of government as expressed in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the right of the people to alter or institute new government, organizing its powers in such form, as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness, by effecting such amendments to the Constitution and by enacting such laws as may be deemed necessary and justifiable, according to the methods provided for in the Constitution itself; to provide new guards for their future security; to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; to have freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of the people peace-



ably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures; the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury; in all criminal prosecutions; the right to vote and thus to share in the responsibilities of a representative form of government.

Inherently America is our three-fold form Government in which legislative, executive, and judicial powers are vested in the Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court, and other authorized courts of the United States, each of which must independently function as to the powers within its jurisdiction, while at the same time being responsive and responsible to each other and to the people. Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and he said "people," not "masses," is made possible by the Constitution through the medium of local and State governments coexistent with the Federal Government.

Practical Americanism includes not only loyalty to these fundamental concepts but acceptance by each individual citizen of the responsibility to support, defend, and promote these ideals and principles.

Un-Americanism is any concept or activity which aims to destroy or abrogate any of these rights which we take to be essentially American. Communism, nazi-ism, or fascism, or any other form of dictatorial regimentation, from whatever source it may claim its authority or justification, will intentionally and inevitably abolish not only one but virtually all of these rights. We in the V. F. W. are unwilling to barter our rights as American citizens and our significance as individuals for possible economic security under a regimentated dictatorship.

Economic security for every citizen is, we believe, possible under the American form of representative government. We do not pretend to be economists, and therefore will not presume to suggest the detailed methods by which economic security may be attained for all citizens; but we have an abiding faith that such economic security can be attained within the machinery of democratic processes and that the American people will continue to have the ability intelligently to work out their own economic adjustments.

I might say right here that in conference with a Rumanian yesterday, whose son, a banker, had been visiting in this country, the son made the statement to him, an intelligent man, and conversant with conditions in Europe, he said, "America today is 2,000 years ahead of Europe." I give you that for what it may be worth. That this has been true in the past is indicated by the fact that under our democratic form of government we have attained the highest standard of living existing in any nation. At the same time, in spite of the progress which has been made in a century and a half of American democracy we must admit that, even under our American form of government, we have not yet been able to eliminate all economic maladjustments.

It is primarily from among the ranks of the unemployed and the dissatisfied that exponents of alien "isms" find their most ready converts. Although we most certainly do insist that the individual is

primarily responsible for his own welfare and that of his family, nevertheless we realize that widespread unemployment is caused by so many interrelated factors as to be impossible of solution by the individual alone and has thus become the concern of the Nation as a whole. We believe that this unemployment problem is of such pressing importance that it deserves and must have the immediate and best efforts of all citizens, both individually and collectively, toward its solution. We firmly believe that its solution can be accomplished through the orderly process of democratic government and that the solution of such serious problems will automatically eliminate the most fertile fields for the spreading and growth of pernicious foreign doctrines.

While the American people are engaged in working out the solution to these serious problems, the enemies of democracy will not be idle in their designing efforts to tear down our country's ideals and institutions and to impose upon us their own philosophies of government. Evidence already before this committee indicates that the method at present most favored by anti-American organizations and their scheming agents, particularly as to those of the Communist ilk, is by the process of infiltration into, and control of, organizations primarily formed to serve some worthy purpose. No one type of organization seems to have been singled out particularly for this attention, but their slimy tentacles have been pushed into almost every type of organization and association. Having found a foothold within an organization, their policy has been to work themselves into positions of authority and then to pervert the laudable objectives of such a group so as to make possible the further dissemination of their own malicious propaganda. Many of the members of such organizations may not be aware of what has transpired, because of the fact that such agents have been able successfully to make their insidious purposes behind clever manipulations. Where this has been accomplished, the worthwhile objectives of the organization become a cloak behind which subversive propaganda is distributed to an unsuspecting public, and the organization thereby becomes a false front for the machinations of some individual "isms." Thus many well-meaning men become stooges for the propagation of various "isms."

Every American citizen, we believe, has the right to know who and what are behind every organization and association which may make a bid for his attention or support, as well as their sources of income and their ostensible purposes. There are so many organizations and associations of various types in this country, that no one individual can keep track of them, and there is no central source of authentic information concerning them.

Our first specific constructive suggestion is, therefore, that legislation be enacted to provide that every organization, association, society, fraternity, and corporation, of every type, which has dues paying, contributing or affiliated members in more than one State, or which distributes information or literature of any kind into more than one State, shall each be required to file with the Library of Congress a certified copy of its charter, constitution, regulations, bylaws, statement of purposes, the names of its officers and directors, and all other pertinent information concerning its activities which



may be prescribed by Congress, together with an annual statement of its receipts and disbursements, and a summary of its activities during the preceding calendar year, as required of organizations such as the V. F. W. which have been incorporated by an act of Congress.

As a necessary corollary to the above suggestion to provide for the regulation of all pertinent information by all national organizations and associations, we urge the enactment of a law to provide that copies of all newspapers, magazines, books, folders, bulletins, and form letters which are sent out into more than one State by any corporation, firm, organization, association, society, fraternity, or other organized group, or any individual, shall promptly be filed with the Library of Congress.

Appropriate penalties for failure to comply with the requirements of such laws should be provided for. Similar legislation as to local organizations and local distribution of information or literature, should also be enacted in each State.

In making these specific suggestions, Mr. Chairman, we want it understood that the V. F. W. does not advocate—and in fact would strenuously oppose—any legislation which would in any manner infringe upon the freedom of the press. We merely insist that the American people have the right to know the identity of those who appeal to their sympathy or for their support.

The enactment of these proposed laws will, we believe, make it possible to smoke out the true identity of those really responsible for the dissemination of subversive propaganda, and will thus subject such expressed viewpoints, in the light of their known authorship, to more intelligent analysis and evaluation.

Inasmuch as such laws are not now on our statute books, and in view of the crying need for the disclosure of such facts, we recommend the continuance of the activities of this committee at least until such laws shall have become operative, and I think that I should emphasize our recommendation that this committee be continued.

We urge the enactment of legislation to provide for the dissolution of all secret organizations which advocate, or use, force or violence to advance their purposes.

We urge the enactment of legislation which will make it a crime to advocate or promote the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence to be punishable, not only by fine or imprisonment, but by forfeiture of eligibility for any compensation, pension, wages, or other benefits from the United States Government, and by immediate deportation of all aliens who are found guilty thereof.

We propose the enactment of Federal and State laws to provide for the withholding of public appropriations from any school, college, or university which openly advocates the adoption of any foreign "ism."

We advocate the enactment of legislation by the Federal Government; and by all the States, which shall require an oath of allegiance by all Government employees, national, State, and local.

We urge the enactment and rigid enforcement of legislation by the Federal Government, and by all States, to extend governmental employment only to American citizens and to such aliens as shall previously have been in possession of valid declarations of intention to become American citizens.



In order that such laws can be properly enforced, we urge the enactment of legislation by Congress to provide for the registration, fingerprinting, photographing, and identification of all aliens now in this country, and of all aliens who subsequently enter the country.

We advocate the enactment of Federal and State legislation to provide for the discontinuance of public relief for those aliens who have not, heretofore, been in possession of valid declarations of intention to become American citizens.

We urge the early enactment and enforcement of legislation which will mandate the Department of Labor immediately to deport all aliens in this country who have been found guilty of any penal crime, who have become public charges, who are ineligible for citizenship, or who advocate the use of force or violence to overthrow the present form of our Government. Surely, our Nation is under no moral obligation to harbor those aliens who are in these classes.

Inasmuch as our country has not been able to absorb into gainful employment all of its own citizens, we urge the enactment of legislation to reduce immigration from all countries down to 10 percent of present quotas; and we also urge that increased border patrols be provided to prevent the illegal smuggling of aliens into this country.

Turning now to a discussion of how best to promote and to protect Americanism and how best to preserve America and her ideals and institutions, may I say, Mr. Chairman, that the subject involves so many spiritual, social, and economic complexities that any attempt on my part to submit detailed recommendations for their ideal solution would indeed be most presumptuous. I shall, therefore, confine my recommendations to those which the V. F. W. deems to be of paramount importance.

Let me say at this point, that in the promotion of Americanism and patriotism, speaking as the father of 11 children, from my own personal experience, I believe that the first and foremost place for the promotion of Americanism and patriotism is in the home.

A democracy can survive only on the foundation of an informed and intelligent electorate. Absolutely essential to the establishment and continuance of an informed and intelligent citizenry are the rights of free speech and a free press, as guaranteed by the Constitution. First and foremost, then, in the preservation of the ideals and institutions of America, we must insist that there shall be no infringement of these basic rights—even though such invasion may be undertaken in the name of Americanism.

Free speech and a free press are, in themselves, insufficient unless at the same time we have a system of public education for both youth and adults, which will have equipped our citizens with the mental ability to understand and to evaluate information thus presented.

One of the finest mediums by which to promote adult education, and one which is so completely in harmony with the principles of democracy that it has become traditionally American, is the open public forum. No better method than the public forum has ever been devised by which to provide for information on, and open discussion concerning, important public questions, critical analysis of the problems involved, and intelligent decisions as to their solution. Nowhere will the fallacies of un-American doctrines be brought to light quicker than on the platform of an open forum, for democracy does not fear comparison with any other form of government.

We must rely upon education, the light of truth—not suppression—for the perpetuation of American ideals, and for that reason we recommend that Congress and all patriotic and civic organizations, public officials, and citizens in general encourage and assist the establishment and maintenance of open public forums throughout the country.

We believe that false and un-American ideologies may appeal particularly to those whose educational background is inadequate. This situation exists not only among those American citizens who have not had an opportunity for proper education in their youth but also among those concentrated groups of foreign-born residents who have never learned enough about American democracy to compare it intelligently with authoritarian forms of government.

A body blow to the purveyors of totalitarian ideas would be dealt by the establishment, within these groups, of adequate means of adult education, fortified by teaching and practicing Americanism as persistently, as intentionally, and as forcefully as anti-American convivers present their various pernicious "isms."

America has established and maintained one of the finest systems of public education now existing in any country, but we have given too little attention to some of the factors, other than formal education, which are essential to the development of sound American citizenship. The development of sound American citizenship must, to a great extent, take place during childhood.

Due to conditions over which they have had no control, some of which I have previously mentioned American youth today is faced with less opportunity, and with more complex problems than have beset any previous generation. The United States Office of Education estimates that there are now more than five million boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 21 who are out of school, without jobs, and with no possible means for charting the future course of their lives. These discouraged and disillusioned youngsters, at the crossroads of life, are falling prey in astonishing numbers to the false promises of economic security held out by plausible-sounding advocates of communism, nazi-ism, and fascism.

If we are to preserve the ideals of America and its institutions, we must demonstrate to these young citizens that democracy holds for them greater opportunity, broader possibilities for self-expression, and a more satisfying and secure future than would be possible under any other form of government. Recognizing this situation, the V. F. W. has undertaken a Nation-wide youth program, in which the problems of youth are attacked on three fronts, namely, recreation, citizenship training, and vocational adjustment.

We have an exhibition here of some of our literature to that effect. Right here are some of our various pamphlets that are sent out to not only our own posts, but to citizens generally who request them for the use of youth.

Recreation—because it develops sound bodies and healthy minds, a constituent part of good citizenship; because the playfield itself is an actual training ground for democratic conduct; and because supervised recreation occupies constructively the growing leisure of boys and girls which might otherwise be spent in contact with the salesman of subversive ideas.



Citizenship training—because a practical working knowledge of the complicated machinery of American Government is a vital necessity to the practice of intelligent and responsible citizenship.

Vocational adjustment—because every boy and girl has the right to look forward to a life of usefulness, in an occupation of their choice, to which they may be personally adapted, for which they are adequately prepared, and from which they can expect a decent living.

We believe that there is no better channel into which every patriotic organization, and every other group interested in the future welfare of America, can turn their efforts than into a well-rounded youth program, such as that now being carried out by the V. F. W. There are many aspects of this program to which governmental agencies can substantially contribute, and we therefore urge that Congress encourage and support cooperation between those governmental agencies and those organizations which are endeavoring to make progress along the lines of such a youth program.

Even the children of war veterans are not immune from the effects of the same insidious propaganda which may divert the loyalty and patriotism of other dissatisfied youths. The children of those veterans who may have been relegated to the economic scrap pile, because of a series of events which had their inception during the time spent in defending the Nation by service in its armed forces, can hardly be blamed if they should come to the conclusion that it does not pay to be a war veteran. Money spent by the Nation, therefore, in seeing that every qualified veteran is given the opportunity to earn a decent living, in providing adequate compensation to those veterans who are suffering with handicapping service-incurred wounds and disabilities, and in providing adequate pensions for the widows and orphans of all deceased war veterans and for all war veterans who are so permanently disabled as to be unable to earn a living by the performance of manual labor, is an investment in patriotism, which will draw huge dividend returns in the future, toward the preservation of America and her ideals and institutions. Such guarantees to veterans of the World War, and to their dependents, should no longer be delayed by Congress and the Nation, for if the youth of our Nation should observe that the welfare of veterans, and of their dependents, is neglected, and that unemployed and disabled veterans are permitted to become mere forgotten heroes, then they will almost inevitably come to the conscious or subconscious conclusion that in the event of any future war it would be safer to remain in civilian life to become one of the profiteers of war.

The failure of the Congress to enact laws which would in effect have provided for the payment of the burden of war and the human aftermath of war, out of the profits from war and from war's aftermath, long ago gave rise to such economic maladjustments as may well have been in large part responsible for the economic depression long suffered by the unemployed of this Nation, which in turn has aroused doubt as to the efficacy of democratic methods in solving society's most glaring faults. Democracy must be made to work more equitably toward effecting a greater equalization of the profits and burdens of any possible future war in which our Nation may become engaged. It is for that reason that the V. F. W. most emphatically urges that Congress, as soon as possible while we are at



peace, enact a law to tax the abnormal profits which may be derived out of any future war, thereby discouraging the potentialities for becoming involved in any future war, while at the same time thereby arousing in all citizens a greater determination and enthusiastic co-operation to bring about the successful termination of any such future unprofitable war as expeditiously as possible.

Because the stresses and strains of any future war, and the economic maladjustments which follow in the wake of same, might become so great as to invite some form of regimented dictatorship, with the resulting loss of rights and privileges and ideals regarded as an essential part of American democracy, we of the V. F. W. are anxious that Congress and the President shall adopt and apply such policies as are designed to keep America out of war. An effective, mechanized, motorized national defense, with adequate trained reserves and equipment and material of all kinds, is, we believe, of the first importance in America's preparation against unwanted war, as well as for any such war as might come upon us. Lack of adequate preparedness for war may of itself constitute the best reason for some designing, militant nation to become guilty of such actions as would inevitably force our Nation into war. Preparation for war is one of the best guarantees against war, as well as against the loss of our American form of government by the use of force or violence by any possible willful organized group within our country.

Putting into effect the recommendations which I have briefly described to you today, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, will, we are convinced, almost surely eliminate the danger from foreign "isms" in this country, will protect and promote Americanism, and will result in the preservation of America and her ideals and institutions.

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, I thank you for your contribution, by your investigations into un-American activities, toward the exposure and elimination of the foreign "isms" which are so incompatible with our own responsive, responsible, representative form of government, and I thank you for this opportunity to appear before you, and to submit our recommendation for your consideration.

MR. STARNES. We thank you, Mr. Van Antwerp, and I want to say that I think your statement is the most constructive statement that we have had. It has presented a positive program for the perpetuation of American ideals and institutions, and I believe that is the theme of your statement that a positive program which will make the processes of democracy effective in our social, economic, and political life is the best insurance that we have against any un-American or subversive activities, is that correct?

MR. VAN ANTWERP. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Now, the members of the committee, including the Chair, would probably like to ask you some questions.

MR. VAN ANTWERP. If they ask some questions with which I am not entirely conversant, of my own knowledge, I should appreciate it if I may call upon some of my staff here who may supply the information.

MR. STARNES. All right; what is the membership of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; what was it last year?

MR. VAN ANTWERP. Well, we have on our rolls between 700,000 and 800,000 members, but they have not all paid their dues, as you

might well realize, but we have between 700,000 and 800,000 members who have never either resigned or been discharged from the organization, except through lapse of dues.

Mr. STARNES. I see, and your membership is composed of men who have served in the armed forces of the United States in the defense of the country on foreign battlefields or on duty outside the continental area of the United States; is that correct?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. Yes, sir. We are the largest organization of overseas veterans in America.

Mr. STARNES. It is your thought, and that of your organization that the cooperation of capital and labor and the public for providing for our citizenship is a strong safeguard for our country and its institutions?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You feel, too, that an educational program is necessary for the youngsters of this land to provide them proper training in character and in citizenship to combat some of the insidious forces in this country?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. We certainly do, not only educational but recreational as well, as I have said here, and I know of specific instances where recreational programs initiated right in the midst of un-American activities have turned them from the un-American activities, and the children became quite an enthusiastic, patriotic group.

Mr. STARNES. I was very much impressed with the statement, too, that you made with reference to training, that it should be given in citizenship to the aliens who are in this country, who have the capacity to become citizens. I quite agree with that thought. I think that is essential, because we have a large group of those people in this country, many of whom can become valuable and representative citizens, and I think that is a positive recommendation on your part, that we should give them training in citizenship and absorb them and assimilate them into our social, political, and economic structure as soon as possible.

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. Yes, sir; and so many of the aliens who pass the required citizenship test are more or less in the position of parrots in repeating the answers to their questions. They have been trained beforehand, and they pass their citizenship test, but they really have not any intelligent knowledge of American Government or institutions.

Mr. STARNES. You feel, too, that it is a paramount matter of importance that the homes be charged with the first responsibility of training in citizenship?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. I certainly do. The groundwork of all patriotism, of all Americanism must be in the home, and I think that in our adult education in patriotism and in Americanism great stress should be laid upon the desirability and the necessity of starting Americanism and patriotism in the home.

Mr. STARNES. I was particularly impressed with one recommendation you made, and that was the question of discussion of American ideals, institutions, and public questions in the public forum. Do you care to say more on that point than you did in your prepared statement; that is, the education of our public or adult public by means of public forum discussions? Have you got any specific recommendations along those lines?



Mr. VAN ANTWERP. I believe that the statement is ample in that respect. It is quite broad, and I think covers it thoroughly.

Mr. STARNES. Covers the ground thoroughly?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection, I was happy to see you stress the absolute necessity of preserving freedom of speech and of the press. You made a number of recommendations that I think personally are very valuable. I have had the thought that nothing must be done to curb the freedom of speech and of the press that this country enjoys. I feel that there are spiritual values attached to American citizenship that sometimes are forgotten in our program of providing for economic security. I sometimes feel that economic security is stressed too much, and spiritual security, and under spiritual security I class freedom of speech, of press, and of conscience, is not stressed enough.

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Do any of you gentlemen of the committee have anything to say? Are there any questions you want to ask?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Van Antwerp, in many of our cities, as you know, there are Nazi Bund camps. In a few of the States, due to the laws in those particular States, it is practically impossible to start such a camp. I wonder if the Veterans of Foreign Wars organization has given any thought to legislative recommendations to be made to State legislatures which would result in the passage of State laws in more of the States, which would make it practically impossible for a camp like Camp Nordland in New Jersey to start. I just heard something somewhere that the Veterans of Foreign Wars were giving some consideration to such recommendations. I was wondering if you have anything to say on that?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. I will have to ask Mr. Rice if there is anything in our program specifically on that.

Mr. RICE. There is nothing specifically mentioned for the organization.

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. Gentlemen, this is Mr. Millard W. Rice, our legislative representative, who is quite familiar with our legislative program.

Mr. STARNES. Legislative program?

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. With our legislative program in all its details, and, consequently, you will pardon me if I call on him for information on that.

Mr. RICE. Gentlemen of the committee, there is no specific resolution that has been adopted by our organization, specifically requesting the prevention of the organization of such bunds and outfits as the Nazi bunds in New Jersey. Much as we are opposed to organizations of that kind, we want to proceed by constitutional methods, and we believe that the complete exposure of the sources of income, and the membership, and the purposes, and so forth, of such outfits by the registration method that has been proposed in the commander in chief's statement would smoke them out and would apply such public pressure as would result in the complete disintegration of organizations of that kind, and it would still be done by constitutional means.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection, gentlemen, do you not think the chief value of this investigation in many respects is the salutary effect



of bringing to the public gaze the activities of these subversive, un-American forces in America?

Mr. RICE. Certainly. It was because of that that the commander in chief specifically and forcibly recommended the continuance of the activities of this committee until such time as there might be actually in operation the proposed law to provide for the complete registration and exposure of all of those facts continuously.

Mr. STARNES. And the press has rendered very valuable service in that connection, and they can continue to do so.

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir; there is no doubt about it.

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. I think we should commend the press for the publicity that they have given to the work of this committee. Of course, some of the publicity has not been favorable to the committee, but, at the same time it has directed the attention of the public generally to the committee, and, consequently, has been of great value to the Nation as a whole.

Mr. STARNES. We thank you for that and the committee also feels that way. We did not expect it to be entirely favorable, and the committee, to use a slang expression, "can take it," if it will help the country.

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. That is very nice. Is that all, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much, Mr. Van Antwerp, because that statement was very constructive indeed.

Mr. VAN ANTWERP. Not at all, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for the privilege of appearing before you and expressing our views.

Mr. STARNES. The Chair wishes to introduce into the record, with the consent of the committee, a statement by the Honorable Edward J. McCormick, grand exalted ruler of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. We find in this statement many valuable and constructive suggestions. With the permission of the committee I am going to set it out in the record and, if the committee desires, we can have it read.

I want to make this explanatory statement with reference to filing this statement of Dr. McCormick. He was invited to appear here and accepted the invitation, but he writes the chairman that he finds that it is impossible for him to arrange his schedule so as to be here within the time in which we hope to conclude the hearings of the committee, and he therefore presents this statement to the committee in written form, and is releasing it to the press as his statement before the committee.

(The statement of Dr. Edward J. McCormick is as follows:)

*To the Honorable Martin Dies and the committee investigating subversive activities in the United States of America:*

As grand exalted ruler of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America, I acknowledge receipt of an invitation from you to appear in Washington before the committee investigating subversive activities in the United States sometime in December. I likewise acknowledge your communication in which you ask for my thought regarding the prevention of subversive activities to be presented to the committee prior to my appearance in Washington. Since corresponding with you and talking with you over the long distance telephone, I have found it impossible to change my itinerary to make it possible to reach Washington. I submit, herewith, the following statement to your committee in the sincere hope that it may be of value in the future protection of our country and its democratic government. In order that I may give the committee all possible help I shall release this statement through our regular publicity channels at the time I forward it to you.

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is a benevolent and patriotic fraternity which has existed in the United States for almost three-quarters of a century. It is composed only of American citizens belonging to 15 hundred lodges scattered throughout the United States and its possessions. Only citizens of the United States are eligible for membership. We are happy in the knowledge that we have always been among the first to decry un-American activities and intolerant propaganda. We are proud of an unparalleled record of service to our country during war, in catastrophe, and wherever there has been need. On these occasions, members of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks have been prominent by their activities and their contributions.

In March of 1935, a ceremony was held on the Capitol steps in Washington at which time a petition was filed with the Congress of the United States in which certain specific suggestions were made for legislation to counteract subversive activities in our country. The petition was presented by the Honorable Michael F. Shannon who was grand exalted ruler of the order at that time and who headed a great national drive under the auspices of the Elks for the protection and preservation of democracy.

It is my pleasure to present to you at this time, in the name of the Elks of the United States of America, the suggestions made to the Congress of the United States and to the Senate of the United States in the Elk's petition of 1935 with one or two additions. In retrospect it would seem, that the petition presented by the Elks several years ago should have been given more consideration.

Then, as at the present, we advise "that the constituted authorities of the National Government may by lawful and orderly methods eradicate all subversive movements, we ask of the Congress of the United States the immediate enactment of legislation covering the following objectives," eight of which were presented in the petition of 1935:

First. Empower the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice to investigate all subversive activities of individuals and organizations, alien or otherwise, seeking or planning the overthrow of our Government by force or violence or other unlawful means and to employ the usual investigational methods therefor. The Department of Justice should also be charged with the discretionary authority of publication of the truth about organizations and individuals engaged in subversive activities and supplied with sufficient funds and personnel to carry on the foregoing.

Second. Declare organizations which advocate the overthrow by force and violence of our Government to be illegal organizations and prohibit their existence in any territory under the jurisdiction of the United States.

Third. Declare it a felony for an individual to publicly or secretly advocate, promote, or encourage the overthrow or change of our form of government by force and violence, or to knowingly belong to any society, association, group, or organization which has for its object or one of its objects the advocacy or furtherance of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence or any unlawful means.

Fourth. Effectively close the United States mails to newspapers or other publications advocating, encouraging, or affiliated with any organization advocating or encouraging the overthrow of Government by force and violence.

Fifth. Prohibit the interstate transportation of newspapers or other publications advocating, encouraging, or affiliated with any organization advocating or encouraging the overthrow of Government by force and violence.

Sixth. Make clear the laws for the deportation of all aliens advocating the overthrow or change of our system of government by force and violence and make certain the impounding without bail of any such aliens pending deportation.

Seventh. Prohibit the entry into the United States of any individual who is known to advocate the overthrow or change of government by force or violence and clarify the law so that there can be no conflict of authority between departments of our Government in the execution of this law or regulations made under it.

Eighth. Provide for the revocation of the naturalization of any naturalized citizen who advocates the overthrow of our Government by force or violence.

Ninth. Clearly define that membership in any society or organization of foreign origin which attempts to organize groups of people within the boundaries of the United States or its possessions under the banner or teachings or system of another nation or membership in any subsidiary society of such a



group shall presuppose the desire of the individual or individuals to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Tenth. Restrict or eliminate immigration from countries showing any disposition to encourage groups of their people who have immigrated to the United States to adopt or promote a foreign type of government within the United States; exception to be made only in the case of persecuted minorities seeking relief from the mechanism of undemocratic governments.

Eleventh. Provide for a survey of the known group of foreign born in the United States of America who have not become citizens and make citizenship a necessity to continued residency in this country. Likewise, provide that foreign-born individuals who are not citizens and who cannot gain citizenship papers and whose deportation may be difficult or impossible shall be under constant and regular surveillance and their activities known at all times by the proper department of the United States Government and by local police agencies.

The hundreds of thousands of Elks and their friends and families in the United States of America respectfully request your consideration of these suggestions and assure you of our help to the end that they may be brought before Congress and become the law of our country. We realize the necessity and urgency of immediate action because the Elks, the American Legion, and other patriotic organizations have for many years realized the necessity and advisability of protective legislation.

EDWARD J. McCORMICK, M. D.,

*Grand Exalted Ruler, B. P. O. Elks of the U. S. A.*

Mr. STARNES. The Chair desires to make this statement: Prior to the time that Mr. Dies set the hearing for today, Miss Huffman, who has testified heretofore, and some of whose statements have been challenged, expressed the thought to the chairman of the committee that some of the statements of other witnesses reflected upon her in an unfair manner, and had misrepresented her, and she has asked for the privilege of appearing before this committee this morning and reading a prepared statement, and the committee has agreed to hear that statement and include it in the record.

#### TESTIMONY OF COL. LATHAM R. REED

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. I am going to ask my colleague, Mr. Mosier, of Ohio, to conduct this examination, as he has gone over the subject matter of the testimony.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you please state your name, Colonel?

Colonel REED. Latham R. Reed.

Mr. MOSIER. Where do you live?

Colonel REED. I live at the present time in Florida.

Mr. MOSIER. You are a veteran of the World War?

Colonel REED. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you please tell us what your organization was, Colonel?

Colonel REED. I was lieutenant colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Infantry.

Mr. MOSIER. Lieutenant colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Infantry?

Colonel REED. And I became a colonel in the Reserves after that service was over.

Mr. MOSIER. You are retired now?

Colonel REED. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Colonel, you came here yesterday with Mr. Chadwick, commander in chief of the American Legion?



Colonel REED. I did, at his invitation.

Mr. MOSIER. And I believe you appear here this morning as an American citizen?

Colonel REED. I do.

Mr. MOSIER. With some information that you think our committee should have?

Colonel REED. Exactly.

Mr. MOSIER. And especially information you have that concerns the American Civil Liberties Union?

Colonel REED. That is the data which I have before me; yes.

I have a great deal of other information, too, I brought here particularly for Commander Chadwick to see, and he thought that you gentlemen should see that.

Mr. MOSIER. And you have, I believe, for several years, paid particular attention to the American Civil Liberties Union, and its publications?

Colonel REED. I have.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Colonel, will you just start back chronologically and tell the committee when you first became acquainted with this organization, and what you know about it, and what you have to present to this committee to go into the record.

Colonel REED. Very good.

Mr. MOSIER. And, I might say this, Colonel, that we do not want to encumber our record too much by having to write into the record a great deal of material that you can make available to the committee by leaving the pamphlets with the committee, but I do want you to get into the record, so that the public can see it, pertinent portions of the material which you have at hand.

Colonel REED. I think I understand. The history of the American Civil Liberties Union has been the subject of investigation in the Fish investigation by the Congress some years ago and also before the New York State joint legislative investigation of seditious activities, the report of which was published by New York State in 1920. Those matters are matters of record and available to the committee, and I won't burden you with going down that long story of how it started, and all the rest of it, because it is all there in previous investigations.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; which I think the committee can read for itself.

Colonel REED. Very good, sir. To bring you more up to date I have here a number of publications of the American Civil Liberties Union which they have either sent out through the mails, or which were obtained at their office at 31 Union Square, New York City.

This particular one is their statement of principles, where it gets its money, who controls its policies, and so forth.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the subject of that so that the stenographer may identify it?

Colonel REED. Very good. It is just called the American Civil Liberties Union, Inc. I was going to refer you to the amount of propaganda work which it turns out all over this country to the institutions in which it is interested. It claims to have over 7,000 persons actively working for it, 800 correspondents, 500 speakers, and so forth. Its publicity and information service includes weekly news

releases to 450 labor, farmer, and liberal papers; special news releases to daily papers, and so forth.

**(The pamphlet above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 1, Reed, Washington," and filed with the committee.)**

Colonel REED. I have here a letter on the letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union, dated June 7, 1938, which contains the names of its officers, and its national committee. I think you will find those names rather interesting in comparing them with a good deal of your other work. You will find these names match up with a great many other names of organizations and concerns which you have already looked into.

Mr. MOSIER. Colonel, would you read from that letterhead the names of the officers of the American Civil Liberties Union, and their board of directors?

Colonel REED. Very good, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That is on a letterhead, I understand, dated June 7, 1938?

Colonel REED. June 7, 1938.

Mr. MOSIER. June 7, 1938?

Colonel REED. Right, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you please read those names slowly?

Colonel REED. Chairman, Harry F. Ward; vice chairman, Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons; vice chairman, Dr. Mary E. Woolley; vice-chairman, Dean Lloyd K. Garrison; treasurer, B. W. Huebsch; director, Roger N. Baldwin. He has been national director from the inception of the American Civil Liberties Union for over 20 years. Lucille B. Milner, secretary; Arthur Garfield Hayes, counsel; Morris L. Ernst, counsel.

The national committee: Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, John Beardsley, Hon. Herbert S. Biglow, Bishop Edgar Blake, Prof. Edwin M. Borchard, Heywood Broun, Prof. Richard C. Cabot, John S. Codman, Margaret De Silver, Prof. John Dewey, Dr. James H. Dillard, Prof. William E. Dodd.

Mr. STARNES. Who is that, William E. Dodd?

Colonel REED. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; William E. Dodd.

Colonel REED. You will find quite a few names here that you will run across all through your investigation, I can assure you.

John Dos Passos, Sherwood Eddy, John F. Finerty, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Walter Frank, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Kate Crane Gartz, Francis J. Gorman, Powers Hapgood, Rev. Hubert C. Herring, Rev. John Maynes Holmes, Charles H. Houston, Sidney Howard, Henry T. Hunt, Prof. James Weldon Johnson, Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Dr. John A. Lapp, Agnes Brown Leach, Dr. Henry R. Linville, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, James H. Maurer, Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, Prof. Henry R. Mussey, A. J. Muste, Prof. William L. Nunn, Julia S. O'Connor Parker, William Pickens, Amos Pinchot, Jeannette Rankin, Prof. Edward A. Ross, Dean Elbert Russell, John Nevin Sayre, Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Joseph Schlossberg, Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Rabbi Abra Hillel Silver, John F. Sinclair, Prof. Clarence R. Skinner, Helen Phelps Stokes, Norman

M. Thomas, Oswald Garrison Villard, B. Charney Vladeck, George P. West, A. F. Whitney, Peter Witt, and L. Hollingsworth Wood.

(The letter above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2, Reed, Washington," and filed with the committee, being a letter of June 7, 1938, on the letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union.)

Mr. MOSIER. Go right ahead, Colonel.

Colonel REED. I think to characterize the work of this organization it can best be done without any opinion of mine, but simply by reading to you a few excerpts from their own documents, their own printed circulars and pamphlets which they sent out.

Mr. MOSIER. All right. Now, will you just designate for the purposes of the stenographer what you are reading from?

Colonel REED. This pamphlet was put out in December, 1937, and is called *Who's un-American?* An answer to the Patriots, and it says on this front speech here:

Keep this for reference in answering attacks on the American Civil Liberties Union, or patriotic demands for suppressing subversive movements.

(The document above referred to was marked "Exhibit Reed, Washington, No. 3," and filed with the committee, being a pamphlet entitled, "*Who's Un-American? An Answer to the Patriots.*")

Now, I read from pages 14 and 15 from the testimony of Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Union, purposely selected in order to make him appear to be an advocate of arson and murder, the exact testimony taken from the printed hearings, part 1, volume 4, pages 405 to 417, House Resolution, Report 220, dated January 17, 1931, congressional report. This is a quotation from the testimony of the national director of the American Civil Liberties Union before that Congressional committee:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baldwin, does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government?

Mr. BALDWIN. Certainly; insofar as mere advocacy is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it uphold the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. BALDWIN. Precisely on the same basis as any citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not your personal opinion?

Mr. BALDWIN. That is the organization's position.

There are other things in there of the same character. For example, here on page 16 I quote again from his testimony before this same congressional committee:

The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or an alien, it does not make any difference which—to advocate murder?

Mr. BALDWIN. To advocate murder?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BALDWIN. If it is mere advocacy?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BALDWIN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Or assassination?

Mr. BALDWIN. Of course.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Colonel, you will just hand that pamphlet to the stenographer.

Colonel REED. Very good.



Mr. MOSIER. And the committee may have available to it the balance of the pamphlet.

Colonel REED. Very good.

I should like next to present their printed leaflet, Campaigns for Civil Liberty—1938. Among other things listed for their work is "Aid in campaigns for the release of political prisoners, and against all prosecutions under sedition and criminal syndicalism laws."

Campaign against the array of laws and regulations restricting freedom and education, both in schools and colleges; and particularly against compulsory oaths of loyalty for teachers, compulsory flag saluting by children, and compulsory military training.

They are working for—

Changes in the immigration and deportation laws to end all restrictions merely because of political opinions; to admit and protect genuine political refugees; and in citizenship proceedings to remove tests of aliens' views not imposed on citizens.

Those are just three. There are other objects, but those, I think, are perhaps the most illuminating.

**(The leaflet above referred to was marked "Exhibit Reed, Washington, No. 4," and was filed with the committee, being a leaflet entitled "Campaigns for Civil Liberty—1938.")**

Another pamphlet issued by the American Civil Liberties League in May 1937 is called:

The Gag on Teaching. The story of the new restrictions by law on teaching in schools and by public opinion and donors on colleges.

I read from page 19. They oppose the legislative requirements for teaching patriotism and say:

The legislative requirements for teaching patriotism are either so vague or so narrow that they all boil down to dead formalities like flag saluting. Twenty-seven States have passed such laws, all during or after the war. They reflect the fear of radicalism and disloyalty current at the time. Their general purpose is to instill 'into the hearts of the various pupils \* \* \* an understanding of the United States \* \* \* a love of country \* \* \* a devotion to the principles of the American Government."

Apparently they do not like those things. On page 31, they say:

\* \* \* Even active members of the Socialist Party would have difficulty in most parts of the country in holding a job in any public-school system. \* \* \*

Tolerance of teachers with strong pro-Fascist or pro-Nazi sympathies, some of them fairly active propagandists, is common, especially among the foreign-language teachers in colleges. Many of them are, of course, aliens. But there is no tolerance of pro-Socialist or pro-Communist teachers, even among aliens.

What this means in effect is that the whole school system, public and private, is geared to the support of those political parties which represent the economics of capitalism. In this sense and degree the school system of the country is under what may be described as "capitalist political dictation."

**(The pamphlet just referred to by the witness was marked "Exhibit No. 5, Reed," entitled "The Gag on Teaching," and filed with the committee.)**

Now they publish an annual report every year. This one happens to be 1932-33. They generally have some choice of the name they put on the outside of their report.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, Colonel, they name the report differently each year?

Colonel REED. They name the report differently each year.

Mr. MOSIER. What was the name on that?

Colonel REED. "Land of the Pilgrim's Pride."

Mr. MOSIER. That is the title put on there.

Colonel REED. This is their annual report for the year 1932-33.

Mr. MOSIER. But the title is put in quotation marks, facetiously?

Colonel REED. Yes; that apparently is the idea. On page 29 of this report they list "The Years' Issues, Gains and Losses"—gains from their point of view, or losses from their point of view. This says:

The variety of issues tackled by the Union is well illustrated in this program. In itself it is sufficient answer to those who charge us with being merely "defenders of radicals." The reports under each specific head indicate the work done.

I read here paragraph 2, on this page, so numbered. They list as part of their work for the year:

National campaign against the Department of Labor's illegal raids on aliens, on deportations for opinion, and on antialien legislation.

Mr. STARNES. Now, wait. That was back in 1932, was it not?

Colonel REED. I so stated, sir, and I was just coming to this thing which I thought might be of interest:

National campaign against the Department of Labor's illegal raids on aliens, on deportations for opinion, and on antialien legislation—notably the Dies bill for the deportation of Communists as such; protection of alien political refugees in the United States; admission of alien pacifists to citizenship.

I have quoted that particularly, because I thought it would tie right into the work that you particularly know about, sir.

(The pamphlet entitled "Land of the Pilgrim's Pride," 1932-33, was marked "Exhibit No. 6, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

From their 1938 report, which is called *Eternal Vigilance*, I think this will be of interest to you. This is at page 44:

Although antialien sentiment is unabated, few cases arose either of refusals of entry to the United States or of deportation for political opinions, or of denial of citizenship on political grounds. Hundreds of aliens ordered deported in noncriminal cases have been permitted to remain in the United States when they have American-born wives or children, pending action by Congress on the Department of Labor's bill to grant discretion not to deport. The bill does not affect aliens holding prescribed political views. But a case now on appeal to the United States Supreme Court raises that issue through a decision by the circuit court of appeals at New Orleans that mere membership in the Communist Party is not a deportable offense. On the outcome of that case depends the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges, west coast maritime leader, and a number of other Communists.

I think that the American Civil Liberties Union is pretty well qualified to tell you who is a Communist and who is not.

Mr. STARNES. That expression in their 1938 report is that "on the outcome of the *Stricker* case depends the outcome of the deportation proceeding against Harry Bridges and other Communists"?

Colonel REED. And a number of other Communists. That is page 44 of the American Civil Liberties Union annual report for 1938.

(The portions of the report above referred to by the witness, entitled "*Eternal Vigilance*," were marked "Exhibit No. 7, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

I criticize also the work this organization does. I would like to put into evidence a photostatic copy of an advertisement of a mass meeting in Newark. This happens to be back in 1930. However, this is what it says:

WORKERS, NEWARK, FIGHT TO SAVE SIX MILITANT WORKERS FROM LONG JAIL TERMS--  
FIGHT AGAINST THE BOSSES' CLASS JUSTICE

Then it goes on:

Come to the mass meeting Sunday, September 14, 1930, 3 p. m. \* \* \*  
Prominent speakers. \* \* \* Admission free.

The paragraph at the bottom reads:

Meeting called under joint auspices of International Labor Defense, American Civil Liberties Union, American Association for the Advancement of Atheism.

Mr. MOSIER. In other words, the American Civil Liberties Union joins the organization for the advancement of atheism in the holding of a meeting?

Colonel REED. And if you will, sir, dig through many of their reports which I am going to put in evidence, you will find that on many, many occasions they have defended atheism and aided atheism and atheist organizations. There is no secret of it; they boast of it in their reports. This, I think, is a very interesting thing, and I would like to put that in evidence.

(The photostatic copy entitled "Workers," was marked "Exhibit No. 8, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Now, here is another pamphlet which this organization has gotten out and shows very nicely a map of the United States and, in colors, where there are States which have laws curbing radical activities [exhibiting]. Here is another map showing the States which have laws with restrictions on Negro rights; here [indicating] laws establishing religion in public schools; here [indicating] compulsory patriotism in the schools; here [indicating] limiting labor injunctions and abolishing "yellow dog" contracts.

It is of particular interest, because it characterizes to a very large extent the things that this organization is interested in, and the first one on the list is a map of the United States showing the States where there are laws to curb radical activities which they primarily oppose. I would like to put that in as an exhibit.

(The pamphlet above referred to entitled "State Laws Affecting Civil Liberty" was marked "Exhibit No. 9, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Now, there are many other things here. For instance, here is a pamphlet called Call Out the Militia, which is an attack on the use of the National Guard to protect property in time of riots or strikes. On page 6 it says:

\* \* \* The National Guard, as it is now constituted and used, stands as a constant menace to civil liberties.

Mr. MOSIER. Put that whole pamphlet in the record.

(The pamphlet entitled "Call Out the Militia" was marked "Exhibit No. 10, Reed," and filed with the committee.)



Colonel REED. This is their annual report for 1927-28 [exhibiting], and there is some very interesting reading in it.

**(The pamphlet entitled "The Fight for Civil Liberty, 1927-28," was marked "Exhibit No. 11, Reed," and filed with the committee.)**

Here is a pamphlet which they got out this year, 1938, in regard to the American Legion's effort to have universal fingerprinting in the United States.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the title of that pamphlet?

Colonel REED.

"Thumbs Down! The Fingerprint Menace to Civil Liberties."

Mr. MOSIER. And that pamphlet opposes the stand which the American Legion has taken?

Colonel REED. Yes, sir; very definitely, and in no uncertain terms.

**(The pamphlet entitled "Thumbs Down" was marked "Exhibit No. 12, Reed," and filed with the committee.)**

Here is another one, dated June 1929, called Blue Coats and Reds, and this covers the use of police in any labor disputes or anything of that sort—attacking the police.

**(The pamphlet entitled "Blue Coats and Reds" was marked "Exhibit No. 13, Reed," and filed with the committee.)**

Here is a pamphlet called The Post Office Censor. Reprinted October 1938. It says:

The Post Office Department exercises one of the most sweeping censorships in the country—under vague laws against "obscenity," "defamation," and "fraud."

On the inside here, it says:

The powers of censorship now given the Postmaster General by Congress are among the most sweeping exercised by a Federal officer. He may, on the slightest pretext, exclude anything from the mails which he regards as "obscene," "seditious," or "fraudulent."

This pamphlet is an attack on that censorship.

**(The pamphlet entitled "The Post Office Censor" was marked "Exhibit No. 14, Reed," and filed with the committee.)**

Here is another one along the same lines, called National Council on Freedom From Censorship.

**(The pamphlet entitled "National Council on Freedom From Censorship," was marked "Exhibit No. 15, Reed," and filed with the committee.)**

Here is a pamphlet called:

School Buildings as Public Forums. A survey of discrimination against unpopular minorities in the use of public-school buildings.

This is objecting to the fact that in many cases Communists and Communists organizations were not permitted to hold meetings in American schools.

**(The pamphlet entitled "School Buildings as Public Forums" was marked "Exhibit No. 16, Reed," and filed with the committee.)**

There are a number of other things here. Perhaps they are almost too many to quote from. They are all of the same character. There

are probably 15 or 20 of them here. I would like to put them all in evidence, unless you want me to cover some of these in particular.

Mr. MOSIER. Colonel, I think a statement from you, who have been a student of the American Civil Liberties Union for some years, is sufficient for the committee. If you will just leave the balance of the literature with the committee, we are interested in looking it over and examining into this organization.

**(The pamphlets and folders last above submitted were marked "Exhibit No. 17, Reed," and filed with the committee, consisting of 31 pamphlets and folders.)**

Mr. MOSIER (continuing). Now I might ask you a question: How long have you been interested in the American Civil Liberties Union as such?

Colonel REED. Since I got out of the Army in 1919.

Mr. MOSIER. So that you might be said, might you not—it would be a fair statement to say that you have become more or less an expert on that organization and the literature which it issues?

Colonel REED. I have read a great deal of it and have followed it pretty carefully.

Mr. MOSIER. Would you or would you not say, as a result of your experiences and your examination and the work you have put in on this particular subject, that the American Civil Liberties Union, as such, is engaged in un-American activities itself?

Colonel REED. I do not think there is any question about it. I would say distinctly "yes."

Mr. MOSIER. Is that, by the way, the organization that Secretary Harold Ickes admits he belongs to?

Colonel REED. It is. He made a speech—he was one of the two speakers, two guests speakers—no; two speakers, at their annual meeting and banquet last December in New York City, in which he delivered an address which was published. I can send you a copy of it, called Nations in Nightshirts. I will see that you get a copy of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Are there many other governmental officials who are members of the American Civil Liberties Union?

Colonel REED. I believe it has quite a few. It is rather difficult to get the names of their members unless their names appear on various of their committees; but there have been published, and I think I can give you—I have not got it with me—the names of quite a few.

Mr. STARNES. What is the theme of that speech Nations in Nightshirts? Do you recall the theme of it?

Colonel REED. Well the tenor of it was, in my humble opinion, distinctly radical, and wound up with, I think, an unwarranted attack on the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. MOSIER. Does the American Civil Liberties Union favor the Boy Scout movement? Has it been prominent in promoting the Boy Scout activities?

Colonel REED. The American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Colonel REED. I do not think they have been active in it; no. I think they refer, in some of their documents, to the Boy Scout movement as they do to the American Legion, as a repressing influence.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the point I wish to bring out. You have docu-

ments there, which you are going to present to this committee, in which they attack the Boy Scouts?

Colonel REED. I am sorry; these two pamphlets were issued not by the American Civil Liberties Union, but they were issued by the Young Pioneers. I have them here. These were not put out by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. MOSIER. They were put out by the Young Pioneers?

Colonel REED. They were put out by the Young Pioneers. They have a very nice heading, Smash the Boy Scouts.

Mr. MOSIER. Do they both refer to the Boy Scouts?

Colonel REED. Oh, yes; both of them. This is entitled "Smash the Boy Scouts. Fight Bosses' War."

And this one, "The Boy Scouts Is an Organization for Capitalist Wars. Smash the Boy Scouts. Join the Young Pioneers."

Mr. MOSIER. And the Young Pioneers is a Communist movement?

Colonel REED. Absolutely—admittedly so. But don't by any chance get this thing in as American Civil Liberties Union stuff, because it is not.

Mr. MOSIER. You made that very plain. Probably my question misled you.

**(The photostats entitled "Smash the Boy Scouts" and "The Boy Scouts is an Organization for Capitalist Wars" were marked, respectively, as "Exhibit Nos. 18 and 19, Reed," and filed with the committee.)**

Mr. STARNES. I do not know whether it is in connection with the American Civil Liberties Union or some other union, but now you say Mr. Baldwin is the director of this American Civil Liberties Union?

Colonel REED. He is the national director and has been since its very beginning in 1920. I think it is incorporated. Prior to that it was called the National Civil Liberties Union, and prior to that it had several other names.

Mr. STARNES. And he staunchly says it is the intention of their organization to defend the right to advocate murder and assassination?

Colonel REED. That was his testimony before the House committee back in 1931.

Mr. STARNES. It is very interesting to note some of the names. Who is this Mr. Amos Pinchot?

Colonel REED. I happen to know he is a brother of Mr. Gifford Pinchot.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Felix Frankfurter?

Colonel REED. He is a professor at Harvard University. And I think perhaps it might be illuminating for you gentlemen to have this called to your attention. This is put out by the American Civil Liberties Union, or this was obtained at the American Civil Liberties Union office—this pamphlet [exhibiting] called The Foreign-Born in the United States, by Dwight C. Morgan. It is put out by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born. You will find that the names of most of the advisory board, and so forth, or a great many of them, are also members of the American Civil Liberties



Union committee, or officers: for example, Roger N. Baldwin, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, John Dewey, Heywood Broun, and so forth.

This is a history or a story of Immigration, Exclusion of Workers, Barred From Citizenship, Deportation Laws Run Riot, The Fight for Equal Rights, and so forth. They sent this out as part of their propaganda. It is interesting to note that back in 1920, as covered on page 61 of this pamphlet, it recites that Prof. Felix Frankfurter and seven other lawyers drew up charges and an indictment against the Department of Justice opposing the Department of Justice's action in the deportation of aliens in this country.

(The pamphlet entitled "The Foreign-Born in the United States" was marked "Exhibit No. 20, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Mr. STARNES. I am still intrigued by this name "Amos Pinchot," because I remember, as a Member of Congress, having received a great many letters from that gentleman, and he seemed to be very, very violently opposed to the policies of the present administration. I am wondering if that is the same party. Is he from New York City?

Colonel REED. I believe so.

Mr. THOMAS. In regard to Frankfurter, is that the same Felix Frankfurter who is being mentioned for appointment to the Supreme Court?

Colonel REED. I do not think there is any question about it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. There are many people being mentioned for appointment to the Supreme Court, are there not?

Colonel REED. That I do not know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, you know about Frankfurter. Don't you read the papers?

Colonel REED. I do not know, except what I read in the papers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well that is where you got Mr. Frankfurter's name, was it not?

Colonel REED. I do not know, except what I read in the papers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And you get, from the same source, the names of a great many others; is not that true?

Colonel REED. I recall several. I know there have been other names mentioned; I do not recall just which ones they were.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you recall Mr. Frankfurter because you thought he was more eligible than the others?

Colonel REED. No; because I know of his connection with this organization, and various other things.

Mr. MOSIER. You mentioned Harry Ward?

Colonel REED. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. He is chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union—his name is on that letterhead, is it not?

Colonel REED. I think his name is on that letterhead.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, Harry Ward is also president of the American League for Peace and Democracy, is he not?

Colonel REED. I believe that is correct, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Which has appeared in our testimony as a distinct Communist front organization?

Colonel REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You will leave your material with us, Colonel?

Colonel REED. I will leave everything, with pleasure.

Mr. MOSIER. The committee is very grateful to you for going out of your way to present this evidence to it on the subject on which you have really become an expert over a long period of years.

Colonel REED. I consider it a privilege to have had the chance. I have considerable more data at home, which I will be glad to send to you.

Mr. MOSIER. And I know the committee appreciates also the fact you come here, in addition to Commander Chadwick—who gave us one of the finest statements we have received from any source in the country on this subject—and evidence your interest by coming here today, Commander Chadwick and yourself in the work the American Legion and this committee is trying to do. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. Now we have only one other witness to examine. It will probably take 20 or 30 minutes, and that will conclude the hearings for today.

### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MISS HAZEL HUFFMAN

(The witness was previously sworn.)

Mr. STARNES (continuing). You may proceed.

Miss HUFFMAN. Mrs. Woodward has specifically charged that I was not qualified to testify before this committee and accused me, jointly with other witnesses, of being unqualified, irresponsible, and ill-informed, and has said that my experience would not permit my employment on the Federal Theater Project. Mrs. Woodward said further that I had never been employed on the project and that I had been repudiated by Actors Equity, and that I had testified falsely in testifying that I represented professional theatrical workers.

Permit me to explain, first, that I have never claimed to be a dramatic critic. Mrs. Woodward laid considerable emphasis on my being a dramatic critic, or attempting to be. If I may be permitted, as Mrs. Woodward was, to inject my personal opinion as to who a qualified dramatic critic might be, I will name without hesitation Mr. George Jean Nathan, whose only superior in that field was the late Mr. Henry Taylor Parker of the Boston Transcript, which was known throughout the dramatic world as "H. T. P." My respect for these two men and for the theater would prevent my making any such claim. By that I do not mean to discredit any of the other critics especially.

As both a salaried investigator on the W. P. A., and later as representative for a group who have chosen me as their representative—and I will later prove that I am authorized to represent the group I claim to represent—I have attended the performances of the Federal Theater Project. In spite of this, I have given in large part the criticisms of these plays from the Daily Worker, Projects Councillor, and Work—some Workers Alliance and certainly all pro-Communist papers. These papers have been included in my original exhibits without the criticisms as given being credited to these various publications in the printing of the hearing.

As to my experience: I have on file in the office of Commissioner Moss of the Department of Licenses of the Municipality of New York a letter from the head of the department of the W. P. A.—the Works Progress Administration—under whom I operated as an in-



vestigator. This man, Mr. John Overend, knew my work and wrote this letter—not since the Dies committee has been in session, but late in 1937 when I was seeking employment.

I want to present at this time my assignment card and my dismissal slip from W. P. A. You will note this assignment card states I was employed as a receptionist. Inasmuch as my assignment was made to the Women's Division, which came under Mrs. Woodward, she should know that such assignment and classification was made in the interest of my work as a confidential investigator.

The letter from Mr. Overend which can be obtained by wiring Mr. Moss, recommends me as a confidential investigator and attests to the fact that I had been so employed under his (Mr. Overend's) supervision on the W. P. A.

You will note that my dismissal card (which dismissal was made under the subterfuge of reduction of personnel), is signed by Mr. John Overend. I feel that I can assure you that Mr. Overend's ability would be attest to by Gen. Hugh Johnson, Mr. Victor Ridder, and Colonel Somervell. This would appear to answer Mrs. Woodward's charges regarding my not being experienced enough for Federal Theater Project employment, but I do not feel the charge is sufficiently answered. Even the most "arty" of "arty" theaters or the most revolutionary of workers' theaters need personnel in positions beyond the scope of the artists and technicians. If Mrs. Woodward, by that remark, cataloged all her administrative personnel as being of the artistic field, as an investigator my report would be: "There is more than 'un-Americanism' the matter with the Federal Theater Project. Shall I check administrative heads?"

I most certainly and positively did work on, and I wish to emphasize the word "on" the Federal Theater Project. Mrs. Flanagan first met me while I worked on the Federal Theater Project. I met and talked with Mrs. Flanagan several times after that on the project, during working hours, and, in fact, Mrs. Flanagan wrote a note in my presence to Mr. Philip Barber, in which she stated I was one of the most efficient people she had met and she saw no reason why I could not be transferred to her project.

As to the people I claim to represent, I have here the cards, called "enrollment cards," as we are not an incorporated membership group. You will see that these cards which I am submitting to you are signed by members of the theatrical profession, and their union affiliation is noted on the cards. These, incidentally, are only a portion of the total number of cards, and I only brought that many because I could carry them. To protect the people whose names are on these cards, I will ask you to refer to the cards by number, which is given in the upper right-hand corner. You will note that the unions to which they belong include Actors' Equity, American Federation of Actors, the National Vaudeville Artists, the Drama Guild, the White Rats Association—which, incidentally, has just been merged into the Actors Equity Association; their charter was picked up—and the Screen Actors' Guild. In fact, card number 976 is a member of Actors Equity Council, and card 108 is that of an Equity Deputy. You will note that the last sentence on the card states "I understand that the committee is financed solely by contributions and I wish to contribute \$—— weekly."



You will also note that on cards Nos. 110, 113, 135, and 141 the words "on relief" occur. Persons on relief are not permitted to contribute, though they may wish to do so. You will note on cards Nos. 2, 108, and 327, that no contribution has been pledged. No effort has ever been made to collect contributions pledged.

I feel you wonder why I brought that in at this point. I brought it in because that is the particular point on which Equity claims to repudiate me. I submit, as an exhibit, the Actors' Equity magazine with its second attempt at repudiation [exhibiting]. Mrs. Woodward read into the hearings the first repudiation made in the Actors' Equity magazine. Because of the attempt to discredit me, inasmuch as I consider it done by people engaged in un-American activities, I trust you will find it feasible for me to enter this defense in the records. Some of the controlling members—that is, members of the council and others—are persons who do or have belonged to revolutionary theater groups. And at this point may I say that I do not want to give the impression I feel that all of the members of the Actors' Equity Association are connected with or have been connected with revolutionary theater groups; but a controlling force, who use all means of creating agitation at meetings and council meetings, so that the conservative members get up and walk out and do not remain to vote, is the condition that exists.

There exists in New York today, with branches throughout the country, an organization known as the New Theater League. This New Theater League was first known as the League of Workers Theaters which, in 1932, became a section of the International Union of Revolutionary Theaters, with headquarters in Moscow, Russia. Their publications so state. This league was originally composed of members of the Workers Cultural League. A convention in 1931 was attended by 130 of these groups, with a membership of 20,000.

The John Reed clubs, named after the revolutionist John Reed, and itself a section of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, has a drama division which has been and is most active with this New Theater League. The I. W. O.—International Workers Order—I believe also has a youth group which is very active with this league. Some Actors' Equity people and some Actors' Equity Council members belong to this league. In fact, according to the Daily Worker last month, Mr. Frank Gilmore, president of the parent organization of all actors' unions, has endorsed this New Theater League. The New Theater League section of the International Union of Revolutionary Theaters had, as one of its contributing editors, Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, and by no means a small portion of the administrative staff of the Federal Theater Project were or are active with that organization. Now, the New Theater League, which I have introduced there, among its other activities has sent performers and directors to strike areas. I have documents here which I can present on that.

Another of their activities is the training of American youth in community centers. The Flatbush Boys, made up of members of the Young Communist League, is also a part of this organization, the New Theater League. To give accurate and complete statistical details as to the number of Actors' Equity Council, Actors' Equity membership, and Federal Theater Project supervisors and employees

who are members of and active with this group would require a search through the Federal Theater Project personnel files for comparison with the various publications of the New Theater League and its affiliates, or possibly a check with their membership files.

Actors' Equity repudiation is based wholly and solely on my attempts to protect those American citizens who do not belong to or affiliate themselves with this most un-American organization—the New Theater League. You will also find listed in this booklet of the Theater Arts Committee, which gives their activities, which are along similar lines with that of the Communist Party, the names of members of the Actors' Equity as well as Federal Theater Project supervisors. This organization was originally known as the Theater Committee for the Defense of Spanish Democracy, and their present radio program "Voice of Peace" is sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy. I should feel offended if under these conditions, I had not been repudiated by any organization whose executive and apparently a controlling portion of their heads aline themselves with such groups as the New Theater League and the Theater Arts Committee.

I can at this time present documentary evidence to prove my contentions, but not as complete as I feel it should be for this committee and the records. Given time for research, I could place in the hands of each Member of Congress documentary evidence of the existence of such groups in his State and shall endeavor to do so before Congress convenes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now, Miss Huffman, let me ask you a question. Do I understand from your statement, now, that you can give to the members of this committee the names of people in each individual State who belong to the Communist Party and who are employed on the league and who are probably working on the theater project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Congressman Dempsey—

Mr. DEMPSEY. Just answer that question. Is that what you have in mind; is that what you mean?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; the proof of being a member of the Communist Party is a difficult thing.

Mr. DEMPSEY. All right, suppose you could prove that they are members. Is that a justifiable reason to dismiss a certified relief worker, under the law creating that agency?

Miss HUFFMAN. Positively not, Congressman Dempsey.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Then what can be done about it, or what should be done about it, if the law permits that?

Miss HUFFMAN. Congressman Dempsey, I speak now as the representative of my committee. We have never objected to Communists being on the project. We would not object to anyone who is on relief, or who is entitled under the act of Congress to be on that project. But when their activity on that project is such that it interferes with the welfare—life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness—of the American citizens on that project, by coercion, by putting them in what is commonly known as the "dog house"—that is, giving assignments not in keeping with their skills—and making life miserable for them—

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you hear Mrs. Woodward testify?

Miss HUFFMAN. I did.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you hear her testify she was not a Communist and had no sympathy with the Communists?

Miss HUFFMAN. I don't believe Mrs. Woodward personally is—

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am not asking you what Mrs. Woodward personally is; I am asking if you heard her testimony?

Miss HUFFMAN. I did; yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And she did state that?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mrs. Flanagan stated the same thing?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; Mrs. Flanagan stated the same thing.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now you mentioned certain plays that you denominated as Communist plays: Did you name Power as one of them?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is there in Power that is communistic? Do you not confuse communistic plays with propaganda plays when you do that? Can you point to a single thing in Power that outstanding and splendid Members in Congress have not made reference to in connection with Government ownership?

Miss HUFFMAN. Mr. Congressman, with any of the plays to which I referred, I would like to give my analysis of what we felt those plays were and what constitutes a propaganda play used for communistic activities.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Wait a minute. A propaganda play is one thing. Tell me about Power. What is there in the play Power that is communistic?

Miss HUFFMAN. Frankly, at this moment, I cannot remember the play Power.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is one you complained about very bitterly, did you not?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; not particularly. I gave the criticism which was taken from some of the publications of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You felt it was communistic?

Miss HUFFMAN. I felt it was propaganda to be used for communistic activity; yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. If you read the Congressional Record, some speeches made by very fine, outstanding American citizens, Members of the Senate and House, had similar statement or identical statements?

Miss. HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Even "damns" have been made after some of those gentlemen's speeches.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. But on the newspaper productions—I believe Power was one—I can show you it was not things said on the floor of the House or the floor of the Senate by such men.

Mr. DEMPSEY. So that you may understand my position, in the first place, I am not a believer in Government ownership of railroads, or things of that kind, so do not misunderstand my question.

Miss. HUFFMAN. No; I don't.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not believe in that. I believe in private ownership of railroads, public utilities, et cetera. But this committee is created under a resolution to investigate subversive activities and un-American activities. Now if the play "Power" was put on by any Broadway producer, he would not be summoned here as un-American; because I can point to many productions that go much further than that. I can point to productions that ridicule—I would not say "ridicule," but for amusement purposes say things of the President—such as George Cohan's play in New York, which I think is



a splendid production. And if you take the newspaper accounts of some of the things done in Washington, for instance, the Gridiron, which is a splendid thing, and an amusing thing—I am just simply quoting or referring to the newspaper accounts of these things—it is very funny if that was done.

Miss HUFFMAN. Congressman Dempsey, if plays have, as Power and the others do, their major theme of anticapital, anti-Fascist, anti-war and pro-Soviet, depicting through the medium of self-sympathy, hunger, and hatred—

Mr. DEMPSEY. All right, take any one of those things.

Miss HUFFMAN (continuing). Is it not following the methods that are used by the Communists? It is done by the Communists to instill a fear of those things.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you charge the men and women of America who thoroughly believe, sincerely believe, that war is a thing that should not occur under any condition—I have received thousands of letters from people who do not believe in war and are we to consider them un-American because of that opinion?

Miss HUFFMAN. Congressman Dempsey, with the amount of research I have done into this subject, those people who are particularly advocating, these communistic and procommunistic groups who are constantly advocating the doing away with war—you will usually find in their same publication and sometimes in their same article that they strongly advocate the wiping out of fascism, the wiping out of Hitler, and are not at all so antiwar as they appear except in defense of what they regard as prosovietism. But as far as doing away with war completely is concerned, that is entirely different.

Mr. DEMPSEY. As I read your testimony and the testimony of some people who came here, I believe we have become somewhat confused as to what un-American and what is propaganda. We are not investigating the Works Progress Administration.

Miss. HAUFFMAN. No, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY (continuing). To determine whether the taxpayers' money might have been used for propaganda things or un-American things. That is not the province of this committee. We are here for another purpose. And I cannot see, in the plays called to my attention, any communistic activity.

Miss HUFFMAN. Congressman Dempsey, if these people who selected these plays and chose these plays, and the people who stage these plays and, in that way, attempt to put their will into the production, because a great deal is in the production rather than the written word—if you knew these people were members of a section of the International Union of Revolutionary Theaters, who in their magazine use the sign of the clenched fist, and who have another organization, communistic organization, in Moscow, Russia, and it has extended throughout the rest of the countries of Europe branches of this same international union, and some of those very people have been sent as delegates to the conferences in Moscow and bring back and put into these plays, and their direction of these plays, that which they have learned at absolutely communistic headquarters, we will call it—

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think you are basing this on a hypothetical question which you are predicating largely upon what you have read or heard some place.

Miss HUFFMAN. No, I am not basing this on a hypothetical question—

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is what I think you are doing. I think we are getting very far afield.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I do not think she is basing it on just that alone. I saw, within the past week, either a letter or an article stating that this organization in the United States was a member of that international organization. I have forgotten the names just now. And I think Miss Huffman has brought up a very interesting point and one that has not been discussed at the hearings to date, that is, the close tie-up between the revolutionary theaters here in the United States and the international theater.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not know of any revolutionary theater here in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you some material on that?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have plenty of material on that and I would recommend to Mr. Dempsey that he read Ben Blake's story on "Organizing the American Theatre," because Ben Blake is one of the chief delegates from this country, and Ben Blake is the one who gives a complete story on it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I have been attending the theater—the theater is my hobby and I have been attending as many theaters as it is possible for me to do, and at one time I had control of the Brighton Beach Theater of New York. I know theatrical people and I know writers. And I am afraid that this committee is going rather far afield in permitting some of this testimony to go in; because certainly it is far beyond the scope authorized by the Congress. And it is one thing as to whether a propaganda play is proper, because the taxpayers' money is used, but that does not come within the scope of this committee.

There is no question in the minds of any member of this committee—because we have discussed it—that a Communist has the same right to work, if he is a certified relief worker. There is some testimony in the record and it is possible when they go to work some of them have been promoted to positions as supervisors. I do not know anything about that.

Mr. THOMAS. Not "possible"—positive.

Mr. DEMPSEY. All right, positive. So long as they conduct themselves according to the rules laid down by that agency, they have a perfect right to be supervisors. And I have no sympathy with the Communists—not any; I do not believe in that.

Mr. MOSIER. Miss Huffman, is not your position in that matter something like this: An air gun in the hands of a boy is not suspicious?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. But if John Dillinger carries an air gun, you are suspicious he carries it for a purpose?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Now you, I believe, in your previous testimony testified you knew that a lot of these people on the project in New York were either Communists or working with the Communists.



Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And, therefore, when you see what ordinarily would be just a propaganda play, we will say, put on by this group, you are suspicious, at least, that it is not put on for a good American purpose?

Miss HUFFMAN. Especially so, Mr. Mosier, when I find that play, in one instance, was taken to Russia and put out and, according to the press, it was made by "Lenfilm" in Russia, brought back into this country by Amkino, after our own Hollywood board, or whatever it is termed, had forbidden the making of it here, and distributed throughout this country by Amkino?

Mr. DEMPSEY. You say that is according to the press. Now, while the press is always fair to me and I have a great affection for many members of the press, they at times err.

The first morning I appeared at this committee, Mr. Starnes was presiding, and Mrs. Woodward asked if she might read the statement she had. He said, "Yes; you may read it and add anything to it you desire. In addition to that, you may state anything you want to add. That is your right. And we will sit here as long as is necessary so as to give you a full opportunity to make your statement." Yet a Washington paper the next morning said she was denied the privilege of reading that statement. It was just an error.

Miss HUFFMAN. Then, if you will permit me, in talking about this particular volume introduced in this testimony by the Federal Theater Project, let me say there are laws governing advertising, and that advertising, both in print, the camera, the theater, the film itself, and in the press, performs the same office.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now, the law governing advertising is enforced, I presume, by the Department of Justice?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. We do not have anything to do with that, either.

Miss HUFFMAN. I am just asking whether or not we cannot build accuracy in the advertising.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am glad, furthermore, you have made this statement, which is in rebuttal of some of the things said about you, but I hope some of the others will not come back and want to rebut some of the things you said about them—because we will be here an indefinite period of time if we do that. And, after all, we have a great many witnesses to hear.

I do not wish to interrupt you any further. Go ahead and conclude your statement, and if any of the members want to ask questions, that is their right; but I want to make myself clear about some of the things brought out here.

Mr. STARNES. Have you concluded?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have concluded.

Mr. STARNES. I believe I agree with my colleague from New Mexico. There may have been an idea on the part of some that a propaganda play was entertainment. Now it can be propaganda without being entertainment, but I am wondering if you had in mind that some of those plays, in the propaganda which they put out, were teaching class hatred and class prejudice. Those are the only things I am interested in, because I have consistently fought from the the beginning, as a member of this committee, the introduction into the record of anything that smacked of maladministration, or dealing with the administration at all, as you very well recall.



Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And while there are a lot of things I might not approve of in an administrative way, I do not feel that is before our committee in this hearing, because we are limited in scope. But on the question of propaganda, I thoroughly agree with Mr. Dempsey that a propaganda play is not un-American—that is, unless it should teach class hatred. I think any politician, or any newspaper, or any play, or anything else, that gets out and incites class hatred and class prejudice is un-American. Now I am asking, in any of those plays you mentioned, is that what you had in mind?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well the thing in the plays that most impressed me—of course, as Mr. Dempsey says, you cannot always believe what you see in the press, due to the amount of freedom they exercise; but these various organizations use these plays. They use them in strike areas where a strike is about to become ineffective, and they themselves claim they are using them in arousing them to fight the bourgeois. As a matter of fact, their slogan as given in their magazines, if it is not a misprint (and I do not believe it is a misprint because it has been given 20 times), is "The bourgeois a danger to society." So that it teaches class hatred.

Mr. STARNES. That may be true, but I do not think Power and these others you mention do. My personal opinion is those were not un-American, although they were propaganda plays.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Starnes has asked you about the stirring up of class hatred. Let me ask you this: In putting on a production, assuming you are putting on a production now where some loan shark is foreclosing on some poor widow woman whose daughter has not returned with the money, the hatred, of course, of the audience for that man who is insisting on the last pound of flesh is more or less class hatred, is it not? It is hatred against the banker who insists upon getting a high rate of interest, and insisting upon getting the principal back when the person he loaned to cannot pay it. Is that true, or not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Mr. Dempsey, you and I know the show business well enough to know——

Mr. DEMPSEY. You can answer that "yes" or "no." Is that true, or not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I am sorry, but that could not be answered "yes" or "no"; because, in staging a play, there is a lot of opportunity there and a play never can be so controlled in the production and staging——

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you ever see a producer build up a play where the man collecting the money from a poor person was the hero of the play?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, I cannot say I have.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He is the villian?

Miss HUFFMAN. But, Mr. Dempsey, their own publications and their own reviews of their plays state they have worked an audience up to such a fever that it took them a minute to realize they were in a theater and not go out and start to tear something up.

Mr. DEMPSEY. There were something like a thousand of those plays produced, I understand.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And something like 26 that were criticized.

Miss HUFFMAN. Twenty-six were mentioned. But the fact remains, in mentioning 26—

Mr. DEMPSEY. And those I have read anything about, I think they are propaganda plays, largely. It is a question whether a government agency should put on such a play, in my opinion as a Member of Congress, but that is not within the scope of this committee in the investigation. We are only authorized to investigate un-American and subversive activities, and they are not un-American, in my opinion.

Miss HUFFMAN. Pardon me, but may I clarify it in my own mind and for my committee, when I return to New York? You would give me the impression there—and I do not want to go back and misquote you—

Mr. DEMPSEY. The record will quote me.

Miss HUFFMAN. But I want to be correct on this, that this committee is not interested, then, in innocuous and subversive activities of the Communist Party, in building the party, as they so carefully state in all of their pamphlets, or are you only interested in anarchists that have bombs and are ready to take over.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The committee is interested in going to the full limit reflected in the resolution passed by Congress. That is as far as they can go.

Miss HUFFMAN. And that resolution calls for the extent, intent, and character.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Of un-American activities.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; of un-American activities.

Mr. MOSIER. I think the resolution specifically said in words "un-American propaganda", did it not, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; the resolution is broad enough so that we can go into almost every kind of propaganda.

Miss HUFFMAN. The point with me on those plays, not alone in the Federal Theater—let us get away from the Federal Theater, because I will agree with Mrs. Woodward—

Mr. THOMAS. I do not wish to get away from it, because that is what it is about.

Miss HUFFMAN. But in the entire picture of the propaganda field we are discussing, the Federal Theater is following, I suspect, what the people will buy. I mean it wants to bring the greatest crowd to the theater. The unions blast the Federal Theater plays, the artists who play, and attack it as a racketeer theater, yet it put on Cradle Will Rock for two performances in Mr. Thomas' district. It was certainly communistic.

Mr. STARNES. What about Stevedore?

Miss HUFFMAN. Stevedore?

Mr. STARNES. That was written by a Communist, was it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I can show you by their own book that they use those plays, some of the plays we have mentioned, in strike fields; they have used them to agitate for un-American activities and, in their early publications, for the overthrow of this Government, for the support of Soviet Russia—

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think we should confine the testimony to matters of that kind, rather than to take up Power, when we know it is a propaganda play. But if you will read the Record in Congress,

much stronger things have been said by Members of Congress advocating Government ownership or municipal ownership.

Mr. STARNES. Was George Sclar, the author of *Stevedore*, or one of the writers—was he a Communist, or not?

Miss HUFFMAN. He is so credited with being—with working along that line.

Mr. STARNES. I have not read all of the script of *Stevedore*, but I did read the excerpts the chairman mentioned that some of the witnesses spoke about, this week. I want to say the language he read, and other excerpts, contain language that was much more foul; that if I repeated that language, or used that language in a public place, or in the presence of women, in my State, I would be subject to a fine and imprisonment under the statute in that State. And I presume every State has its statutes on obscenity and indecent language.

Mr. MOSIER. Miss Huffman, what you have done before this committee, as I understand it, is to come in here and attempt to show us certain plays, out of the nine-hundred-and-some-odd that have been produced that, in your opinion, contain un-American propaganda. Now, those plays you have named are available to this committee to read?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And I will admit to any member of the committee that there may be a fine line on any one play. Take the play *Power*. That play may fall on the opposite side of the line that you think it falls on; but your object is to call to the attention of this committee certain plays you think this committee should read and determine for itself whether those plays are un-American propaganda?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, Congressman Mosier. And regarding the plays, it is my intention, and always has been my intention, to call to this committee's attention the type of propaganda that is being used and is calculated to cause a revolution in this country, to the interest of the Communist Party.

In their own instructions to their people they tell how to so stage and so add additions to the classics—Shakespeare, Ibsen, Chekov, and some of the rest of those writers—so as to make it propaganda for the purpose of arousing the masses, for the purpose of creating a Soviet America. They so state.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Please do not feel anything I have said is any criticism of your testimony or is intended to be any criticism of your testimony.

Miss HUFFMAN. I don't.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I merely think you are confusing propaganda plays with Communist plays. I think you have done a splendid thing in coming here, putting yourself to inconvenience, probably, and I appreciate your being here.

Miss HUFFMAN. But, Mr. Dempsey, a propaganda play, then—you mean by a propaganda play a play that has an educational value, that deals with economics or politics?

Mr. DEMPSEY. It may not have any educational value and still be a propaganda play. It may not have any value at all; it may be a detriment.

Miss HUFFMAN. I am sorry, but would you like to say in the record the way you distinguish a propaganda play from a communistic play—



Mr. DEMPSEY. You state for the record just what you want to state, and any statement I make will be in the record just as I stated it.

Miss HUFFMAN. I beg pardon; but from my use of the term "propaganda," I would still say they used the play for communistic propaganda, inasmuch as it is their own declared purpose to present these plays to accomplish their objective.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And you consider Power as a play in that category?

Miss HUFFMAN. Congressman Dempsey—

Mr. DEMPSEY. Will you just answer that "yes" or "no"?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. And permit me to use another example—

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not care for any more examples.

Mr. THOMAS. Just a minute. I care for more examples.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Then ask for them yourself.

Mr. THOMAS. We have been talking about Power here—just one play. I notice in the original testimony of Miss Huffman very little was said about Power. But when Mrs. Woodward and Mrs. Flanagan came here a great deal was said about Power. Now, if we are going to mention one play we differ on, let us also mention some other plays—plays like Injunction Granted, Created Equal, Stevedore—and let us have the names of the whole 10 percent which Mrs. Woodward and Mrs. Flanagan admit are plays which are right on the border line.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think we have the names of all those plays in the record now. I took the play Power because there was more said about that play than any other one play.

Mr. THOMAS. The other day a lot was said about Power when Mrs. Woodward or Mrs. Flanagan testified; but when Miss Huffman made her original statement, very little was said. If you will look up the testimony in volume 1 you will find very little was said about Power when Miss Huffman made her original statement.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What was said the other day when Mrs. Woodward and Mrs. Flanagan were here was as a result of questions by members of this committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Not altogether, I do not think. And also, for the same reason, Shirley Temple's name was mentioned.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am sure not in connection with a propaganda play or a communistic play.

Mr. THOMAS. I am of the opinion we had a big talk about the play Power the other day simply because it was a sort of a red herring across the trail.

Mr. STARNES. Miss Huffman, the committee appreciates your coming and the contribution you have made from the beginning.

Miss HUFFMAN. Thank you.

(The committee thereupon adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, December 9, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We have with us this morning Mrs. Henry M. Robert, Jr., president general of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

We are grateful to you, Mrs. Robert, for your kindness in appearing before the committee and giving us the benefit of your views and information. We are grateful to the organization which you represent for the fine patriotic work that it has done and for the help that has been rendered to this committee in the way of suggestions and information by members of your organization.

## STATEMENT OF MRS. HENRY M. ROBERT, JR., PRESIDENT GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Mrs. ROBERT. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the reasons which justify my acceptance of the invitation to present to this committee suggestions as to the best methods to promote and safeguard Americanism are two:

First, the organization of which I am now the president general the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has approximately 145,000 members, with more than 2,500 chapters scattered in all States of the Union, each Territory, and a number of foreign countries. These range in size from but 12 members in remote rural and mountain districts to chapters of more than 600 in large cities. As such these women represent a cross section of American life.

Secondly, two of the objects of this society are these:

To promote as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge, thus developing an enlightened public opinion and affording to young and old such advantages as shall develop in them the largest capacity for performing the duties of American citizens.

To cherish, maintain, and extend the institutions of American freedom, to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty.

Thus, since its founding 48 years ago, this society has endeavored to promote interest and confidence in the principles of Americanism. Not as one in authority but as an American woman representing other American women, I offer these few suggestions.

Through revelations covering a period of years, the existence of un-American activities is generally recognized. You gentlemen are familiar with the political theory, "You cannot beat somebody with nobody." The first step is to provide the great American public with a concise, succinct definition of Americanism. The fundamental idea of the totalitarian states can be given in a single sentence. To my knowledge no one has yet summarized into a few words the essential meaning of democracy as interpreted through American ideals. Several excellent books designed to promote the American way of life have recently appeared, but each author takes many sentences to explain it. Perhaps this is due to the fact, as one writer says, "Democracy for most of us is not an 'ism.' It is a way of life."<sup>1</sup> Among descriptive phrases from these books are the following: "More abundant life for all," "places individuals above institutions," "use of reason in composing differences," "democracy offers self-realization." All of these are true. They appeal to the intelligence of the readers for whom intended. They do not, however, give to the average citizen that something with which he should be equipped as his first weapon in combating un-American activities. Recently I happened to mention in a conversation "the promotion of Americanism." A youth present immediately asked, "And just what is Americanism?" Your committee is essentially interested in securing facts as a basis for future legislation. The effectiveness of all proposals will be considerably increased if there can first be evolved by and for the general public a definition, "Americanism—what is it?"

Within recent months there has been a remarkable awakening of the people to the need of defending American principles. Educational associations, journalists, college professors are alive to the need of holding fast to our ideals of freedom. Reference has been made to several recent publications.<sup>2</sup> They are scholarly and thought-provoking, but such expressions as these, "minimum essentials of democracy," "equalitarianism," "certain inescapable corollary responsibilities," limit their appeal. There must be devised statements that will carry home to our people quickly and definitely a realization of the blessings included within such privileges as civil liberties, consent of the governed, or individuals above institutions.

With the meaning of Americanism established, the second essential is a primer of Americanism. One reason for the rapidity and completeness of the growth of the political systems that would now supplant ours is the fact that there was immediately placed in the hands of children and youth simple statements of reasons why the new system was believed to be better. The United States of America never wants government control of education and never a minister of propaganda. At this moment, however, when need for defense is generally recognized, this great people can surely build or encourage the

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Thompson, *Political Guide*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Roosevelt, *A New Birth of Freedom*; Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*; David Cushman Coyle, *Roads to a New America*.



building of its educational defenses. Apparently thus far only the adult population has been considered. The necessity for reaching children and youth with the real meaning of America and with concrete reasons why life in this Nation, even with all of its imperfections, is more satisfying than elsewhere is immediate. That children can be interested in groups designed to promote Americanism is indicated by the fact that our own society last year had 80,000 children working in Junior American Citizen Clubs. These children represented all races and creeds and were enrolled chiefly from congested areas. This year the number is expected to reach 100,000.

For several years the Washington Bicentennial Commission and the Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission have provided for the American people information designed to increase confidence in American institutions. The Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission has issued, at the remarkably low cost of 10 cents each, hundreds of thousands of copies of an attractive book entitled "The Story of the Constitution." It is such a book at low cost that must carry into every American home practical facts to show not only that the American way of life has provided the world's highest standard of living but also the reasons why under the Government, guaranteed by the Constitution, this achievement has been possible. Someone has aptly said, "The only way to conquer an alien mythology is to have a better mythology of your own." Established agencies may be utilized. Through its regular publications the United States Office of Education is in a position to assist. The National Education Association has recently sponsored the publication of scholarly investigations as to education in its relation to democracy. With but comparatively little effort their conclusions could be put into a form with popular appeal. A few months still remain of the celebration of the Sesquicentennial of the Constitution. With its material collected and codified, might not those remaining months of that Commission be devoted to the simplest compilation of what life under the Constitution means to our people, to be presented in an inexpensive form and made available for wide distribution?

The experience of our own society shows that low-cost publication and distribution is possible. Hundreds of thousands of copies of our Manual for Citizenship, published in 18 languages, are distributed annually through a voluntary contribution of but 10 cents per member.

I have copies here of our material in three languages, and these can be produced in amounts or numbers or orders of 25,000 to 100,000 for the small sum of 3 to 4 cents, and we, on our voluntary contribution put out about 400,000 annually in 18 languages, showing that small cost in reaching the needs of the people is distinctly possible.

The number of requests for information received by our society indicates the honest and widespread desire of American youth and the American people to know the meaning of their way of life. College students wishing material for debates, directors of education of C. C. C. camps and W. P. A. projects, Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A., summer camps, adult education groups, teachers, superintendents of schools, chambers of commerce, and officers in charge of Reserve Officers Training Corps, all of these often write for material. During the last year our committee on national defense through patriotic

education has distributed 272,000 leaflets and other material such as these which I leave with you.

I have here two or three packages of the type of material which we distribute free in an effort to promote interest in the meaning of the American way of life. The possibilities of our society are unlimited, its service being supported by voluntary contributions of its members. The need is widespread, and therefore demands concerted effort.

The day is a practical one. Youth and age demand to be shown. Failures and disappointments since the World War have led to the conclusion by some that life is easier elsewhere, that a change would be better here. Training for Americanism must strike home; more automobiles, more refrigerators, more telephones, more college educations, more comforts, than in any nation on earth. In a recent magazine<sup>1</sup> a picture appeared showing the comparative effort required to purchase foodstuffs in different countries. For 1 pound each of bacon, beef, bread, butter, potatoes, sugar; 1 quart of milk; and 1 dozen of eggs; the steel worker in Russia gives 23½ hours of labor, or more than one-half of an American workweek; in Germany, 5¾ hours; England, 3¾ hours; France, 3½ hours; and in the United States, 1½ hours of labor. If these facts were known in every American household, less attention would be paid to un-American agitators. In other words, efforts to check their activities must show to the American people that they have for years enjoyed more privileges than can be obtained under other systems through years to come. We already have much of what others must yet strive for. Peddlers cease to ply their wares when profits vanish. Activities of agitators will cease when the American people learn that they already have more than can be obtained through a proffered exchange.

The greatest bulwark to be built against un-American activities today is that every citizen, young and old, be accurately acquainted with what Americanism means to him. Writing in the November 1938 Atlantic Monthly, Howard M. Jones says: "America is unbelievably undersold to its own citizens" Upon the firm foundations of practical advantages may be built an appreciation of the ideal, not alone of what Americanism gives but of what it involves; the pain and suffering of what that democracy has cost, the high value that it places on mankind, the development of liberty as a living tradition, and the realization that the greatness of a government will be no greater than the heights attained by its individual citizens.

One factor in the recent spread of un-American activities is the lowered morale of the American people. Emergencies show that the indomitable American spirit, usually inarticulate, is still with us. With this realization, the American people, in whom alone is the responsibility, may restore their faith, renew confidence in themselves, and press toward a defense against other systems by making of their own an established success.

In its report to the Congress therefore this committee may well include recommendations for a revival of Americanism. Within the Government effective machinery for its accomplishment must already be established, through the direct warrant of the Constitution to

<sup>1</sup> The Way, July and August 1938, Clergy League of America.



"promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Such a process at best is not immediate. To cope with present conditions further action is therefore necessary. The society which I represent does not sponsor introduction of legislation. Among those proposals which it believes to be of importance in checking un-American activities are—

1. That the United States Office of Education, through its publications and its regularly established channels of distribution, be directed to offer suggestions and sources of material for a campaign of education to bring to every American citizen an appreciation of the superior advantages of life in the United States and of his individual responsibility under the Constitution, and that the cooperation of educational, patriotic, and welfare organizations, whose contacts and machinery for effective action are already established, be encouraged.

2. That provision for the collection of facts by this committee as a basis for future proposed legislation be continued.

3. That Mr. Dies' recommendation that incorporated organizations carrying on political activity be required to file annual reports with the Congress of the United States be supported.

4. That the Communist Party as organized in the United States be declared to be outside the definition of an American political party and be known for what it is, a dues-paying society under a program dictated by the Third International in Moscow.

5. That all groups identified as agents of alien dictatorships be required to register with the State Department in compliance with the Registration Act, recently gone into effect, and thus be compelled to show the source and extent of funds received.

6. That since aliens of political beliefs inimical to the United States are not eligible for immigration for permanent residence, they should also be denied visas for speaking tours for the promotion of propaganda; and that aliens resident in the United States who are engaged in effort to break down the institutions of Americanism be deported.

7. The aliens within the United States, whether visitors or for permanent residence, be required to register annually with the naturalization court within the jurisdiction of which they reside.

A few lines from the New York Times of September 25, 1937, are applicable at the moment:

Democracy is always weakened from within. Only its own feebleness or complacency destroys it. \* \* \* It dies unless it draws life from every citizen. \* \* \* The job of those who believe in the democratic process is to be positive, not negative, to build it up, expose and correct its mistakes, keep it alive.

A thousand years scarce serve to form a state, a single hour may lay it in the dust.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Robert, we want to express our deep appreciation for this most excellent statement and for the wonderful work which you and your organization are doing to promote and retain Americanism.

Mrs. ROBERT. Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, do you wish to file with the record any of these copies of literature which we issue?

The CHAIRMAN. We would be very happy to have them. We certainly thank you.



Mrs. ROBERT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee.

(The documents above referred to were marked "Exhibit Robert, Washington, No. 1," and filed with the committee, being various publications issued by the Daughters of the American Revolution.)

The CHAIRMAN. We are now privileged to hear from Prof. Theodore Graebner. You are connected with what institution, Professor?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. It is a theological seminary.

The CHAIRMAN. It is what?

Dr. GRAEBNER. It is a theological seminary of the Lutheran Church.

The CHAIRMAN. A theological seminary of the Lutheran faith?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Yes. I teach philosophy, and I am editor of the official organ.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Lutheran Church?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Yes. I am chairman of the board for young peoples' work of the Lutheran Church.

The CHAIRMAN. We would be very pleased to hear from you. We appreciate your courtesy in coming before the committee to give us the benefit of such facts and information as you may have in regard to the question of what can be done to promote Americanism.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. THEODORE GRAEBNER, CONCORDIA SEMINARY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

The CHAIRMAN. You have some matters that may be interpreted as testimony. Suppose you be sworn.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Dr. GRAEBNER. Our problem, as I see it, is not whether America can find a cure for the antidemocratic tendencies which have begun to contaminate the blood stream of national thought, but whether it can find a cure which is not as bad as the disease. Together with the idea of the totalitarian state, Russia, Italy, and Germany have given us the recipe for destroying undemocratic propaganda and preserving our liberties. Russia has liquidated the kulaks. The Soviet ambassador to China not so long ago said in the course of an address that "in the Soviet Union there are still some people who are deprived of the right to vote (former kulaks, and so forth), the number becoming smaller and smaller every year." Why the number of these "kulaks and so forth," is becoming smaller and smaller might be estimated by the larger and larger number of graves of kulaks and so forth in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The machine gun, the concentration camp and jail, forced exile, and overwork in Arctic forests and mines, sequestration of food, and famine, have been reducing the number of those who were not and are not allowed to vote ever since, as the Soviet ambassador asserts, "exploitation of man by man" was doomed by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. There you have the cure for Soviet propaganda in the United States. None of us is willing to advocate that cure.

Germany and Italy have eliminated every organization which transcends the Fascist subjection of the individual to the state. The devotion of the Italian to his Fascist government and the subservience of the German to the dictations of Hitler is not a political relationship of the citizen to his government but is an absolute subjection of the individual to the state, a relationship which cannot exist side by side with the ideal of international brotherhood. Imagine anybody trying to start on German or Russian or Italian soil a league for the defense of American democracy. It would be the concentration camp for anyone alining himself with such effort, and for the leaders it would be the firing squad in Italy and the headsman's block in Germany. What then are we to do about the German-American Bund, this camouflaged Nazi camp in the midst of American communities? We have neither a Russian OGPU nor a German Gestapo to hurry these bundists, or the members of Communist cells in our universities, to the dungeon. Instead, we hold a town meeting as they did in Southbury, Conn., and pass a zoning law which prohibits the establishment of camp sites and thereby prevent the Nazi camp which had purchased some acreage in the village from setting up its training school for Naziism. That is as much as Southbury or Connecticut could do, it seems.

What I hope to have made plain is the difficulty which besets any attempt on the part of the American public to defend itself against the inoculation of its people with the ideologies of the antidemocratic type. The difficulty is not one due to uncertainty regarding the object of these tendencies. We have no misgivings on that score at all. The swastika, as well as the red flag with the sickle and hammer, stand for everything that American sentiment holds in abhorrence. There is not a particle of democracy in the Communist Party in the United States. That party is not built up by the workers who then direct the activities of the party; the party line is dictated by Stalin. Even so the Nazi organizations in this country bear the authoritarian stamp. They take their orders from Berchtesgaden. When they hear the raucous tones of Adolf Hitler over the radio they hear their master's voice.

We could put a stop to all that, and no one either in Russia or Germany would have the right to bleat one cry of disapproval. We could readily defend ourselves by balancing our account by means of totalitarian methods. Baron von Neurath delivers a speech which declares every German, whether he live in the borders of the Reich, or in the Americas, or in China, a German first, last, and all the time. Why did we not reply by taking this statement, which merely echoed many a speech of Adolf Hitler, at face value and deport every unnaturalized German from the United States?

The kind of revolution which Marx and his disciples are seeking to bring to pass is clearly defined, from the promulgation of the Communist Manifesto in 1848 until the last meeting in Moscow of the Third International. It is the doctrine of every Communist agitator. It is a bloody uprising of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; it is the violent overthrow of every government which permits capitalism; it is the summary destruction of every church and all religion. To bring about such a revolution, no scruples are to be regarded. Now, Litvinov solemnly promised Roosevelt that if



the U. S. S. R. was recognized by the United States, no efforts would be made from Moscow in the United States for the spread of Marxian socialism. This promise has not been kept, but the recognition was made an entering wedge for a greatly enlarged volume of communistic preaching in this country, in universities, colleges, churches, papers, and magazines. If we applied the soviet standards of what constitutes the rights of the state, we should have long ago shipped every unnaturalized Russian out of the country with Lenin-grad as his destination.

What stands in the way of such treatment of the ills that beset us? That which stands in the way is the very essence of the American conception of the relation of the state to the individual. Every child in the school knows the Bill of Rights. Whether he has ever read the Constitution or not, he knows that Americanism stands for freedom of speech and assemblages. More than that, we permit citizens to debate even a change in the form of our government and to make such adjustments in the distribution of power as will serve to advance our well-being and happiness.

Are we then to conclude that the democratic state has no technique for handling a situation such as this? Are we to admit that our concept of freedom of speech, of the right of organization, of agitation and publicity, must be extended to those who have nothing but a curse for the Constitution under which they live, who make no secret of their purpose to create civil disturbances and bloody riots in order that the class conflict may rise to violent, revolutionary heights; who openly declaim against all measures that would strengthen our Army and Navy, and who are bound, if not by an oath, then by a fanatical adherence to a foreign power, not only to refuse to serve in our own Army and Navy in a war against these powers, but to sabotage and to murder in order to bring the land down to defeat and to welcome the foreign flag, be it the red rag of Russia or the hooked cross of Germany?

"But that is absurd," you will say. "That is a fantastic whim, the kind of unreasonable fear which will either mark you as an alarmist, devoid of common sense, or worse still, a willful deceiver of the public who, for some ulterior reason, raises the bugbear of national calamities due to these foreign influences, magnified far out of proportion to their actual potentialities of evil." And right here we are prompted to consider the first and foremost means of fighting un-American tendencies in our midst.

First and foremost, then, is the duty of those who view the situation in its full gravity, not to exaggerate on the one hand the possibilities of harm to our institutions, nor on the other hand to minimize these dangers. I have no thought of the swastika of Germany ever occupying a more prominent place as a symbol of allegiance of American citizens than in some Milwaukee beer hall. I have no fears of any alarming increase in the spread of communism among our citizenship. I believe that the workingman has absorbed enough of the spirit of our institutions that he will not approve of a program like the liquidation of the 40-acre farmers of Russia, the kulaks, or of making atheism a condition of being supplied with a ration ticket. Even the Calvinistic professor of theology who has, in a nice Christian way, gone bolshevik and who finds the profit system out of



harmony with the Gospel as understood by him, will never reach the point when he will call upon the proletarian to cast off his chains but will limit himself to the promulgation of a mildly erubescant social gospel. I think we can serve the cause of democracy first of all by refusing to overestimate the danger which threatens our Americanism from these sources.

Secondly, we should certainly play into the hands of a most-determined enemy if we would underestimate the forces which are insinuating themselves into our American thinking. It behooves us to be realists also in this respect. There is no blinking the fact that Hitlerism has revitalized forces which had become more or less the butt of ridicule. I am thinking of organizations which thrive on fanaticism or are founded upon racial or religious hatred. Whether Dr. Pelley's Silver Shirts will survive as an organization, I don't know, but the insensate hatred of the Jew represented by that absurd group is spreading apace. I have in mind the 16 secret anti-Semitic organizations which as recently as 1935 had their headquarters in Washington, D. C. I am not going to underestimate the possibilities of evil which threatens our political life from these forces, activated anew, I say, by Nazi propaganda.

Again it becomes the duty of those who love American institutions to acquaint our citizenship with the extent to which communism has infected the thinking of great areas of our population. Let there be no mistake about it, the strategy of the Communists for the violent change of our institutions is planned for them abroad. We would be underestimating the peril which threatens our American life if we forget that our laboring men are unaware of the fact that under communism government ceases, even in theory, to be the servant of the people and becomes their absolute master, and that under this system the individual is forced to exert his labor through compulsion applied by government regardless of who gets the reward. We shall not shut our eyes to the inroads which the doctrines of communism, misunderstood, have made into the labor unions. Fully aware that their Communist leaders advocate violence in every strike and try to force the hands of the authorities in order that the blood of striking laborers might be shed, knowing this they are still unaware of the goal which the agitators have in mind; that is, the general strike, as preliminary to world revolution. We shall not have world revolution, but we shall have arson, sabotage, and murder, all the evils of a war of the classes, if communism is not checked. There is plenty of evidence to substantiate the charge that the main function of the American Civil Liberties Union is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag by a red flag and erecting a soviet government, and that to this end it has advocated violence and assassination. These facts were brought out during the investigations of communistic propaganda by a committee of the Seventy-first Congress (H. Rep. No. 2290, p. 56). Our people should know about details like this and to bring them to their knowledge by every avenue of publicity and if necessary through a federation of all patriotic organizations is the foremost duty of Americans at this time. In saying this I assume, as a major premise, that the vast majority of our people will recoil in abhorrence from such a program when they once recognize its true nature.

I believe that the lodgment in our educational system of bolshevist theories should be brought to the attention of our people through every available means of publicity. Who of us has seen the little "red" publications that some of the smart young boys and girls at the universities are editing? Well, we have smiled at the manifestos of such organizations as the University of Minnesota Campus Unit of the Young Communist League and their pronouncements "For the Defense of the Soviet Union!" We are no longer amused when the same university uses taxpayers' money that its students may listen to an apostle of Lenin, like Earl Browder, or when we see in the Minnesota U. Daily the headline

Communism to Rule Country, Leader Says

It is proper also that outside the State of Minnesota our people know that Langston Hughes, the Communist poet, who wrote

Good-morning, Revolution:

You're the very best friend

I ever had.

We gonna' pal around together from now on.

and more directly the Workers' Song

Put one more S in the U. S. A.

To make it Soviet.

The U. S. A. when we take control

Will be U. S. S. A. then.

Possibly a change for the better has come over the powers that direct Minnesota University, but here we have *Science & Society, a Marxian Quarterly*, communistic in every article, editorial, or book review, edited by professors on the staff of half a dozen universities either exempt from taxes or supported by the capitalistic state through direct subsidies. My object is not to go into the details of the situation. I believe, however, that Americanism today can be served in no better way than by giving the largest possible publicity to these indications of the steady Communist seepage which the minds of our college youth are experiencing.

In February 1927 Congressman Free submitted to the House of Representatives one of the strangest resolutions that ever came before that body. It was a resolution which in its preamble drew up a bill of particulars against a federation which then included a large section of American Protestantism and which directed the "Committee on the Judiciary to report to the House whether or not this is a subject for further investigation and recommendations to the House." Among the charges made against these churchmen was that they are "cooperating with and frequently working under the direction of radical groups. The same radical groups are affiliated with the Third International, which is seeking to destroy all churches and to stifle all religion." I do not know what became of this resolution. I know that today similar investigations could be called for in most of the legislatures of our United States. This, too, is information to which our people generally are entitled and which should be disseminated to the fullest possible extent in our program of correction for un-American tendencies. Once more I believe that if our people knew the appalling extent to which religious leadership has become infected with political radicalism and outright bolshevik



communism, we could depend upon the democratic sentiment of our people to assert itself and to disavow a religious leadership which has definitely adopted the communistic program. It was not some ultraconservative religionist, but the editor of a great liberal journal who only this year reacted to a letter issued by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy over the signatures of 61 Episcopalian and Methodist bishops as follows:

As an American Protestant, with firm convictions on the right of a free conscience to worship God, I protest against the revolutionary social doctrines fostered by theological leaders in American Protestantism.

The currents flow toward Communism. Why does a Communist smoke-screen, like the League for the Defense of Spanish Democracy, control 61 Protestant bishops? It is a strange contradiction.

Either they are dupes of Marxism or they are deliberately inviting communism into Protestant churches. And this at a time when Christianity has again been forced into a position of being a fighting faith.

We have many Protestant clergymen talking in Communist terminology and supporting organizations obviously "Red."

To sum up these suggestions I will say that I have enough faith in the loyalty of the American people to their democratic institutions to believe that the safeguard against further growth of un-American tendencies is publicity. By this, I mean every avenue of informing the public first as to the meaning of nazi-ism, fascism, sovietism, and of opening their eyes to the extent which this evil has attained.

Whether we should continue to extend hospitality to agitators who come to these shores in order to disseminate their decadent philosophies; whether we should not use the powers of deportation in the great majority of such cases; whether we should not sever diplomatic relations with Germany for its steady and venomous stream of propaganda through press and radio against our country and its government; particularly whether it is not time to recall our ambassador from Moscow since the promise given by Litvinov has been broken and is being broken through the fostering of class hatred and violence in every State and city of our Union; whether these and other political measures are feasible as means of ousting the powers that are seeking to work our undoing, I leave to our statesmen.

Possibly as an editor I am somewhat partial to the program which recognizes the powers of the press. Be it so. In a democratic state public opinion rules and in order that public opinion may be well informed, let us unite all the forces of publicity and create new organs of publicity, if necessary, in order that the cure may come from within, from the deep sources of the patriotism of our American people.

Mr. STARNES. We have a number of questions we would like to ask you. Do you care to submit yourself to questioning on this statement you have just read and amplify some portions of it?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You speak of professors of theology gone bolshevik. Would not such a statement classify exactly as one of the overstatements against which you warn in other parts of your paper?

Dr. GRAEBNER. It is not an overstatement, and it also is not libelous on the theological profession. Not so long ago the chairmanship of the American Civil Liberties Union was held by Prof. Harry F. Ward, who occupies the chair of Christian ethics in Union Theolog-



ical Seminary, New York City. There is no question of his radical economic views. At the Rochester Divinity School a lecture delivered to the student body by Prof. Charles C. Webber contained this:

Capitalism is un-Christian and unethical, and must give way to socialism and communism, and the missionaries of the future must be social revolutionists.

Then there is the National Religion and Labor Foundation, which in 1935 sent a letter to the President, signed by 45 clergymen and theological professors, expressing the conviction that "there can be no permanent recovery under the profit system." I can pardon their plea for the cooperative movement; when the letter goes on to demand "the nationalization of basic industries," it identifies itself with the Communist platform.

Mr. STARNES. What is the source of your information regarding the anti-Semitic organizations established in this city?

Dr. GRAEBNER. That information came to me during the Asheville Conference on Communism in 1936, when a veritable horde of antisemites came into town on special trains to capture the meeting. We were able to get some of their literature and there is no question whatever about the existence of the secret organizations I referred to. They have since, of course, been vitalized, as I stated, by Nazi propaganda, no doubt.

Mr. STARNES. Now, swinging back to the first question I asked, who is this Prof. Charles C. Webber, who delivered that lecture before the student body at the Rochester Divinity School?

Dr. GRAEBNER. He was a lecturer who was invited to address the students on that occasion.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, certain mention has been made of letters in answer to, I think it was, the second question. The witness said that a letter was signed by forty-some people, and then on page 7 of the statement another letter is referred to. I am wondering if the witness has copies of those letters.

Dr. GRAEBNER. I have the press report on the first. This is the press report on the first and regarding the statement about the sixty-odd bishops of the Episcopal and Methodist Churches that were designated by a prominent liberal editor as radicals, and leading the churches into the field of Communism, that is this letter here.

Mr. THOMAS. I think, Mr. Chairman, that such particulars as the witness has relative to these two letters should be given to the committee, whether as exhibits, or in some other way, so that we will have the only information we can possibly get from the witness on the subject, including the signers of the letters, if the witness has those letters.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Doctor, do you have the name of the editor?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Doctor Ellery Sedgwick, of the Atlantic Monthly.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell that?

Dr. GRAEBNER. S-e-d-g-w-i-c-k.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, as I understand that particular incident, that is just a statement of the editor with regard to the 61 clergymen.

Dr. GRAEBNER. I had an argument with these clergymen and protested against this participation of them in the League for the Aid of the Spanish Government and designated it as communistic. I quote that as an example of the popular revolution against it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you aware of the fact that the investigation of the Seventy-first Congress—the so-called Hamilton Fish committee—has been stigmatized as alarmist, and that the present committee is accused of drawing a red herring across the trail, and of accusing Shirley Temple of being a Communist, and trying to destroy the cause of labor, and accusing one of Shakespeare's contemporaries of being a Communist, and all of those other things. You are aware of those things, of course?

Dr. GRAEBNER. I am fully aware of that. But what the Hamilton Fish, Jr., committee published concerning its findings has been verified up to the hilt. The excitement caused by the publicity given to the Hamilton Fish committee at the time leads me to think that publicity reaching the general public is being feared by these un-American movements as highly detrimental. Sunlight kills termites.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, Mr. Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party in America, made a statement in Washington in which he said that the committee had given him \$9,975,000 worth of publicity. Following that there have been numerous protests by Communist organizations opposing the continuance of the investigation. So they do not tie up with his statement as to publicity and the protests to discontinue it. I merely make that observation on that point.

Mr. STARNES. Do you not think, Doctor, that all of these incidents have been seized upon and used as weapons of radicals as part of a well concerted campaign on the part of these radicals and Communist groups in this country to destroy the usefulness of the committee, and to attempt to hide their real purpose behind a smoke screen of ridicule, sarcasm, and abuse?

Dr. GRAEBNER. And I feel with the lack of attention that the churches seem to have given to this investigation, I will say, indicates that there is a certain hesitation there to stand up for the old type of Americanism.

Mr. STARNES. Do you not feel that it is the most effective weapon that they have been using, and when I say "they," I am speaking of un-American and subversive groups. One of the most effective weapons they use, of course, is ridicule and sarcasm in an attempt to keep social leaders, church leaders, industrial leaders, business leaders, and political leaders, from standing up and fighting for the truth and exposing these fallacious and un-American movements in this country.

Dr. GRAEBNER. That has been their method for a long time, long before this committee was inaugurated.

Mr. STARNES. And the committee has experienced that from its inception.

Dr. GRAEBNER. I fully realize that, and for that reason I availed myself of your invitation to come here.

Mr. STARNES. As I stated to one of the witnesses yesterday, if we can render a public service in exposing these un-American and subversive activities, even though we may not be wholly blameless in some respects, yet at the same time if we are serving the country by exposing these movements, we feel that we can take anything that they want to heap upon the committee in the form of ridicule or abuse.

Dr. GRAEBNER. Living up to your oath of office.



Mr. STARNES. Was that an official publication of the University of Wisconsin from which you quoted Mr. Browder a moment ago?

Dr. GRAEBNER. No; that is a student paper, the Daily Campus.

Mr. STARNES. Published by the students?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Of the University of Minnesota.

Mr. STARNES. What is the publication office of the Marxian Quarterly, if you know?

Dr. GRAEBNER. It is published up in New York, at 30 East Twentieth Street, New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. Does it give the name of the publishers?

Dr. GRAEBNER. It is published by Society & Society, Inc.

Mr. STARNES. Doctor, are we not generalizing if we speak of inroads of communism into the churches? Would not that be blaming the religious masses for the radicalism of a few leaders?

Dr. GRAEBNER. To a certain extent that is true. Fighting for Americanism should not be conducted on the premise that the American churches are imbued with communistic principles. Our publicity should, however, make the masses which don't want violence or revolution, understand whither their leadership is drifting. Dr. James H. Snowden, editor of the Presbyterian Banner, said in 1935:

All our Protestant churches are now more or less consciously and often unconsciously being carried out upon the sea of Russian communism.

There was quite a rebellion among the Methodist laymen early in 1936 when one of the church organizations went Marxian and gave out announcements like this:

The present capitalistic order with its profit motive has outlived its usefulness, and should be replaced by a new order, capable of providing the abundant life for all.

A Methodist youth organization the same year resolved:

We endorse socialism, as being at present the most workable political expression of Christian social ideas. Essentially socialism, as we define it, is the theory of government based on the principles of public ownership and democratic control of natural resources, public utilities, and all basic and essential industries for public use instead of for private profit.

As a quotation, now, that is bad enough, but when young Methodists are told to resist the draft in case of war and are told in that case to practice sabotage "with the deliberate, conscious, informed intent to get rid of the present economic system, of which war is a part," we see some of the worst features of propaganda at work. This article appeared in the March 3, 1934, issue of the Epworth Herald.

I have since found out that in instructing their youth in Christian principles little boys and girls are asked to sign this decision card:

I surrender my life to Christ. I renounce the capitalistic system based on economic individualism and the profit motive, and to give myself to the building of an economic order based on cooperation and unselfishness. \* \* \* I believe that the possession of wealth is unbecoming a Christian.

Then another youth conference adopted these resolutions in 1934:

We endorse socialism as being at present the most workable expression of Christian ideals.

Mr. STARNES. What are you quoting from, Doctor?

Dr. GRAEBNER. From another article published by the Conference of Methodist Laymen in Chicago in 1935, edited by Professor Norton, of Cornell College, Iowa.



Mr. STARNES. Whom do they want to take that pledge, the children? Is that part of youth instruction?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Yes, sir; that is, and in that case Professor Norton says in 1934 we circulated among our boys and girls this decision card renouncing the capitalistic system.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Professor Norton? Do you know?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Professor Norton is a very distinguished professor of theology in Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.

Mr. STARNES. What is your source of information for the magazine editor who protested against the Communist alliance of 60 Protestant bishops you mentioned awhile ago?

Dr. GRAEBNER. On a newspaper report on an interview of the New York Journal and American with the editor of the Atlantic Monthly, Ellery Sedgwick, and that is confirmed by the letter which I received from him last week.

Mr. STARNES. That is an interview, you say, of the New York Journal and American with the editor of the Atlantic Monthly, Mr. Sedgwick?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You would not recommend censorship of any kind for the publications of the Fascist and Communist societies?

Dr. GRAEBNER. In this country I think we have in the Sedition Act ample provision for a check on literature of subversive tendencies. Naturally, as representing the press, I do not favor an overactive censorship. Public opinion may be aroused more definitely if the Communist and Fascist propaganda are allowed to go on without any restraint of censorship.

Mr. STARNES. I agree with you. What sort of union of publicity forces have you in mind?

Dr. GRAEBNER. I believe there should be a union of patriotic organizations, publicity organizations that take an American stand to combat these antidemocratic tendencies through every sort of publicity. I mean serving the daily press and literary magazines, and popular magazines, trade journals, radio broadcasting companies, the motion picture, the stage, and what not with material that will make clear to the people generally what is going on. They do not believe what was said before, that these matters are really serious. They do not know how close it strikes to home.

Mr. STARNES. Are we not in danger of identifying the support which church leaders have given the labor movement with Communist propaganda?

Dr. GRAEBNER. I do not like to be reminded of the part which the church has been playing in the struggle of capital and labor. The church should have remained true to its spiritual mission and should have followed the example of its founder, who definitely refused to settle economic questions, which belonged then, as now, in the sphere of natural law. But even so, I think one can distinguish between the espousal of the so-called laboring class by the church on the one hand and its attempts to solve the economic problem by advocating Soviet principles. I will engage to read you four sentences—one from the Russian Constitution, one from a booklet of the Communist Party in America, one from the report of a Baptist Commission on Social Action, and one from the principles of the United Christian Council

for Democracy, and I will defy anyone to tell me which is the official Communist, and which is the official Protestant, document. Now, here they are.

Mr. STARNES. Identify them as you read them.

Dr. GRAEBNER. (A) From the Russian Constitution:

Capitalism, as we know it, is doomed \* \* \*. Fundamental changes must be made, and they must be made soon. I am convinced that nothing short of social ownership of key industries can save us.

Mr. STARNES. Read your second statement.

Dr. GRAEBNER (reading):

(B) A new sane and just society must be established; a system where all the national resources, machinery of production, transportation, and communication shall be owned by the government.

Mr. STARNES. Read your third statement.

Dr. GRAEBNER (reading):

(C) We reject the profit-seeking economy and the capitalistic way of life with its private ownership of the things upon which the lives of all depend. We seek to establish a social ownership and democratic control of the common means of life.

(D) Society shall control or own all natural monopolies that have to do with the necessities of modern living, such as the water supply, gas, electricity, telephone, telegraph, and radio. Society shall control or own such competitive businesses as have to do with the necessities of life (milk, bread, coal, oil, gasoline, etc.).

Mr. STARNES. Now, each of those statements there, Doctor, seem to set out this theme, that the capitalistic system is doomed; each of them seem to set out that the only road for our people, or the people of this country is socialism, State socialism, State ownership of everything under democratic processes. Now, will you identify for the purpose of the record which is which? Who is statement A by?

Dr. GRAEBNER. The first statement is from the 1936 social platform. The second is from the Russian Constitution.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Dr. GRAEBNER. And the third is from a report of the Baptist Commission on Social Action.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Dr. GRAEBNER. And the fourth is from the report of the United Christian Council for Democracy.

Mr. STARNES. All right; you may proceed with your statement.

I would say that is significant when in the official Communist organ—that is, the Daily Worker—we read this, under date of August 6, 1936, where they say, as Browder says there:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successfully united fronts with church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such on our part. In fact, by going among religious masses we are for the first time able to bring our antireligious ideas to them \* \* \*.

Mr. STARNES. Can you mention church leaders who are publicly associated with Communist groups?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Such men as Professor Ward, who has been mentioned before, and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, both of the Union Theological Seminary; Bishop Oxnham, a Methodist, and Bishop Parsons, of California.

Mr. STARNES. Is not the Federal Council of Churches rather to be commended on its liberal stand and its pronouncements on capital-



ism, and is not such an attitude on the part of the churches one of the means by which radicalism can be fought? You do not seem to have any place in your recommendations for the function of the American churches in this move to safeguard democracy.

Dr. GRAEBNER. The Federal Council is on record through its Labor-Sunday message of 1933, which went so far as to demand "Social planning and control of the credit and monetary systems," and which instructed the church to lead the way for "basic change" in the economic field. It has since meddled incessantly in political affairs, invariably sponsoring the ideals of radical groups. I have no program for the churches in the conservation of democracy. The church will serve the cause best by sticking to her spiritual program and leaving the field of economic planning, social problems, and political issues to the political state and to society. The faith that was concerned with spiritual ideals once conquered the world and has given us all that is worth while in our civilization. That should remain the purpose of the church.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the best way the churches of America can help to preserve democratic ideals and institutions is to get back in the field of religion, and stay there and operate in that field?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Preach the Gospel and lead the people in holiness of life.

Mr. STARNES. And leave the solution of the economic problems and political questions to the economists and statesmen? Is that correct?

Dr. GRAEBNER. Yes; exactly.

Mr. STARNES. We thank you, Doctor, for your statement.

Dr. GRAEBNER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. We are grateful to you, Doctor, for your kindness, patriotism, and courtesy in coming to this committee from a long distance to give us the benefit of your views and the information you have. I think you are to be commended for the fine work you are doing in helping to preserve our governmental system.

Dr. GRAEBNER. I feel honored in having been invited to come.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we have not invited, as the Chair previously stated, representatives from different groups and organizations to appear before the committee, but we contacted certain organizations and asked them to furnish us with spokesmen, and we naturally assumed the spokesmen who appeared before the committee would confine themselves to our request that they discuss ways and means to promote Americanism. That was made clear in all of our letters. That is what we affirmatively said to all of them. Also, to give us the benefit of any information. We did not ask them, but it was proper they should give us the benefit of any information they had in regard to communistic activities. Naturally, we assumed the spokesmen of reliable organizations would not take advantage of the opportunity to attack any citizen or any public official, on any other ground except it is a clear case involving communism.

We are naturally somewhat handicapped, in that when the head of a responsible organization, or church, or some other institution appears before the committee, we must confide to a certain extent in their good faith in carrying out the general purpose of this testimony.

However, any attempt that will be made in the future by any witness to involve any individual or any public official, or anyone else



in some dispute that is foreign to the purposes of this investigation, we will have to exercise the right, which we dislike to have to do, to strike such portions from or ask them to withdraw such portions from their statement. Because, manifestly, we do not want this committee to be used as a forum for an opportunity to attack someone else.

But I did want to explain that no one has been invited to talk on any subject except what to do to promote Americanism and, of course, necessarily by implication, any information they have in regard to Communist, Fascist, or any other subversive activities.

Mr. STARNES. Do you not think you should go further and say the committee does not approve of any unwarranted or uncalled-for attacks on any citizen?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I thought that would follow from my statement, that we do not approve of it. Still, certain leeway has been granted in the very necessity of the situation. When we invite some outstanding spokesman of some group to appear here, certainly we do not want to appear in the attitude of a censor; because we want to allow as much freedom of thought and speech as we can, even though we do not agree with it. But when that freedom transcends the province of this committee, then an entirely different situation arises.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, in last night's News, the columnist, Mr. Raymond Clapper, commented upon the testimony of Dr. Anderson. I wholly agree with what he says, and I think every member of this committee, after Dr. Anderson testified, expressed themselves along the lines of Mr. Clapper's article, that we did not in any way approve what Dr. Anderson said about Chicago or Mr. James Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened there, Mr. Dempsey, is we had these other two witnesses on, Mrs. Flanagan and Mrs. Woodward, and were in the midst of that examination when we were notified Dr. Anderson was scheduled to appear, and the committee heard him without reading his statement and upon the assumption he would confine himself, of course, to the subject matter under consideration, as our letters to these people are very specific.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I, for one, think now he had no basis in fact for making such a statement as he made. Furthermore, as Mr. Clapper pointed out, it was none of his business, or the business of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Right. The question of whether a man contributes funds to the church, or does not, in no wise concerns this committee.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Furthermore, the income-tax report does not require him to show whether he contributes to the church, or does not. It only reflects the contributions for which he takes deductions.

Mr. THOMAS. While we are on the subject of newspaper articles, I would like to read the conclusion of an article which appeared in last night's Newark Evening News, and which is supposed to be a statement given to a reporter by the senior Senator from the State of New Jersey, Senator Smathers, in which he refers to the committee. It says:

\* \* \* The now senior Senator from New Jersey also took a swipe at the Dies committee as a trouble-making agency which was being used by cranks and crackpots as a springboard for national publicity. I won't vote—

This is what the Senator is supposed to have said—

I won't vote to give the outfit 3 cents to continue its three-ring circus.

Smathers said:

When it went so far as to subpoena a strip-tease fan dancer who got \$1,000,000 worth of free publicity when she was looking for a job with one or another of the world's fairs, I got fed up.

The Dies committee is a bad example of Government interfering with private business by putting a lot of press agents out of work.

I just want to say this with regard to that statement, that I intend to communicate with Senator Smathers, as soon as I have an opportunity to think a little bit about the statement, and then write an answer. My communication will be sent to Senator Smathers within the next few days.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, in that connection, if the Senator had looked into the facts he would have found that neither Rose Lee nor any strip-tease dancer was ever subpoenaed to testify, nor asked to testify, and the thing has all the appearance of having been concocted by the Communists for the purpose of discrediting the committee. Yesterday I was presented with a publication distributed by the Communist Party, in which the Rose Lee incident was featured rather extensively, with her picture and, in fact, she is portrayed as a great martyr the committee would not hear because she sympathized with the people of Spain. The truth is no one ever subpoenaed her or asked her to appear before the committee. The whole thing was a press-agent stunt—either a press-agent stunt, or a press-agent stunt together with certain Communists in their efforts to undertake to ridicule the committee. That is very evident from some literature which is being distributed in that case. Therefore, there is no basis for that statement whatever.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the most interesting part of the statement I have read is—and I am not trying to be partisan, because you know I would not be partisan—

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no; we are sure of that.

Mr. THOMAS. The most interesting part about it is two things. One is that Senator Smathers is probably the outstanding New Deal advocate in the State of New Jersey. The second thing is Senator Smathers displays an absolute lack of understanding of legislative matters when he says that he will not vote for 3 cents to support the Dies Committee. The Senate has not anything to do with the appropriation for the Dies Committee, and certainly Senator Smathers, with the legislative experience he has had, should know better than to make a wild statement like that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Thomas, you do not expect the new Senator from New Jersey to know all of the rules and regulations with reference to appropriations, do you?

Mr. THOMAS. He is now the senior Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But, in reality, is a new Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. Furthermore, he has had experience in the Legislature of New Jersey and when he was in the Legislature of New Jersey he acted just like he is acting now.

The CHAIRMAN. We have tried every way in the world to conduct this thing in an unpartisan manner. I do not think the subject-matter of Americanism has anything to do with partisan bias.



Mr. THOMAS. I agree with you, absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And we Democrats who control this committee have had the courage and the patriotism to go forward in the face of opposition from the administration, which should be the greatest tribute to the Democratic Party.

Mr. THOMAS. But do you not agree, Mr. Chairman, there is some difference between Democrats and New Dealers?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to get into that dispute.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Unfortunately, yesterday I was required to go to the Treasury Department for a hearing and did not get here as early as I like to arrive, but the papers quoted a witness—I cannot recall the name—who left some organization that was considered Communist, that he was a member of, and he was asked the question—at least the papers so quote—“Whether or not the Secretary of the Interior was un-American,” to which he answered he was.

Mr. STARNES. No such question as that was asked.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Or whether his activities were not?

Mr. STARNES. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It was some colonel who was testifying, as I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking about the Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. STARNES. The Secretary of the Interior's name was mentioned as being a member of that organization.

Mr. THOMAS. No; not as being a member of that organization—

Mr. STARNES. And he said its activities were un-American.

Mr. MOSIER. He was testifying as to his opinion of the American Civil Liberties Union and he produced their publications from year to year to show what they stood for.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But the Secretary's name was mentioned?

Mr. STARNES. Off the record with all this stuff, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; I want it on the record.

Mr. STARNES. So as to get you straight on it, here is what happened: The committee introduced a letter written on the stationery of the American Civil Liberties Union, under date of this year, which gave the names of all of the officials and directors, and the Secretary's name appeared on that letterhead.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to correct you. I do not admit it did. It did not appear on that. Here is my version of it: This colonel was talking about the American Civil Liberties Union, and he read off the names of the officers of the union and he read off the names of the directors of the union. Then it was brought out that that union was engaged in un-American activities.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It was the opinion of somebody? That was not brought out.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, no. Then the question was asked, “Is not that the organization before which Secretary Ickes made a speech.” And I did not ask the question; but this question was asked by one of the Democratic members of the committee—

Mr. DEMPSEY. The paper quoted Mr. Mosier.

Mr. THOMAS. Anyway, somebody asked, or the question was asked, “Is not that the occasion on which Secretary Ickes spoke, on such and such a date?”

Mr. DEMPSEY. I have known the Secretary for quite a long time and I do not know of any greater American than Harold Ickes.



The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a matter of grave dispute.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is my opinion. I think he has been a liberal, and has always taken the part of the underdog.

Mr. STARNES. At least the chairman would not agree with his colleague.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think he has been a great American.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand on the Mr. Ickes affair, Mr. Ickes admitted he was a member of this union. There is no dispute about that; but, as I understand the question which is being discussed now, there were introduced in the evidence certain publications and pamphlets of the American Civil Liberties Union showing their activities over a period of years. Is that right?

Mr. STARNES. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And quoted from those pamphlets were certain doctrines which they preach and certain advocacies which were construed un-American, as were some of those statements.

Mr. STARNES. That they had a right to advocate murder, that they had a right to advocate assassination, and that an alien had a right to come to these shores and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence; also, they believed in atheism.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Of course, I know he does not believe in any such doctrine at that, but I did see the reference to Ickes in the paper. I do not believe Ickes is any Communist at all or has any sympathy with the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. Then why does not he resign from the organization?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I have not anything to do about that.

Mr. MOSIER. That would seem to me to be his obvious course and the only course.

The CHAIRMAN. I was not here, but I do know this: That the American Civil Liberties Union testified, or Roger Baldwin did, some years ago, in which, under oath, Roger Baldwin said before a congressional committee that their organization believed that free speech authorized a man to advocate assassination, murder, overthrow of the government, and so on, et cetera.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am not defending Roger Baldwin.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, furthermore, he himself has written an article in which he stated he thought communism was needed. Now he is secretary-treasurer of this American Civil Liberties Union. I do not think the evidence would justify us in going so far as to say this Civil Liberties Union is a Communist organization, but there is testimony to that effect.

I have not seen these pamphlets, but, from what I understand—

Mr. MOSIER. They are the worst testimony against that union which we have had.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Baldwin testified before a congressional committee that these things, the right of freedom of speech, in his personal opinion—he was asked for his personal opinion, and he said that was the policy of their organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these pamphlets which were introduced in evidence of the American Civil Liberties Union contain out-and-out communistic doctrines in their advocacy?

Mr. MOSIER. Extremely so.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the question which comes up is this: The only testimony, as I understand, thus far is that Secretary Ickes is a

member of this organization. And he admitted that; he was charged by a witness with it, and I have his statement which he released to the press in which he admitted he was a member of the Civil Liberties Union. So that the question then comes up—of course, he has a right to belong to it, if he sees fit; but this witness, as I understand, is charging the Civil Liberties Union with being engaged in un-American activities, but he did not charge the Secretary was engaged in un-American activities.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that clarifies it, does it not?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I know of nothing else before the committee for the time being.

(The committee thereupon took an informal recess, at the conclusion of which the hearing was continued as follows:)

### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF J. B. MATTHEWS

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Matthews, you gave to the committee some several weeks ago an article written by David J. Saposs, chief economist of the National Labor Relations Board, appearing in Labor Age, December 1931 issue.

Since that time it has been contended that this was a report rather than an expression of views on the part of Mr. Saposs. Now, will you proceed with your statement, giving us your additional information as to his membership in an organization and the preamble of the organization, its platform—what it stood for—and what part he played in that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the time of his writing of the article which was introduced several days ago Mr. Saposs was a member of the national executive committee of an organization known as the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. His membership on the national executive committee of that organization is noted in Labor Age, September 1932, page 5.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, here [exhibiting] is the magazine Labor Age, and here is the list of the national executive committee. It gives quite a number of names, and the name of David J. Saposs is listed as a member of the executive committee and officer.

This is the magazine, is it not [indicating]?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We offer this in evidence and will let this go in the record.

(The issue of September 1932 of Labor Age, was marked "Exhibit No. 1, Matthews," and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the official "Statement of purpose" of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, all members of the organization were required—

to accept the fundamental aims of the organization and to carry out such policies as may be adopted by the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. From where is that statement taken?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That statement appears in *Labor Age*, November 1931, page 26.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, here I have the November 1931 issue, containing "Statement of purpose," Conference for Progressive Labor Action. It reads:

1. To accept the fundamental aims of the organization and to carry out such policies as may be adopted by the organization.

Is that what you refer to?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

(The November 1931 issue of *Labor Age* was marked "Exhibit No. 2, Matthews," and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is clear, therefore, that in his position as a member of the national executive committee Mr. Saposs subscribed to the preamble of the constitution of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which preamble you will find in *Labor Age*, September 1932, page 5 [exhibit Matthews, No. 1].

The CHAIRMAN. Quote from it.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

Planless, profiteering, war-provoking, imperialistic capitalism must be abolished. Sham political democracy, which has been the tool of capitalist business and finance, must go also. We must have a workers' republic and a planned economic order under which the masses will labor to create plenty, security, leisure, and freedom for themselves—not profits, privilege, and arbitrary power for a few.

The job of abolishing capitalism and building a new social order must be done by the workers, industrial, agricultural, clerical, technical, professional, who stand to gain, materially and spiritually, by the change. We, the workers, must ourselves provide the revolutionary will, the courage, and the intelligence for the task.

To realize our aim we must achieve power. To gain power, we must organize.

Effective working-class organization in the modern world consists not merely of militant industrial unions, or farmers' unions, or a labor political party, or cooperative enterprises, or educational agencies, but of all these fused into a living movement advancing on all fronts, toward its goal of a new society.

Above all, this movement of the working masses must be imbued with the will and the courage to fight. We do not delude ourselves with the notion that under present conditions the people have genuine democracy and have but to vote a new order into being if they so desire. The schools, the press, the radio, the pulpit, the courts, the police, the control of the job, are almost entirely in the hands of the possessing class. Though it may consent occasionally to slight reforms, provided it retains the reality of power and the right to profits, for the most part it makes increasing lawless and violent use of the institutions which it controls. Unless, therefore, we choose submission to a Fascist dictatorship of big business and finance, the masses must oppose this lawlessness and tyranny by struggle on every front and by realistic and courageous use of the means which will accomplish their final emancipation. They must depend on their organized strength, not on the machinery of a capitalistic government.

As always, so now in this crucial period in the history of the American working class, the responsibility of giving inspiration, help, and leadership to the masses in their struggle rests upon the active, devoted, militant workers. These active elements, in order to be effective, must know each other, must train themselves to do real work, must plan and act together and not in a haphazard fashion.

The C. P. L. A. has therefore been formed in the United States of America, the very stronghold of capitalism and imperialism, to band militant workers together. It is an organization of militants, which talks to American workers in their own language about their own problems, which brings them help and inspiration in their daily struggle with the boss, which seeks in every way and on every front to unify and build up the power of labor, so that the workers



may take control of industry and government, abolish the system which makes cannon fodder out of them in time of war and machine fodder in time of peace, and build a sane and just economic system and a workers' republic to be united in bonds of comradeship with workers' republics throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Now that is on page 5 here of Labor Age, and you have read it exactly from that. Do any of you gentlemen care to see the publication; is there any question about it?

(No response.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you want the other excerpts?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the language of the preamble, it will be seen that Mr. Saposs' own avowed views, not his "objective reporting," parallel in almost identical language the excerpts to which attention has been called in his article. This preamble said:

\* \* \* Capitalism must be abolished. It cannot be reformed. Sham political democracy which has been the tool of capitalist business and finance must also go. We must have a workers' republic and a planned economic order \* \* \*.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action published a weekly newspaper called Labor Action. You have a copy of that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I have it here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You will find, on page 3, I was foreign news editor of that publication.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us look and see if you were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 3, I think it is.

The CHAIRMAN (reading): "Foreign News. By J. B. Matthews." You were foreign news editor, and the editorial board was Louis F. Budenz—

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is now the editor of the Communist newspaper in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that newspaper?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Midwest Daily.

The CHAIRMAN. E. J. Lever—do you know who he is?

Mr. MATTHEWS. C. I. O. organizer for the State of New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. Karl Lore.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know where he is now.

The CHAIRMAN. Herman Gund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know where he is now.

The CHAIRMAN. J. B. S. Hardman?

Mr. MATTHEWS. J. B. S. Hardman is editor of the paper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The CHAIRMAN. Harry A. Howe?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is working in the Communist Party at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. E. R. McKinney?

Mr. MATTHEWS. E. R. McKinney is organizing in the steel for the Communist Party and the C. I. O. at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. David J. Saposs, or D. J. Saposs?

Mr. MATTHEW. You know where he is.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. A. J. Muste?

Mr. MATTHEWS. A. J. Muste was the leader of this group. He has left it; the group has dissolved, and he is now pastor of Labor Temple, in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a well-known Communist?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was never a member of the party, but his views are known to be well-known Communist views.

The CHAIRMAN. He has a great many articles, I see, in Fight and other magazines which we have possession of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In that group I have read, which ones do you know to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You will have to read them again.

The CHAIRMAN. Louis F. Budenz.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a well-known member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. E. J. Lever?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Lore?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know about him now.

The CHAIRMAN. Herman Gund?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know about him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about J. B. S. Hardman?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is not a member.

The CHAIRMAN. Harry A. Howe?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. E. R. McKinney?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. And A. J. Muste—you have already told about him?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the views expressed by Mr. Saposs in the article introduced several weeks ago coincide with this platform and the objectives of this organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To which he was required to subscribe personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the issue of Labor Action of January 21, 1933, which you have in your hands, D. J. Saposs is listed as a member of the editorial board. On that same page, you will find in an editorial statement the following language:

\* \* \* You know that there is a remedy for this plague—

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is underscored in red. It is an editorial statement in the middle at the bottom of the page.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; now read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

\* \* \* You know that there is a remedy for this plague, this TB of capitalism, a remedy that only the workers as a class can ever apply. \* \* \*

That is an editorial statement, as you will see, and presumably had the approval of the editorial board, of which Mr. Saposs was a member. One of the points in the platform of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, to which Mr. Saposs, as a member of the national executive committee, subscribed, reads as follows:

\* \* \* Active efforts to develop a militant left-wing political organization to carry on the work of education and agitation which is necessary for the building

of a mass labor party, and working with such a mass labor party once it is formed, in order that it may not fall into opportunism, but may advance as swiftly and steadily as possible to its true goal, the complete abolition of planless, profiteering capitalism, and the building of a workers' republic. The C. P. U. A. aims to function as such a militant left-wing political organization. \* \* \*

That is in *Labor Age*, November 1931, page 26.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice in this paper, *Labor Action*, they have a picture entitled "Look Around You, Mr. Green" and under the picture appears:

News item: President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, assures Cincinnati reporters that racketeers have practically disappeared from A. F. of L. unions. Mr. Green was attending the annual convention of the labor organization in this city.

Now, here is a cartoon [exhibiting], and it shows on the platform Mr. Green speaking and, back of him, a number of people, one of whom just has a resemblance to someone I have seen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The implication, of course, is clear that the five gentlemen seated behind Mr. Green are labor racketeers.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that cartoon show Mr. Lewis as one of them without his being designated as one of them?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I think the very left-hand figure there is undoubtedly intended to represent the present head of the C. I. O.

(The paper entitled "*Labor Action*," January 21, 1933, was marked "Exhibit No. 3, Matthews," and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Mr. THOMAS. About Mr. Saposs: Where was he born?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not recall at the moment the exact place of his birth. I have known it, but it has slipped my mind.

Mr. THOMAS. Was he born in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; he was born in Russia.

Mr. THOMAS. He was born in Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know how long he has been in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I don't.

Mr. THOMAS. It is not clear to me, also, just what his position is at the present time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. His official designation, as I understand it, is chief economist of the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. THOMAS. How long has he held that position—do you know?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I don't.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it a recent appointment, or has he held it for some time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To my knowledge, he has held it for 2 years. I don't know how much longer.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all the questions I have.

(The committee thereupon went into executive session, at the conclusion of which the committee adjourned until Tuesday, December 13, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

You have been sworn numerous times, Mr. Metcalfe?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I had better swear you again.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

## FURTHER STATEMENT OF JOHN C. METCALFE, OFFICIAL INVESTIGATOR FOR THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Metcalfe, you have concluded your investigations of Nazi and Fascist activities in the United States, have you not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How many months have you been on that investigation?

Mr. METCALFE. For the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. METCALFE. Approximately 6 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Where has that taken you; I mean to what extent have you investigated?

Mr. METCALFE. Pretty nearly all over the country, particularly in the East, Middlewest and the South.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you devoted a considerable part of that time to an investigation of the spy situation?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, we have looked into the spy situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you conferred throughout the course of your investigation with military intelligence officers, naval intelligence officers, and policeman in various towns, and agencies of all sorts?

Mr. METCALFE. We have conferred with the Department of Justice, the police departments in various cities, and military intelligence, and naval intelligence officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, on the opening day of the sessions of the committee, you stated that Nazi Germany was building up in this country an elaborate espionage system?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, I did.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose as you said at that time?

Mr. METCALFE. At that time, I think that was at the hearing on August 12, it was pointed out that the real aim of the American Nazi movement is to build up in the United States a spy organization, a potential sabotage machine, and a German minority, as, for instance, as has been evidenced in all countries in Europe, and efforts are being made today in South America and Mexico.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you made that statement in August?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time as a result of your investigation and your interviewing of these various agencies that you have described, going into these various cities, have you discovered evidence confirming and corroborating your first statement?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes. We have turned up evidence which would corroborate the fact that the German-American Bund, along with agents of the German Government and affiliated subversive groups, are exactly aiming for that end, and are setting up a spy organization in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that you ran into the difficulty that much of this information, and I do not want to go into details about any particular incident, but much of this information the intelligence bureaus did not want disclosed; is that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; I believe that is correct. The information that we turned up in the investigation was promptly reported to the Department of Justice particularly.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are working on these various matters?

Mr. METCALFE. Insofar as we know. It was our belief that the evidence warranted investigating.

The CHAIRMAN. From what you have gathered in all of your trips throughout the United States and revealed to these various officials, and the evidence that you have collected, do you feel that there are a number of spies in the United States placed in key positions in key industries?

Mr. METCALFE. I believe that the spy situation in the United States is a very serious menace and that it cannot be overstated.

The CHAIRMAN. And that not only applies to Germany but applies to other countries as well?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; it also applies to other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. What did your investigation lead you to believe with reference to future plans of sabotage in the event of war? Does that create any menace?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes. I believe that the United States has been placed in a precarious position through these efforts of subversive organizations to set up a sabotage machine which, in the event the United States should go to war, these men who would perform the sabotage might seriously cripple our industries, our systems of transportation, and our systems of communication unless the United States Government takes militant steps to put an end to this sabotage activity, and these efforts to set up a sabotage machine in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, have you given all of your information to the Department of Justice and the other intelligence bureaus?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; as much of it as we have at our command, although I would say this, that we are in possession of a number of

leads, which we believe would lead into further disclosure of espionage activities in the United States, but our limited time has made it impossible for us to follow up some of these leads.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that we are concluding our investigation, will you give all of those leads and clues to the Department of Justice?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, I shall be happy to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. To the end that they can follow those up.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

The Honorable Albert Johnson, who was a member of the House of Representatives for 20 years, and chairman of the House Immigration Committee for a dozen years, and who was author of the 1924 Quota Act and many other laws affecting immigration, naturalization, and deportation, is present. He has lived with these subjects and is an outstanding authority on them. We would like to hear briefly from Mr. Johnson.

Of course, Mr. Johnson, you understand that we are not interested in personalities, or anything bordering on partisanship, or anything that drags into the hearing the names of individuals or groups that have no place here. You are, of course, thoroughly familiar with that, having served as chairman of the Committee on Immigration for many years, and having had experience with it yourself.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. ALBERT JOHNSON

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the compliment paid to me, and I would like to compliment the chairman and all members of this committee on the work they are doing.

No committee can consider the subject of alien activities in the United States without becoming involved in the great question of immigration which is a domestic matter, pure and simple, but which reaches into international phases at nearly every point. In my time, as chairman, high officials from the Italian, the German, the Japanese, and other embassies asked permission to testify before the Immigration Committee. I had to tell them, gently but firmly, that they would have to take up their complaints with our Department of State, and not with a committee of Congress.

It is my purpose, in appearing here today, to suggest to the committee—if I may be permitted to make some extensions in the form of extracts from hearings held in 1919—approved October 16, 1918 (40 Stat. 1012), as amended by the act approved June 5, 1920 (41 Stat. 1008) which is entitled "An Act for the exclusion and expulsion of anarchists and similar classes," is complete and positive to the very last word of the last paragraph, and quite sufficient to cause the deportation of Harry Bridges, of Australia, who has created so much trouble on the Pacific coast, as well as to cause the deportation of all other of his kind.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the act that makes Communists deportable?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. The 1918 act, as amended in 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you prepare that act?



Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, the amended act, with the aid of an almost unanimous support of a very able committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report it out?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I had the honor to report the amended act.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you on the committee when the act was written?

Mr. JOHNSON. I came on the committee in March 1913. You will remember that an extra session of Congress was called in 1919; in that extra session I became the successor of Chairman John L. Burnett, of Alabama, who died from shock as the result of the explosion of a bomb, sent from New York, in the hands of a Negro servant who was standing about 3 feet from him and was literally blown to pieces.

The previous fall when we started out to campaign, Burnett said: "Johnson, one or the other of us will be chairman of the Immigration Committee in the next Congress. You have been my right-hand man on the minority side, and if the Republicans carry the next Congress I hope to be your right-hand man." His death and the extra session made me chairman ahead of time. Mr. Burnett was the author of the basic 1917 Immigration Act, and I helped in its preparation for 5 years. That act was vetoed three times, once by President Taft and twice by President Wilson. One of the points made in the third veto was that Congress proposed to destroy the position of the United States as an "asylum for the oppressed peoples of the world."

During all those years we had no politics in the committee, matters of race and religion were not permitted to seep into the hearings. From what newspaper reports I read I believe that you, Mr. Chairman, and your associates have proceeded along similar lines, but under distressing handicaps.

It is well to remember that President Theodore Roosevelt caused a commission to be established about 1907 to study immigration and allied problems. That Commission worked for about 3 years and produced 42 volumes of reports and studies. These reports are now out of date. Two volumes contained a digest of the whole thing and included several recommendations to Congress. Most of these were the immediate restriction of immigration on various plans and some were related to deportation. These two volumes are very rare and hard to find. These recommendations resulted in hearings that reported to Congress, John L. Burdett's 1917 Act and later hearings and studies produced the 1919 Amended Deportation Act and my act, the 1924 quota law.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall, Mr. Johnson, that while you were chairman of the Immigration Committee I was a member of that committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, indeed; and you were a good worker there. You also served 2 years on the committee under my successor, Mr. Dickstein.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall that some questions were raised by the Immigration Bureau at that time as to whether or not mere membership in the Communist Party alone would be sufficient to deport an alien Communist, and at the request of the Department, with their assistance I prepared a bill clarifying that.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; but I do not remember the details——

The CHAIRMAN. Or, rather, making it so plain that no one could say differently. That bill was reported out and it passed the House

by a large vote, and over in the Senate Senator La Follette and several others filibustered that bill to death.

Mr. JOHNSON. I cannot remember the details of that particular bill, but I believe that an amendment was made to your bill that pulled some of its teeth.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you, Mr. Johnson, do you think the deportation laws, and I know of no one better qualified than you, because you have helped prepare a great many of those, and sat on the committee while they were being formulated, do you think there are sufficient as now written to deport these Communists.

Mr. JOHNSON. Absolutely. a government must maintain its sovereignty or it will perish, sooner or later.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they are sufficient to deport Harry Bridges?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am certain that they are.

The CHAIRMAN. When you wrote this law did you have in mind a Communist was deportable regardless of whether or not the Communist alien preached the overthrow of the Government by force and violence—Communist aliens, of course, not Communist citizens.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; as regards alien Communists the Bill of Rights protects citizen Communists. It is all very clear in the act. The words are positive and mandatory.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement is quite positive.

Mr. JOHNSON. I believe that the provisions of the amended Deportation Act will stand in any court with reference to the deportation of aliens who teach, preach, or practice, the overthrow of organized government, whether by force and violence or not. Aliens who write for, contribute to, or participate in the circulation of matter tending to interfere with the ordinary processes of this Government are deportable. The maintenance of the sovereignty of this or any government depends on who shall be its citizens. I find that I printed on the wrapper which enclosed a speech made by me in the House of Representatives, December 20, 1919—at the time of the deportation of Emma Goldman—the following quotation:

#### DEPORTATION OF ANARCHISTIC AND REVOLUTIONARY ALIENS

The committee reports this bill firmly convinced that the House, the Senate, and the citizens of the United States generally are through with being told by alien revolutionists, Communists, and Anarchists, who are within our borders by our courtesy and by our grace, how to run our Government. Free press is ours, not theirs; free speech is ours, not theirs; and they have gone just as far as we can let them go toward running over our most precious rights. [Applause.] They have been here as guests in our house. They have misbehaved most woefully. They are welcome no longer. They must go. [Applause.] And those who come from foreign shores in the future must come only on probation or not at all. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, if that date fell on a Saturday, it was the date on which the United States deported Emma Goldman, admitted anarchist and Communist and her miserable consort, Alexander Berkman, who had been preaching in the twilight zone of revolution for years; they were sent out with 249 other persons charged with communism or anarchy and that deportation cost this Government \$1,000,000. They were transported to Latvia and left to find their own way into their native Russia.



Has the United States become cowardly? I know that it has not. Mr. Chairman, it takes such a committee as yours to expose incipient uprisings and to develop undercover activities on the part of aliens, who, many of them, who demand all the blessings of good government, but seem not to understand that the sacrifices that free citizens are willing to make in order to maintain a government such as our own United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What suggestions have you to offer with reference to how we can cope with this situation?

Mr. JOHNSON. First, I believe that this committee might do well to recommend certain changes in present immigration and deportation laws that will relieve the Department of Labor from continual embarrassment and danger of the wreckage of the Bureau of Immigration. I speak with no political feeling. Very simple changes can be made to amend some acts of recent years and I shall be glad to offer suggestions before these amendments to any committee entitled to handle them.

Second, if the Department of Labor and some of the courts are inclined to treat the words "Anarchist" and "Communist" as mere verbal brickbats it might be advisable to further amend the act to which I have already referred, although I think it has sufficient teeth to warrant the deportation of anarchists, Communists, and all similar types of alien agitators.

Third, I wish this committee would find copies of a bill entitled something like this: "An act to define and limit citizenship." That act was prepared by members of the Immigration Committee without regard to politics and assisted by representatives of the Departments of State and Labor. Such a piece of legislation would clear the atmosphere right now; would tend to prevent increasing intolerance, reduce racial hatred, cut down subversive activities, and so forth, and so forth.

Fourth, I believe that a joint committee of the House and Senate Members acting in conjunction with this special committee might, with sufficient help, assemble all acts of Congress relating to immigration, deportation, naturalization, and citizenship into one grand statute to be entitled "The Alien Code of the United States of America." This would stop excessive fees charged against aliens legally admitted or seeking to enter the United States.

These are my principal recommendations made offhand. In conclusion I might say that I have often heard the late Samuel Gompers complain that he himself, spent nearly half of his time in his latter years, sitting on the lid to prevent explosions and uprisings.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you heard him say that before your committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Absolutely. It is a matter of record. You will find it in the library of the Committee on Immigration. Incidentally, I had the entire library indexed, and the index filed with the custodian of the property of Congress so that that valuable library should belong to the Congress of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your statement, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. I thank you, sir.



(The bills referred to by Mr. Johnson are as follows:)

EXCLUSION AND EXPULSION OF ANARCHISTS AND SIMILAR CLASSES

[Act approved October 16, 1918 (40 Stat. 1012), as amended by the act approved June 5, 1920 (41 Stat. 1008)]

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That section 1 of the act entitled "An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes," approved October 16, 1918, is amended to read as follows:

"That the following aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States:

"(a) Aliens who are anarchists;

"(b) Aliens who advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that advises, advocates, or teaches, opposition to all organized government;

"(c) Aliens who believe in, advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that believes in, advises, advocates, or teaches: (1) The overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage;

"(d) Aliens who write, publish, or cause to be written or published, or who knowingly circulate, distribute, print, or display, or knowingly cause to be circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or who knowingly have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, or display, any written or printed matter advising, advocating, or teaching, opposition to all organized government, or advising, advocating, or teaching: (1) The overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage;

"(e) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, or displays, or causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue, or display, any written or printed matter of the character described in subdivision (d).

"For the purpose of this section: (1) The giving, loaning, or promising of money or anything of value to be used for the advising, advocacy, or teaching of any doctrine above enumerated shall constitute the advising, advocacy, or teaching of such doctrine; and (2) the giving, loaning, or promising of money or anything of value to any organization, association, society, or group of the character above described shall constitute affiliation therewith; but nothing in this paragraph shall be taken as an exclusive definition of advising, advocacy, teaching, or affiliation."

SEC. 2. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in section one of this act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. The provisions of this section shall be applicable to the classes of aliens mentioned in this act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States.

SEC. 3. That any alien who shall, after he has been excluded and deported or arrested and deported in pursuance of the provisions of this act, thereafter return to or enter the United States or attempt to return to or to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years; and shall, upon the termination of such imprisonment, be taken into custody, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917.

(Sec. 137.)

The CHAIRMAN. The very Reverend Ignatius Smith of Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., was scheduled to testify today, but here is a telegram we received from him:

Regret inescapable pressure of other engagements makes impossible my appearance before your committee this week. May Heaven bless you with perseverance and guide you to continue the good results in your vital and necessary investigations.

IGNATIUS SMITH.

So, he will not appear for that reason.  
Mr. Sullivan.

**STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE EDWARD SULLIVAN, LAWYER AND  
ANTISUBVERSIVE WRITER, WASHINGTON, D. C.**

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your full name?

Mr. SULLIVAN. George Edward Sullivan.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Sullivan?

Mr. SULLIVAN. In the District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you given considerable study and thought to subversive activities in the United States?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Most intensively since October 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had occasion to write a number of articles on that subject?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes; articles and two booklets, one in October 1936, and the second in October 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to work with any group on this subject in connection with any church activities, or anything of that sort?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The second booklet that I wrote was written for the Sodality Union of Washington, D. C., the leading ladies' Catholic organization here. It has been sponsored and widely distributed by that organization as well as by many patriotic organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you represent any Catholic organization? Are you an official in any Catholic organization?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am not an official, but I am a lifelong Catholic.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. You have given many years of work and of study to this question?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed with your statement.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have prepared 12 separate and distinct items or recommendations to make to your committee as to what I consider to be the best methods of promoting and safeguarding Americanism, the first of which is immediate provision of ample funds to complete investigations of House Committee on Un-American Activities.

No more urgently needed method to promote and safeguard Americanism can be suggested than immediate provision of ample funds to complete the work of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. The lawless and skulking enemies of America, operating in our midst, and many of them here illegally, must be traced to their lairs, identified, and the precise nature, scope, and composition of the plots fearlessly exposed and appropriately dealt with. The continuance or recurrence of existing subversive conditions must be rendered impossible.



Many so-called antsubversive leaders are advocating that the subversive forces behind the subversive programs be neither specifically identified nor directly dealt with, but that nothing be done except to dignify such programs as "philosophies," and then undertake to counteract the arguments advanced for such so-called philosophies. Why are they thus seeking to screen the subversive forces? Perhaps, if it were made worth their while, they might argue before our boards of public health—and certainly with equal lack of sense—that the carrier of the malaria germ—that is the mosquito—should no longer be molested, and that attention should be given solely to the malaria germ itself.

Those who believe the subversive forces to be poverty-stricken fanatics, as they would like their victims to believe, would do well to reflect upon the obvious costliness and the far-reaching extent of their propaganda, including the assortment of "red" and "pink" teachers and professors scattered throughout the United States, and the subversive literature of various sorts and kinds which has penetrated almost everywhere, most of it bearing false and deceptive labels and using such subtle and insidious methods as to deceive not only adolescent youth but many mature adults who lack opportunity to investigate the deceptive matter. It is quite obvious that the subversive forces are as financially powerful as they are resourceful and unscrupulous. Much of the progress in the subversive campaigns has been made by persons enjoying public confidence, who actually foster measures advancing such campaigns, and some of which measures are brazenly proclaimed and advocated by those conducting such subversive campaigns—yet such persons, enjoying such public confidence, deny all sympathy or connection with any subversive program.

The internal enemies of our Republic are so strongly entrenched, subterraneously, that they cannot be located or dislodged by battleships, marching armies, or airplanes. Those Members of Congress who support an entirely ample appropriation to enable the House Committee on Un-American Activities to perform the necessary task, which is beyond the power of battleships, armies, and airplanes to perform, will go down in history, along with the members of the committee itself, as "saviors of the American Republic."

The committee should be independent and not have to depend for any part of its investigations upon assistance furnished by any other agency or department of the Federal Government; and the funds provided should be sufficient to enable the investigations to be thorough and the giving of a full and fair hearing on all sides upon every line of inquiry.

An appropriation of a million dollars for the purpose would be less than 2 percent of the cost of one battleship, and, of course, only so much of the appropriation as should be found necessary would be used. When billions of dollars of the taxpayers' moneys have gone to foreign countries in the shape of loans which will never be repaid, and when it is a demonstrable fact that the enemies within the gate are spending many millions of dollars annually to further and promote their nefarious plans against our Republic, surely no one who has taken the loyalty oath prescribed in the Federal Constitution can justify a refusal to support an ample appropriation for this absolutely necessary task.



No loyal official or citizen of the American Republic can be indifferent to the warning of Byron:

A thousand years scarce serve to form a state.  
An hour may lay it in the dust.

Second, prohibit any further immigration into the United States until the existing subversive forces have been identified and dealt with.

The American Republic is in a very true sense a life raft of civilization. While recognizing all men to be created equal, the life raft cannot possibly carry everybody, and certainly cannot carry those who are pretendedly harmonious but secretly inharmonious to the spirit and functioning of the American Republic. If it did, the life raft would capsize and sink and the finest and noblest model of government ever devised would be lost to all humanity. Consequently "America for Americans" is not a selfish slogan but an unavoidable one if the American Republic is to survive.

Our Nation is already flooded with aliens beyond its present capacity to care for them, many of them illegally here and engaged in subversive activities, and a great many of those legally here clogging the relief rolls, notwithstanding a pretended showing of lack of dependency when they gained admission.

The Congress of the United States would be derelict in its duty if it did not take immediate action to absolutely prohibit any further immigration into the United States—either directly or through the subterfuge of visitors having no actual status as such—until the existing subversive forces have been identified and dealt with.

Third, defer any legislation for reorganization of the Federal executive departments until the existing subversive forces have been identified and dealt with.

The alarming extent to which persons entertaining ideas in accord with some of the admitted subversive objectives have obtained potent influence in our Government should make every thinking person pause and reflect before entertaining at this time any thought of enacting legislation for reorganization of the executive departments.

Until the conscious and unconscious helpers of subversive forces, both inside and outside of public office, have been identified, and those holding public office have been exposed and removed, what possible assurance is there that reorganization legislation would not really result—no matter how conscientious those administering the reorganization powers might be—in putting more subversive helpers in vital agencies of our Government?

Any such additional subversive helpers would, of course, further weaken the defense of our Republic against its enemies and advance the subversive campaign.

Fourth, restore unpolluted freedom of the press.

Deception of the public by the press is by no means of recent origin. As far back as 1807 Thomas Jefferson wrote:

I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow citizens who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world of their time. (Vol. 1, p. 244, *Life of Aaron Burr*, by James Parton, published in 1857.)

The late Samuel Gompers, an outstanding loyal American, personally investigated the real nature of the Bolshevik regime, both as to the fiendish and enslaving conditions in Soviet Russia, and the

similar aims and purposes directed against all civilized nations, following which he made the following declaration, before his death, in 1924:

I can think of nothing that would constitute a more needless and base betrayal of civilization than American recognition of Soviet Russia.

He also made this further significant declaration:

In making these assertions, I am mindful of the amazing propaganda with which American public life is flooded.

A servile or deceptive press has no more right to withhold its true identity and character from the public, than have other cheats and swindlers to pursue their calling unmolested. Freedom of the press prevents, as it should, any censorship in advance of publication. It in no wise, however, protects against after-responsibility for what is libelous or criminal.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, Mr. Sullivan, you are not inferring that the press of this country on the whole is unfair, are you?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Oh, no, not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to clear that up, because I feel it ought to be stated that the press, by and large, has been fair in reporting the proceedings of this committee. Of course, there have been reporters for certain papers who have been antagonistic, and who have colored and misrepresented, but the official staff reporters of the A. P., the U. P., and the I. N. S., and many special reporters have been eminently fair with this committee.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I do not doubt that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to clarify that. Go ahead.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thomas Jefferson advocated a requirement that the press of every sort and kind be compelled to display true and real colors frankly and prominently in every publication, including its political, sectarian, or other objectives and affiliations, and with a careful segregation of news matter from other matter. If such a requirement were made in a criminal statute today, as it should be, it would not only be a great protection to the public, but it would restore to the press its own independence, which appears to have been lost by a large section of the press. Powerful and large-paying advertisers, upon which most of the press unfortunately rely for their success, would no longer be able to bring pressure to have the press sail under false colors and deceive the public by propaganda mislabeled as news. Of course, the portion of the press actually owned by subversive forces would still take a chance, but no loyal American citizen could then be persuaded or coerced to carry propaganda mislabeled as news because the advertisers would be politely told that a criminal laws stands in the way.

The enactment and diligent enforcement of such a criminal law would be a great contribution to the preservation of our American Republic, and would also constitute the finest monument that could be erected to the memory and lofty ideals of the great Thomas Jefferson. He would esteem it more highly than all the marble or other merely inanimate memorials that could possibly be erected. In fact, he would rather have the funds already appropriated for inanimate memorials to him used to thoroughly investigate and eradicate the

Republic's internal enemies, than to have memorials to him erected at a time when the Republic's future is in jeopardy.

Congress' jurisdiction to enact the required criminal law, at least for the District of Columbia and the Territories, and also as to all publications carried in the United States mail, is beyond possible question.

Fifth, compel all Federal officials to treat criminality as such—not as freedom.

Ours is a Government of laws, not of men. Every facility is afforded for contesting laws in a fair, peaceful, and lawful manner. But a resort to lawlessness; that is to say, force, violence, or any unlawful means, or any advocacy thereof, is inherently unlawful and criminal. It can never constitute freedom, and any public official who attempts to defend, tolerate, or temporize with lawlessness to any extent whatever is guilty of gross misbehavior in office, meriting impeachment if he holds an office of impeachment grade, and meriting immediate dismissal if his office be of a lesser grade.

As far back as 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States* (247 U. S. 402), rejected the un-American and repulsive contention that freedom of the press extended to the advocacy of physical resistance to a judicial decision, the Court saying:

We might as well pass the proposition by because to state it is to answer it, since it involves in its very statement the contention that the freedom of the press is the freedom to do wrong with impunity, and implies the right to frustrate and defeat the discharge of those governmental duties upon the performance of which the freedom of all, including that of the press, depends. The safeguarding and fructification of free and constitutional institutions is the very basis and mainstay upon which the freedom of the press rests, and that freedom, therefore, does not and cannot be held to include the right virtually to destroy such institutions.

Eight years later, in 1925, the Supreme Court, in *Gitlow v. United States* (268 U. S. 652), upheld a conviction for violation of a New York criminal anarchy statute, which declared it to be a felony to advocate the overthrow of organized government through "force, violence, or any unlawful means." Appellant, in that case, advanced the un-American and revolutionary-minded contention that, unless the Government could show an attempt to induce an uprising at once, and also that the attempt was not too remote from possible consequences, the advocacy of overthrow of the Government through violence came within the domain of freedom of speech. The Supreme Court exposed the absurdity of the contention, saying:

That utterances inciting to the overthrow of organized government by unlawful means present a sufficient danger of substantive evil to bring their punishment within the range of legislative discretion is clear. Such utterances, by their very nature, involve danger to the public peace and to the security of the state. They threaten breaches of the peace and ultimate revolution. And the immediate danger is none the less real and substantial because the effect of a given utterance cannot be accurately foreseen. The state cannot reasonably be required to measure the danger from every such utterance in the nice balance of a jeweler's scale. A single revolutionary spark may kindle a fire that, smoldering for a time, may burst into a sweeping and destructive conflagration. It cannot be said that the state is acting arbitrarily or unreasonably when, in the exercise of its judgment as to the measures necessary to protect the public peace and safety, it seeks to extinguish the spark without waiting until it has enkindled the flame or blazed into the conflagration. It cannot reasonably be required to defer the adoption of measures for its own peace and safety until



the revolutionary utterances lead to actual disturbances of the public peace or imminent and immediate danger of its own destruction; but it may, in the exercise of its judgment, suppress the threatened danger in its incipency.

Accordingly, it is undeniable that Marxism is thoroughly criminal, not only because it incites to revolutionary violence, but also because its entire program constitutes a ruthless and unmitigated fraud and swindle. The Marxist mouthings about humanitarianism and democracy are absolutely inconsistent with the brazenly proclaimed abolition of religion, individual ownership of property, family rights, and all individual rights. These abolitions of essential human rights would necessarily reduce all humanity to whom they are applied to the level of cattle, from which fact it is obvious and undeniable that Marxism (also quite generally called bolshevism and communism) is a diabolical hoax and snare for human degradation and enslavement of all peoples and groups, except the group of hypocrites exercising the dictatorship control over the ensnared victims. No wonder the wily and unscrupulous Lenin gave the following direction to his followers:

One must strive to take the enemy by surprise.

One of the most startling things about this entire matter is the strange harmony between most so-called anti-Communist lecturers and writers and the paid Communist lecturers and writers, in falsely dignifying Marxism, communism and bolshevism as a philosophy. Treating, or calling such a degrading, hypocritical and criminal scheme as a philosophy can, of course, be no more justified than could swindling, robbery, murder, and treason (the component elements of Marxism). Some of those spreading such deception may be only stupid or careless. It is, however, such a serious matter as to call for a thorough investigation.

Ever since shortly after the taking over and enslavement of the Russian people by the bloody Soviet, which has just celebrated its 21st anniversary, the tyrannical group in Soviet Russia has maintained in Moscow a Communist International and proclaimed it the organizer of the international proletarian revolution to overthrow, and impose so-called bolshevism, communism or Marxism upon, all the nations of the world. Such campaign has been actively carried on in our Republic for its forceful overthrow, through a section of the Communist International called the American Communist Party.

In September 9, 1928, issue of Communist organ Pravda, active communists were told:

The world-wide nature of our program is not mere talk but an all-embracing and blood-soaked reality. It cannot be otherwise. Our ultimate aim is world communism; our fighting preparations are for world revolution, for the conquest of power on a world-wide scale, and the establishment of a world proletarian dictatorship.

In November 1933 the United States extended recognition to Soviet Russia, not only without any internal reformation in the bloody Soviet taking place, or even promised, but with the Communist International being neither dissolved, nor its dissolution promised. Red Litvinoff had signed a subtly worded paper which was treated in this country as a guaranty against further Soviet agitation or propaganda for forceful overthrow of our Republic. The ink was hardly dry upon the paper of recognition before the Communist official

organ, Daily Worker, of November 21, 1933, quoted Litvinoff as saying:

The Third International is not mentioned in the document. You must not read into it more than was intended.

About a week later, on November 29, 1933, Earl Browder, General secretary of Communist Party of America, a section of the Third International of Moscow, declared:

In celebrating the victory of the Soviet workers and of the world proletariat won through recognition, the workers of America must realize the striking historical contrast between the giant of socialism (United Soviet Socialist Republics) and the giant of capitalism (United States of America) and find in this victory an added source of strength and determination to fight against American capitalism, for the overthrow of capitalism in the United States and for the establishment of a Soviet America.

These flagrant declarations of Soviet purpose to continue, precisely as before the recognition, agitation, and propaganda through the Communist International for the forceful overthrow of our Republic, were by no means empty. The agitation and propaganda have been going on here in ever-increasing doses.

In April 1934 the manifesto of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America declared:

The revolutionary way out of the crisis begins with the fight for unemployment insurance, against wage cuts, for wage increases, for relief to the farmers—through demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, leading up to the seizure of power, to the destruction of capitalism by a revolutionary workers' government.

In 1936 Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, published his book, *What is Communism?* asserting:

There must be what we Communists call a revolutionary situation (p. 163).

Thus, some form of violence is unavoidable. There is no possible choice between violence and nonviolence. The only choice is between the two sides of the class struggle (p. 169).

Also, in 1936, the published program of the Communist International declared:

The Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the organizer of the international proletarian revolution.

Why does American recognition of Soviet Russia continue? This is a matter demanding thorough investigation. Loyal Americans generally would also like to be advised: Are the Communists and their helpers being now treated as having civil rights to carry out their lawless agitation and propaganda for forceful overthrow of our Republic, through leaflets, magazines, schools, public meetings, and so forth, and to make extensive use of the United States mails in the carrying on of their nefarious work? If so, by whose authority? Has there been a recent rebirth of "freedom" to include "license" and "anarchy"? If so, it cannot be other than an illegitimate birth. Has "the right virtually to destroy" our institutions, impudently asserted here in 1917, and emphatically denied by the Supreme Court then and later, become sanctified and acquiesced in by persons high in the official life of our Republic who have taken loyalty oaths? If so, how do they justify such attitude?

Thinking Americans are asking: Why are anti-Marxist nations only being denounced by our Chief Executive as aggressors? Why is our Chief Executive indifferent to a brazenly conducted and aggressive campaign against our Republic right in our midst by a Marxist nation? Why is it deemed of no concern to our Chief Executive that such Marxist nation, Soviet Russia—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Right there, do you think that statement is justified? At the present moment there is serious question as to whether or not we will send an Ambassador back to Russia. No action has been taken by the Chief Executive or the State Department about sending an Ambassador to Russia. Is not that a fact?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have not been able to get any facts on that. All I know is that the Chief Executive has publicly labeled as aggressors, up to the present time, only the anti-Marxist nations.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think there is any question but what the Chief Executive is just as much opposed to aggression on the part of Russia as of any other country. I doubt seriously if that statement has sufficient basis. It seems to me you are making a pretty sweeping declaration here when you say that the Chief Executive is only concerned about aggression on the part of anti-Marxist nations. I do not believe there is anything to justify that except a conclusion on your part.

Mr. SULLIVAN. It is my conclusion from all that I have been able to gather up to date. I am hoping there will be a change.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that is your opinion, but because some witness expresses some opinion before the committee it does not mean that the committee shares in that opinion.

Every time a witness makes a statement before the committee we are charged in the press with making the statement. We are just in the same attitude as a court or a jury. I do not want to interrupt you, but I desire to make this clear and avoid any misinterpretation or misunderstanding. Committees in this Congress have been going for years and years, and witnesses have made all sorts of statements before them, but since this committee has been going there has been every effort made, when a witness goes before the committee and makes a statement, to show that that is the opinion of this committee or that the committee embraces this statement. This committee is going to take all sorts of evidence, but we are not going to form any opinions on hearsay testimony or anything else other than competent evidence. We accord witnesses freedom of speech on these subjects, but that does not mean we accept or that we endorse those views. Does that state our position clearly so that there will be no question about it?

Mr. THOMAS. I have a question right there with regard to the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Surely.

Mr. THOMAS. Based on the information which you have, do you believe that a congressional committee should investigate the steps which led to the recognition of Soviet Russia?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I think decidedly so, particularly since there has been a gross breach of faith on the part of Soviet Russia in connection with that recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you will find, Mr. Sullivan, that the Chief Executive and the responsible heads of our Government as going to



adopt a policy against all of these nations. That is the will of the American people, and I am sure that the servants of the American people will carry out that will.

I say this in justice to the Chief Executive, while he and I have not always agreed, but this can be said: That in his recent address over the radio he denounced communism the same as fascism and nazi-ism; he placed them all in the same category. While there has been a strong feeling throughout the country that there has been too much effort devoted to the situation in Germany, and we should likewise object to the massacre of Christians in Russia, Spain, and Mexico, nevertheless, I feel certain that that is the policy of this Government with respect to all of them, because it is the only American policy we can afford to adopt, as I view it.

Mr. SULLIVAN. These questions I am asking are not only questions that occur to me, but like questions are being asked by many fine, patriotic Representatives who have been disturbed by the situation, a unilateral situation.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not making any charges?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No; not at all; I am asking questions that ought to be inquired into.

The CHAIRMAN. That ought to be cleared up.

Mr. THOMAS. But, in answer to my question I asked you, you definitely stated that an investigation should be made into the steps which led to the recognition of Soviet Russia by this country?

Mr. SULLIVAN. That is justified by my information.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You added because of a breach of faith following that mutual compact. Had there been no breach of faith, do you think an investigation should have been made?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Even though no breach of faith had occurred?

Mr. SULLIVAN. If no breach of faith had occurred, then there would be no longer the question of an aggressive revolutionary intrusion going on in the United States.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Then the investigation should be as to the breach of faith.

Mr. SULLIVAN. As to the revolutionary situation going on in the United States; that is the real thing.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is, the breach of faith.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not also true that certain witnesses who appeared in behalf of the Soviet Government made misstatements as to the conditions and the intent of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SULLIVAN. That is quite obvious.

Mr. THOMAS. And I think that is one of the things, if another committee is appointed, that they should go into; and I think this committee can supply leads which will lead to a very interesting investigation on that point.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a gentleman here from out of town who has a very short statement which I think will only take a few minutes. Would you object to suspending a moment so as to let him make his statement?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, indeed; but I would appreciate it if you would let me finish this one point.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we appreciate your interest.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I just want to complete these few questions I am asking.

Why is our Chief Executive indifferent to a brazenly conducted and aggressive campaign against our Republic right in our midst, by a Marxist nation? Why is it deemed of no concern to our Chief Executive that such Marxist nation, Soviet Russia, conducts a barbarous regime both at home and abroad, and our own Nation is a target of her barbarous campaign? Also why, simultaneously with maintaining such attitude, does our Chief Executive become militant solely against anti-Marxist nations about their internal affairs? And why are high officials in our Nation repeatedly mis-describing the bloody Soviet and "red" Spain as "democracies," and suggesting that our Nation should cooperate with them to preserve liberty, humanity, and democracy? Why are they apparently indifferent to the brutal and mass slaughters of innocent and helpless people which have taken place in the bloody Soviet and "red" Spain? Are they not aware that, according to the Army Chaplain of October 1935, the number of persons killed and executed in Soviet Russia during the "red" regime had reached, at that time, the staggering total of 11,726,746—nearly 2,000,000 more dead than the total killed in the World War? That is the end of that point.

The CHARMAN. You would not mind suspending?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You live here, and you would not mind suspending?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have here this morning Mr. Burton A. Gaskill, Grand Sire, Sovereign Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, who has kindly consented to appear before the committee and give us the benefit of such views as he may have.

(At this point the testimony of Mr. Sullivan was interrupted to take the testimony of Mr. Burton A. Gaskill, which will be found at the conclusion of Mr. Sullivan's statement. At the conclusion of Mr. Gaskill's testimony Mr. Sullivan resumed as follows:)

Mr. SULLIVAN. My next point is number VI—

Protect from any encroachment, directly or indirectly, the right of loyal American citizens to keep and bear arms.

In the American Republic the citizenry are, of course, relied upon as the chief bulwark of law, order, and defense. Either a large standing Army, or an actual or virtual monopoly of arms by the Government, which may, at times, fall into feeble or even traitorous hands, will necessarily render the people impotent against the usurpation of power or other tyranny outraging public order and decency and intended for the overthrow of our Republic and of all civilized standards and principles.

In anticipation of such contingency and emergency, the Federal Constitution expressly provides that—

\* \* \* the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed (amendment II, United States Constitution.)

It will be noted that the right is treated as an inherent one and its infringement protected against. Moreover, its suspension is not provided for, even in case of martial law being declared, it being necessarily recognized that the greater the emergency, the greater the

necessity for loyal American citizens to be equipped to defend the Republic against internal enemies seeking its overthrow.

The Program of the Communist International, published in 1936, declares for—

\* \* \* disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat (p. 80). The word "bourgeoisie," as so used, refers to loyal American citizens, and the word "proletariat" to those helping the Marxian plot. Consequently, when the program of these subversive forces advances to the point where a surprise take-over is deemed feasible, they must see to it that the loyal American citizens are first disarmed. They could not, of course, hope to effect such disarming without fiendish subterfuge. Consequently we must be on our guard constantly against hypocritical proposals made to the executive and legislative branches of the Government to effect such disarming, upon the pretext that peace and order will thereby be assured. The unarmed condition of the loyal citizens of Spain, just before the "reds" took over Spain, not only did not ensure peace and order but made the "red" take-over there possible and an orgy of unchecked lawlessness and atrocities of almost unbelievable fiendishness and vileness.

Any Federal official who makes a proposal the effect of which would be to disarm loyal American citizens should be immediately impeached. Unless he be wholly lacking in intelligence—which would be itself a good ground for impeachment—he must know that the enemies within the gate would retain and secrete their arms and that the disarming of loyal American citizens would be the only result of a general disarming proposal.

#### VII. PROTECT, FROM ENCROACHMENT, CONGRESS' EXCLUSIVE POWER TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT OUR NATION SHALL BECOME INVOLVED IN A WAR

If there is anything upon which loyal American citizens are unanimous today, it is that never again shall American boys die as soldiers in Europe.

Nevertheless, intense propaganda seeks to embroil the American Republic in a new European war, and on the side of the bloody Soviet, and the bloody "reds" of Spain, both of which barbarous outfits are being described as "democracies" in the propaganda which is fed the American public. High officials in our Government are actually endeavoring to have the embargo against the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain lifted, in order that the misnamed "loyalists," constituting the "red" group there, may obtain assistance from our Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there; I dislike to interrupt you, but are not you stating a conclusion that is not supported by facts? I know of no high official in the Government who is seeking to have the embargo lifted against the shipment of arms and ammunitions to Spain. I know there has been a great deal of agitation and propaganda and they are starting now to flood the Congress with propaganda to that effect; but I know of no commitment on the part of any high official of our Government.

Mr. SULLIVAN. There has been no official commitment, but there have been expressions by a number of them published in the press.



There even have been communications sent in to at least one Government department.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean Members of Congress, do you not?

Mr. SULLIVAN. How is that?

The CHAIRMAN. You are referring to Members of Congress?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, there are some Members of Congress and some in the executive departments, too, according to the papers I have been reading. I am not particularly identifying them; I have not undertaken to go into it sufficiently to do that; but, from my rather diligent reading of the press articles, there are high officials and quite a number of them—

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean to include any Member of the Cabinet in that?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the President himself?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. What you really are referring to are certain Government officials—of course, there are four or five hundred here—who belong to the League for Peace and Democracy. That fact has been established, because it was admitted by the secretary of that league, who is a high-ranking Government official himself. And that league is preparing to flood the United States with propaganda for the purpose and, in fact, has called a convention to meet here in Washington, undertaking to get delegates to come here just before Congress assembles, and they are going to concentrate on the Congress to get the embargo lifted so that supplies and financial aid can be sent to Loyalist Spain. Proceed.

Mr. SULLIVAN. There is also much agitation, joined in by high officials of our Government, for a trade boycott against nations which are fighting communism. Such campaigns usually resort to ever-increasing exaggerations and falsehoods in an effort to create popular hatred and clamor sufficient to make possible acts on the part of the executive branch of the Government which will provoke or cause our involvement in war. We must be on the alert against all such propaganda. Congress should make plain to the Chief Executive, in a way that cannot be misunderstood, that it will brook no encroachment upon its exclusive power in any matters which may involve our Nation in war.

#### VIII. ELIMINATE SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA FROM EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

In effect, our youth are being constantly kidnaped from the Nation, because they are lost to the Nation when their patriotism is destroyed and their minds and morals poisoned by propaganda.

In many public schools our Republic is not only being made to dig its own grave but at taxpayers' expense. When boards of education and school superintendents of such public schools receive protests against textbooks, study magazines, and so forth, containing subversive propaganda, which textbooks, and so forth, such dominating officials have themselves inserted in the curriculum and thus imposed upon the teachers, they assume an air of indignation on behalf of the teachers generally, whose "academic freedom" they hypocritically assert must not be interfered with by any such criticisms.

That does not apply at all, but it applies to some boards of education and school superintendents.

Of course, if the teachers really sought to exercise "academic freedom" contrary to the propaganda thus imposed upon them, they would have to seek other employment. Such boards of education and school superintendents are really exercising for themselves a most pernicious "academic anarchy," and endeavoring to screen themselves behind the poor teachers under the pretext that the "academic freedom" of the latter has been attacked.

So far as I am advised, no one has ever charged that the rank and file of American teachers are disloyal. There is good cause for alarm, however, as to whether there are not many exceptions at the present time. Thousands of teachers now serving in public schools in various parts of the Nation have taken courses at Teachers' College Columbia University, where they came under the direct influence of Dr. George S. Counts, professor of education there. Dr. Counts is editor of a magazine for teachers styled *Social Frontier*, in the June 1935, issue of which an article was carried, under the heading "Loyal Oaths—a Threat to Intelligent Teaching," asserting that—

It is difficult to say just what content is included in loyalty to the Constitution, considering that amendments are possible.

In the November 1935 issue of the same magazine, teachers were urged to direct their—

energies along lines indicated by Marxian tactics (p. 55).

The CHAIRMAN. Was not that professor discharged from Columbia University recently?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all; he is still there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he still there?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The last I heard, he was still there and makes trips back and forth to Soviet Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Dr. Counts wrote the Foreword to Stalin's book, the *New Russian Policy*, published in 1931. In the following year, he wrote a book of his own, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* urging teachers to "positively influence the social attitudes, ideals, and behavior of the coming generation" (p. 29), for "democracy under novel conditions" (p. 40), which "should not be identified" with "the Federal Constitution, the popular election of officials, or the practice of universal suffrage" (p. 40), and "finally be prepared as a last resort, in either the defense or the realization of this purpose, to follow the method of revolution" (pp. 41-42).

American teachers are further harassed about retention or assertion of 100 percent American ideas and principles by an outrageous "report" of so-called "Commission on the Social Studies," sponsored by an organization named the American Historical Association, published in parts or volumes, commencing in 1932. Dr. Counts served as a member of that commission, as did also Dr. Frank W. Ballou, the superintendent of schools of the Nation's Capital. In part I of said report (published in 1932), page 45, it was pointedly suggested that "enlightened" communities do not expect teachers to denounce communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there: No one accuses Dr. Ballou of being a Communist, do they?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am not charging anyone with being a Communist, but the record shows that his acts have aided Communist propaganda with regard to education.

The CHAIRMAN. Now is not that a conclusion on your part?

Mr. SULLIVAN. A conclusion from facts. This very propaganda, in the form of this report of the Commission on the Social Studies, of which he was a member of the committee on direction, was expressly recommended by him on June 5, 1935, to be listed by the board of education for general reference reading by teachers in our public schools. And, upon his recommendation, he having been a member of that commission, the board of education adopted his recommendation and listed it as one of those books.

The CHAIRMAN. Listed what?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Listed this report with this outrageous stuff in it; listed it in Public School Document No. 1, 1936, for the teachers to read.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, could not teachers be permitted to read reports and could not they read the manifesto of Marx and Lenin, and socialistic and communistic reports, without being subject to the imputation they were in sympathy with the Communists? I mean, in order to be fair about this, you would not advocate that a man should not be permitted to read Communist literature, would you?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all. I think everybody should read it, but they should read it as what it is—propaganda.

Mr. THOMAS. But they are reading it to school children, are they not?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Reading it to those school children without any denunciation of it; therefore, it is given to the school children as though it were factual, instead of propaganda.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the name of that report again?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Report of the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me I recall that attack was made once and they had an investigation and cleared Dr. Ballou. Did not some congressional committee here have that matter up?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No. There were two congressional committees, one the Appropriations Committee and the other a subcommittee of the House District Committee. The subcommittee of the House District Committee held what they were inquiring into then was the "red" rider, which did not involve an inquiry into this matter. And I brought the books and all up here before them, and they would not even let me show them to them. I had them all here. They considered it irrelevant and would not investigate it.

The Appropriations Committee, on the other hand, did investigate it and reported to Congress, in their report on that appropriation bill for the year 1936, that the charges were established and that there should be a correction of conditions in the public schools.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether that correction was carried out?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that to be a fact?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I know it to be a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. That they ignored the recommendation of the Congress?



Mr. SULLIVAN. I know that to be a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SULLIVAN. In part IX, published in 1934, at page 27, it was asserted that:

the Federal Constitution with its system of checks and balances represents a deep distrust of popular rule.

And in part XII (published in 1936), the undeniably un-American proposition was advanced that even "confessed Communists" should be "safe" in teaching positions in public schools of America (p. 91), and that all teachers, even Communists, should be absolutely unfettered in teaching American youth (p. 778). This entire report was expressly approved for "general reference reading on methods for teachers" in Washington Public School Document No. 1 of 1936, page 104, issued by the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, in which official school document teachers in the public schools of the Nation's Capital were also directly told to feature the "character of Marx" as noteworthy for—

(1) His sympathy for the poor.

(2) His originality in thinking out a plan (p. 10).

How much true "academic freedom" is left in teachers who have such false and deceptive matter imposed upon them?

Those who discard the seriousness of the matter, because we are all satisfied that the rank and file of American teachers are not disloyal, show little practical common sense.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not charging Dr. Ballou is a Communist, or a Communist sympathizer?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am not making any charges as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You are just stating the facts here?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am just asserting the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to have the thing clear, so that you cannot be misrepresented or misquoted and have some newspaper statements published saying that someone before this committee accused Dr. Ballou with being a Communist.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I never charge anybody with being a Communist unless I can get the Communist official records; because I have no means of knowing who are on their records.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SULLIVAN. A single teacher in any school can do much diabolical work and particularly when aided by subversive matter in approved textbooks, study magazines, and so forth, just as one rotten apple in a barrel can spoil the entire barrel. For instance, a teacher of history, economics, or so-called social science can make one such subject the vehicle for false and subversive teaching reaching all the pupils in the school.

It is well known, of course, that during the formative or adolescent period there is an inclination on the part of youth, anxious to escape curbs essential to their welfare, to accept from teachers in whom they have confidence false teaching directly opposed to unchanging and unchangeable fundamental principles governing human conduct which past generations have found to be essential to the welfare and well-being of everyone.

Traitorous educators did much preparatory work in France among the youth there, before the French Revolution of Terrorism of 1789 (History of Jacobism, by Abbe Barruel, published in London 1797). The traitorous group called themselves Academicians, and their Secretary is reported to have said:

Lest our object should be surmised we called ourselves "Economists."

Again, we should not minimize the undeniably serious effects of subversive matter contained in approved textbooks, study magazines etc. The fact that unobjectionable, and even beneficial, matter is also carried in such textbooks, magazines etc., is beside the point. It is no better answer than it would be to claim justification for the serving of other poison to a victim, because the tray carried, along with the poison, some really wholesome and delectable articles of food.

One of the study magazines, extensively used among high-school students throughout the Nation, has the leading title "Scholastic," and is at times labeled also "The American High School Weekly," and at other times "The National High School Weekly." It devotes nearly all of its space to high-class and unobjectionable matter. In fact, many issues carry no objectionable matter whatever. A confidence in the supposed reliability of the magazine is thereby built up among the youthful readers, preparing them for swallowing without question the doses of "poisonous" matter when inserted from time to time. It is difficult to believe that such a condition of affairs has been created accidentally, or that it is the work of ignorant or poverty-stricken fanatics. A few items of such "poisonous" matter may be briefly quoted, as follows:

(1) Issue of December 17, 1932, suggests that "The national flower" "has become the 'razzberry'", and further that "the American people have no national faith" (p. 1).

(2) Issue of November 11, 1933, suggests that students resolve not to fight in "any war which has not been declared by majority vote in a Nation-wide referendum"—thereby obviously suggesting slacker insubordination against the exercise by Congress of its constitutional power to act promptly to protect the Nation.

(3) Issue of October 6, 1934, carries the statement "For boys and girls communism offers school, hope, and adventure" (p. 12).

(4) Issue of November 10, 1934, carries a sarcastic article, Sweet and Fitting to Die for One's Country, praising the author of a recent book, and making the following comment about the book—"Here, in rigid logic, he examines such popular beliefs as 'national honor,' 'patriotism,' 'security,'—and exposes their childishness and hypocrisy" (p. 7).

The extensive penetration of public schools in America by subversive forces is so undeniable that a thorough investigation of this vital subject will doubtless receive the attention of the Committee on Un-American Activities when supplied with requisite funds to complete its work. Such an investigation will enable the public to learn authentically that culpable boards of education and school superintendents are standing in the way of needed correction of outrageous subversive conditions in many public schools—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think it ought to be made clear here that the overwhelming majority of the school teachers in this country and boards of education are very patriotic? They are carrying on patriotic exercises in hundreds of thousands of schoolhouses throughout the country. I know of a great many instances that have gone on through the years, of training that the school teachers were



giving to the pupils, which was of the highest type, and I think that patriotism has been promoted perhaps more through the schools of our land than anything else, down through the years that have passed and gone.

You want to make that clear, do you not; you do not want to leave the implication here, or the insinuation, that the overwhelming majority of our school teachers are not patriotic, do you?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all. In fact, I said quite the contrary. I think it quite the exception, and I do not think the situation is the fault of the teachers where it exists; it is the fault of school superintendents and boards of education. Now, whether the majority of the superintendents and boards of education of the United States are doing what I have shown is going on, or not, I do not know, because I have no statistics. I have not had a chance to go into that. But I do know what is going on in the District of Columbia and I have an immense amount of data on what is going on in Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is going on in the District of Columbia—you mean generally in the schools here?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Let me make this plain——

The CHAIRMAN. I mean what I do not understand is this:

I have boys who have been attending school here for years, and I have never been advised of any subversive activities carried on in those schools. The fact is they put on programs, sponsored by the parent-teachers association, in which they laud the American form of government, and undertaking to teach love of country, et cetera.

Mr. SULLIVAN. They have the flag exercises and all that; but of course——

The CHAIRMAN. What you are referring to is this propaganda that is insidiously put in?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Insidiously put in with the fact they still salute the flag. They do not tell them to join the Soviet forces.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would not advocate some form of censorship, would you? I mean by that, under freedom of speech and freedom of the press, you would not want to advocate that people should not be allowed to read literature, even though it is communistic, Fascist, or any other kind?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all. All I say is it ought to be properly labeled, and matter which is propaganda, poisonous and false——

The CHAIRMAN. Should be stricken from it?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Should be stricken from it, and particularly should not be read before the youth in our public schools as facts.

The CHAIRMAN. Well is not the difficulty of a student studying, for instance, Russia and Germany, the fact it is almost impossible to have any book or any article that could be classified as absolutely authentic? In other words, if you would bring a book in, written by someone favorable to Germany or Russia, or even considered to be favorable to Germany or Russia, it would be branded as propaganda, whereas if you bring a book in, which is unfavorable to Russia, the other crowd would brand it as propaganda. So that you run into a very difficult question as to what sort of books or literature ought to be studied by the students with reference to these foreign countries.

Mr. SULLIVAN. My position is this, that no books ought to be adopted as textbooks that are not safe. It is not a question of opinion



merely of people as to what is going on in a particular country—Germany, Russia, or what not; but when such a diabolical scheme for human enslavement on an international scale, such as communism and Marxism, is pictured in matter which is put before children in the public schools as something of a contrary nature, as something that is really scientific, as something that is really creating prosperity for the Russian people, I say that that is intolerable.

The CHAIRMAN. Won't you also go further and say that any effort to inject Nazi propaganda or Fascist propaganda would be equally objectionable?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely. The only propaganda there ought to be in the public schools, which I would not call "propaganda" in a serious sense, is propaganda for Americanism. That is what we want to sell them, because that is the best thing they can get. But it should not be propaganda in favor of anything that is subversive of America; such propaganda should not be allowed to go in the schools, and there is a legislative remedy I put in to take care of that, a little later on.

The CHAIRMAN. You will agree that students ought to have a right to read about current events—what is going on in foreign countries?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely. I would not keep anybody in the dark.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the great difficulty right now, with the terrific conflict that is going on, where the one side has one pronounced opinion and the other side another one, would be to get such textbooks that anybody could agree on as being fair, would it not?

Mr. SULLIVAN. There is no difficulty in getting textbooks that do not reflect on Americanism.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. You mean propaganda that undertakes to draw comparisons between the Soviet system and our American system, to the disadvantage of the American system?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Or that treat Marxism as a splendid philosophy and worth-while thing, scientific in character, that is worth considering seriously.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that is a conclusion, in other words, that no one should make in a book to be studied or read by school students?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the facts should be stated, but the conclusions should be left out of them, so that each student could form his own conclusion?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No; I think in the public schools they ought to go further and warn the child against the hypocrisy and dangers, instead of presenting it to them as something which is scientific, and which is left to them to consider if it is just as good or better than Americanism.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SULLIVAN. As I say, the extensive penetration of public schools in America by subversive forces is so undeniable that a thorough investigation of this vital subject will doubtless receive the attention of the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities when supplied with requisite funds to complete its work. Such an investigation will enable the public to learn authentically that culpable boards of education and school superintendents—I do say

how many there are—are standing in the way of needed correction of outrageous subversive conditions in many public schools, which correction is most essential not only to students, parents, and the Nation, but also to many unhappy and gagged loyal American teachers who are now being prevented from teaching undiluted and unpervverted Americanism.

It may be further asked: Why are hundreds of subversive schools, conducted directly by the Communists and advocating violence and other unlawful means for the overthrow of our Republic, permitted to carry on in the American Republic?

Also, why are “red” and “pink” teachers and professors, and subversive and morally undermining propaganda, permitted to poison the minds and morals of our youth in private schools and colleges too numerous to mention? Surely, there must be a serious dereliction of duty or worse in responsible official life, Federal and State. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that every sovereignty possesses inherent power to require that teachers in every school, public or private, shall be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, and to further require that “nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.”—(*Oregon School Cases*, 268 U. S. 510, 534 (decided in 1925).)

Congress’ power to enact a suitable controlling law at least for the District of Columbia and the Territories is surely beyond question. It would also be of far-reaching value as setting a good example for the States to follow. Moreover, the subject is such an important one for the defense and protection of the Nation itself that there should be no serious question about the validity of a controlling law enacted by Congress for the entire Nation.

A few words should be said about another matter vitally affecting sound Americanism. Agitation is now on foot to increase the financial plight and stress of the Nation by appropriating a tremendous fund to be distributed for aid of education institutions, public, private, and sectarian, in various parts of the United States. Every sane-thinking American should resist such proposal. Aside from the financial consequences of the Nation, it would obviously render education institutions, which ought to be free except as to abuses, subservient to high officials in the Federal Government. Moreover, the harmful kind of education shown to be taking place in existing Federal projects, including the Federal theater project, ought to make everyone appreciate that any kind of Federal domination of education is contrary to fundamental Americanism.

#### IX. COMPEL PUBLIC LIBRARIES TO SPECIALLY LABEL, AND RESTRICT CIRCULATION OF, SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA

Many, if not most, of the public libraries of the Nation appear to have contributed immensely to the “poisoning” of minds and morals of our Nation’s youth.

Bottles containing poison are always carefully labeled before the druggist permits them to go into anyone’s hands.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see if I can get your idea on that. Is it not a greater danger to run into the opposite extreme, which would bring about Federal or State supervision that would say what is



propaganda, and what is not propaganda, what is Americanism and what is not Americanism?

Take the public library, for instance: If you were to exclude from it all economic theories or doctrines that did not agree with the prevailing thought in a country, would not that be a restriction upon the right of free speech and freedom of the press? You would not advocate that, would you?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all. I am only dealing with subversive propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. What you are saying is it ought to be labeled?

Mr. SULLIVAN. It ought to be labeled; that is all. I am not saying to keep anything from the public.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. SULLIVAN. As I say, bottles containing poison are always carefully labeled before the druggist permits them to go into anyone's hands. Moreover, they are not permitted to go into the hands of immature or irresponsible persons.

Public librarians and boards of public library trustees are obviously unfit to hold their positions, if they do not know that similar labeling and restriction should take place regarding subversive books carried in a public library. Public libraries may justifiably carry subversive propaganda, if it is carefully labeled, and its circulation restricted to persons engaged in research work. Unless research students can obtain it for reading and study, they cannot become familiar with the tactics of the enemy, and be prepared to counteract such propaganda. The conditions in many, if not most, public libraries appear, however, to be so outrageous, that many persons seeking authentic books on Marxism or communism fail to obtain the truth which they seek, because most everything in such libraries on the subject constitutes Marxist propaganda, but without any special label or other information as to its deceptive and untrustworthy character.

It may be argued by some public librarians and boards of public library trustees that they feared the so-called American Civil Liberties Union or the Communist Party might protest against any such labeling as a claimed invasion or violation of the civil liberties of the subversive forces. If so, their unfitness to hold their offices will be thereby admitted. Again, they may claim lack of necessary appropriation to enable the requisite labeling to suitably protect our youth, but, on cross-examination, they will, doubtless, be compelled to admit that no appropriation for the purpose was ever sought, and that the miscellaneous funds made available to them were used for purposes far less important.

There should be no safer place in the United States for both youth and adults than the public libraries. Too much damage has been done already, to permit any continuance of the aforesaid outrageous conditions. Let us lose no time in making our public libraries safe for the future. This will necessarily require the removal from office of culpable public librarians and boards of public library trustees.

Congress can enact suitable controlling legislation for the District of Columbia and the Territories, and thereby set a good example for other jurisdictions to follow. Moreover, since subversive propaganda is really directed against the Nation itself, and its unlabeled circulation in public libraries is a national menace, it is probable



that Congress possesses power to enact controlling legislation on this subject which will be effective as to public libraries throughout the United States.

X. RESTORE TO THE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION OF OUR CITIZENS THE CHART OR BIBLE GIVEN THEM BY THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY, BY WHICH THEIR EVERY PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED, WITHOUT HAZARDOUS EXPERIMENTATION—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

In his farewell address, Washington warned that—

virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government—

and that national morality cannot endure "in exclusion of religious principle." He added that no sincere friend of free government "can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric (morality based upon religious principle)." Was Washington right in his view that morality based upon religious principle is essential to free government, or are the Marxists right in declaring that "religion is the opium of the people"? Why do high officials in our Nation today show such consideration for such ignoble Marxists, and ignore the wise and truthful warning of the Father of our Country? Do they not necessarily know that the abolition of religion by the Marxists is a deliberate step toward enslavement by the Marxists of prospective victims? So important have the Marxists considered this item of their plot that they have actually changed the calendar in Soviet Russia to a 6-day week, in order to eliminate the Sabbath altogether.

The outrageous propaganda in our Nation to undermine the morals of our youth is plainly intended to prepare them for victimization by the Marxists. How indifferent are the public authorities to it! The United States mails are carrying tons of it. What a handicap to zealous and untiring efforts of many of the clergy to have our youth adhere to religious principle! We must ferret out, identify, and deal with such subversive forces, in order to give the clergy a fair chance to restore morality to the victims of such diabolical forces.

Important as Washington regarded religion, he did not think that God meant for the people to do nothing but pray in order to solve their problems. So he gave them, in his Farewell Address, a fully charted course with every shoal and reef carefully indicated, and the way to avoid disaster explicitly set forth. His Farewell Address was evidently inspired, and constitutes a veritable Bible of practical temporal wisdom as regards the American Republic, not merely for a single generation but for all time.

Certain impractical-minded members of the clergy recommend that the American people just pray themselves out of the so-called depression, instead of ferreting out, identifying, and dealing with the subversive forces responsible for it. Doubtless they are unfamiliar with the old and very pertinent story about the bear meeting in relation to prayer meeting. When a bear suddenly confronted two scared hunters one of them knelt down in front of the bear to pray and was quite badly clawed. The other hunter made a rapid and safe departure. The clawed-up one was quite vehement ever afterward in de-

claring that prayer is all right in a prayer meeting, but it should not be entirely and solely resorted to in a bear meeting.

By what means have our people been led to turn their backs upon Washington's Bible of practical temporal wisdom for America? The answer is plain. Intensive baseless propaganda has depicted a group of persons with unsound and dangerous views, totally at variance with Washington's, as better equipped.

Washington warned against "irregular oppositions" to governmental authority being tolerated at all. He further warned that it is indispensable for our Government to have "as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty." Some of those who are propagandized as better equipped than Washington have been long engaged in urging toleration of irregular oppositions, even including actual and deliberate incitements to violence for the overthrow of our Republic by known enemies of the Republic. Members of such group have had the audacity to urge that such obviously criminal acts be treated as mere exercise of freedom, unless and until it can be shown in a particular instance that disastrous consequences are imminent or at least "not too remote." Every practical-minded person knows, of course, that subversive forces conduct so much of their work subteraneously, that any showing as to disastrous consequences actually taking place would be utterly impossible until it should become too late to then take steps to save our Republic. There is obviously no practical wisdom, or anything else than inexcusable jeopardy of our Republic, in tolerating revolutionary incitements or attempts as supposed freedom. If anything in the framework of our Republic tolerated any such plain subversive criminality, it would really be too weak and feeble to survive, as totalitarian and authoritarian nations are claiming.

The supposed better equipment of the supposedly better-equipped group is also claimed to be evidenced by their advocacy of practically unrestrained freedom in the matter of interpreting the Federal Constitution; so that interpretations, differing radically from each other and from the meaning of the terms when the Constitution was originally adopted, may be justified without any amendment to the Constitution for the purpose. They contend that the constitution should be treated as a living book, without fixed meaning to its terms and provisions, so that entirely different results may be accomplished at different times when deemed to be for the general welfare.

However, this is what Washington said on the same subject:

Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates.—"But let there be no change by usurpation;" for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, "it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

The essential difference between Washington and the members of such so-called better-equipped group appears to be, that Washington

opposed changes by usurpation, whereas said group would open the door for usurpation.

The views of said group appear to be such as to appeal to persons like Dr. George S. Counts, heretofore mentioned, who asserted in Part IX of Report of Commission on the Social Studies, also heretofore referred to, that—

the Federal Constitution with its system of checks and balances represents a deep distrust of popular rule" (p. 27)—

and in whose magazine, *Social Frontier*, an article was carried (June 1935) suggesting to teachers that—

it is difficult to say just what content is included in loyalty to the Constitution, considering that amendments are possible.

The fact that Dr. Counts wrote the Foreword for a book of Stalin published in 1931, should make said group of so-called leading American scholars and statesmen take a reinventory of what they are proclaiming as superior to George Washington's wise counsel.

The dangerous views held by members of such group should serve as a timely warning to the Senate of the United States not to confirm any nomination to any Federal office of any member of such group or anyone holding similar views.

A true American Liberal must be liberal toward the defense of the American Republic, rather than liberal toward things manifestly tending to weaken the defense of our Republic against enemies within the gate.

No intelligent reason can be assigned for asking the American people to accept any member of such group, or the entire group, as qualified to take the place of George Washington as the father or fathers of our country, or as qualified to override Washington's sound practical wisdom in any respect whatever. In fact, a considerable part of Washington's Farewell Address was devoted to warnings against persons asserting views of the kind now being propagandized as emanating from members of such group.

**XI. MAKE THE PUBLIC AWARE OF THE FACT THAT, UNTIL THE SUBVERSIVE FORCES ARE IDENTIFIED AND DEALT WITH AS THE CRIMINALS THAT THEY ARE, INSTEAD OF TREATED AS EXERCISING "FREEDOM", MANY EXISTING ABUSES WILL CONTINUE PROTECTED FROM ERADICATION**

The American standard of living has certainly not been aided by trade pacts which result in making imports greater than exports in products of a kind extensively raised in America. Many intolerable conditions, unsuited to a civilized existence, and constituting grave abuses, long sabotaging our Republic, will continue to be protected from eradication, and even increased, unless prompt and effective steps are taken to identify the subversive forces in our midst, and deal with them as the criminals that they are, instead of according them continuing anarchistic freedom.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute. You are getting into matters here, Mr. Sullivan, that have absolutely nothing to do with this investigation—about the question of money or trade pacts. Cannot you omit that part of it? I mean I cannot see the relevancy between that and un-American activities. You understand what I mean; I mean the question of money or the question that you are now going



into there is, of course, far afield of this thing. And, if you do not mind, just skip that part.

Mr. SULLIVAN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to deprive you of any right of free speech, or anything of that sort.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I only want to help the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We know it, and we appreciate that very much. And while your views on the money subject may be entirely right and interesting and instructive, yet, for the purposes of this inquiry, it will not throw any light on the matter before us.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I will eliminate the two paragraphs on this page which deal with that subject.

All sound thinkers are aware that our so-called "depression" is a famine in the midst of plenty—not God made, but fiend made.

Mr. THOMAS. To what depression are you referring there?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am referring to the general depression.

The subversive forces in our midst are very powerful in their secret control and also very clever in diverting and misusing every attempted reform to aggravate existing conditions. Those who are in doubt about this can solve their doubts by reading a few authentic documents emanating from subversive forces brazenly proclaiming their purpose to so divert attempted reforms.

In a document of the executive committee of the Communist International, seized during the 1922 raid of a secret Communist gathering in Bridgman, Mich., the following appears:

The Communist Party must remember that it is not its purpose to reform the capitalist state. The purpose of the Communists is, on the contrary, to cure the working masses of their reformistic illusions through bitter experience. (Reds in America, by R. M. Whitney, p. 249.)

Again, in Communist official book, Foundations of Leninism, written by Stalin himself and published in 1934, it is stated:

The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified (p. 103).

Such admittedly treacherous and fiendish proposal is decidedly calculated to inflame the passions of some to an extent which may unseat their sound judgment and discretion, and thus make them easy victims of false and disastrous remedies proposed. In fact, that very thing is occurring in many parts of the world, but if we adhere to fundamental Americanism no such thing will occur here. Subversive forces are of necessity artificial criminal forces, and cannot possibly be traced to any natural or supernatural source, such as blood or religion. The attempt to invoke so-called science as establishing the contrary is manifestly absurd.

Early and intelligent identification and dissolution of all subversive forces in America, not in accordance with passion or propaganda but in the American way, based upon incontestably established factual data, sound reason, and law and order—expressly reproclaiming the universal brotherhood of man as essential American doctrine—will set an example worthy of adoption in other Nations of the world which appear to be lining up in rival barbarisms formed on racial lines, and thereby obviously tending to the complete destruction of

civilization. So artificial and criminal are all subversive forces that it will doubtless be found that all subversive ranks are made up chiefly of dupes and coerced persons who would welcome steps to rescue them, such as the dissolution of the forces holding them. There are, of course, many leaders who are thoroughly responsible and groups of conscious aiders and abettors likewise responsible without any mitigation.

Everyone interested in saving civilization, along with the saving of America, or interested in saving either, must recognize that there can be no more vital and urgent matter coming before the first session of the new House of Representatives, immediately after it convenes, than immediate provision of ample funds to enable its committee investigating un-American activities to complete its task.

XII. AROUSE LOYAL AMERICAN CITIZENS TO THE NECESSITY FOR REDEDICATING THEMSELVES TO THE TRUE MAXIM—ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

The subversive forces have taken advantage of the fact that comparatively few persons in our Republic, even though well equipped, have, in recent years, taken the trouble to think things through for themselves, if the matter concerned the public generally, because they have been relying almost blindly upon others, many of whom have betrayed them.

If loyal citizens who are sufficiently equipped to analyze some of the existing abuses and the effects of proposed innovations will be alert and energetic in expressing themselves, our Republic will be secure, particularly if such citizens will use as their bible of wisdom the legacy left them by the Father of our Country, namely, his Farewell Address, and ignore shameless propaganda directed against it.

Washington, as a statesman of great wisdom, was necessarily a great believer in experience as a safe guide, and deprecated experimentation contrary to the lessons of history. Consequently, he warned:

The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism.

He evidently had in mind the series of encroachments which destroyed the Republic of Ancient Rome, although every encroachment in that period was represented as being solely for the welfare and happiness of the people.

Moreover, no matter what specious grounds may be claimed as justification, Government competition in ordinary private business to any extent whatever, is necessarily disastrous. If permitted to continue for any long period, it will inevitably bring about a collectivistic dictatorship, because private business in every such field will disappear, since private individuals cannot possibly compete with their own Government, which pay no taxes and is immune from the harassments and impediments which have become an ever-increasing burden upon private business.

Every practical-minded person should also know that governmental regimentation exercised to any extent whatever over those engaged in ordinary private pursuits, either capital or labor, will necessarily hinder and destroy, but never promote, prosperity and

happiness. Governmental regimentation automatically destroys individual initiative and thrift, thus producing ever-increasing want and distress. This was conclusively demonstrated more than 300 years ago in the Virginia Colony between 1611 and 1614 and in the Plymouth Colony between 1620 and 1623. The early settlers always referred to those periods as the "years of slavery." The Virginia experiment was discussed in volume I of History of Maryland, by J. Thomas Scharf, published in 1879, as follows:

It is difficult to conceive a state of things more propitious to the theories of communism or socialism, and yet the failure was most signal (p. 4).

Every similar experiment in history has resulted in the same way. The time has come for a cessation of all experimentation, particularly when conducted in disregard of historical lessons. Our Constitution and the bible of wisdom given us by Washington regarding it must guide us away from unsound experimentation.

No mere party politics can be legitimately invoked against full and frank treatment of matters pertaining to essential Americanism, party politics being always subordinate.

Instead of accepting false or impractical leadership and guidance, let loyal American citizens constantly repair to the real font of safe and practical wisdom left them as a heritage by Washington, namely, his Farewell Address, and insist that their chosen public representatives recognize and respect the following American principles or maxims:

"Let there be no change by usurpation"—"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and "America for Americans."

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much indeed, Mr. Sullivan.

#### TESTIMONY OF BURTON A. GASKILL, GRAND SIRE, SOVEREIGN GRAND LODGE OF THE I. O. O. F., ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name, I believe, is Mr. Burton A. Gaskill?

Mr. GASKILL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You are grand sire of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows?

Mr. GASKILL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I happen to be an Odd Fellow myself. What is the membership of that organization?

Mr. GASKILL. We have 1,500,000 members.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt right there; I just want to ask a question right at that point, if you do not mind. I would like to ask this question of the Chair: Can the Chair tell me and the other members of the committee how many people have been in the organizations whose representatives have appeared before this committee?

The CHAIRMAN. About 10,000,000 people.

Mr. THOMAS. About 10,000,000 people?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Gaskill; you may proceed.

Mr. GASKILL. We have a million and a half members, of whom 500,000 are women. Our organization is in the United States and Canada, all of the Scandinavian countries, Australia and the dif-



ferent provinces of Australasia and we used to be in Germany and Austria, but they have kind of suspended us over there. And we were in Poland, but now what has happened in Poland I do not know. I read in the papers that all of the Masonic lodges have been disbanded, I suppose—and we do not have any more lodges in Poland.

The CHAIRMAN. Your testimony has to do with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows?

Mr. GASKILL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with your statement, sir.

Mr. GASKILL. One of the contributing causes of un-American activities in our country today is the neglect of moral education.

We have marched swiftly. Our science and ingenuity are unexcelled. Our schools are the finest on this earth. And yet, in our rush to master nature, we have failed to provide a balance wheel to use our findings sanely.

A modern automobile is a thing of tremendous power and efficiency. But it is a dangerous, senseless instrument—unless there is an intelligence to guide it.

A great engine, capable of producing useful power, will thrash itself to tiny bits—unless there is a governor to control it.

That is America's problem today. We have developed a streamlined civilization, a vast and complex machine—but we have not developed a balance wheel to preserve it and utilize it.

That balance wheel is the thing we have chosen to call moral integrity. The Odd Fellows believe that there is a direct relationship between this lack of moral integrity and the conditions your committee are investigating. We further believe that, for all practical purposes, un-American activities would vanish if our moral integrity is restored. Morality is not a matter of gin parties or loose living. As we see it, morality is the fundamental sanity of America, the ability to judge between right and wrong, the faculty of weighing the good and the bad. Morality is honesty and fairness.

On the surface we see communism and fascism and nazi-ism. But these would not exist as a menace to America were it not for the fact that we are in danger of creating, through sheer neglect, a moral vacuum.

In all ages prophets have cried that the world is going to the dogs. But let us examine the facts. Where can modern youth find moral education?

In the home? It is an admitted fact that the American home is not the closely knit unit it once was. Automobiles, motion pictures, and the countless other diversions of modern life have weakened the home as a training ground for morals. This is not said to condemn these innovations; but it certainly presents a problem that we must face and solve.

In the school? For good reason we have largely prohibited compulsory religious education in our public schools. No subjects now given deal with morality.

In the church? Within the past 10 years church attendance has fallen off sharply.

Each year we spend about \$3,000,000,000 for our schools. And each year we pay five times that much for crime. An overwhelming

majority of our criminals are from 18 to 25 years of age. And here is the damning fact: Eighty percent of our criminals have never had any church or Sunday-school influence.

I want to modify that to say that that statement refers to my own State of New Jersey. Those incarcerated in the State penitentiary at Trenton, N. J., and I got that percentage from the chaplain of the State prison. That is not a national figure, but I assume the national figure would probably be along the same percentage.

Could anything be plainer; could any set of facts point more clearly to the conclusion that we are a nation of moral backsliders? We have simply not kept our moral growth at the same pace with our industrial growth. And in this age he who stands still moves backward.

The relationship between these distressing conditions and un-American activities is vital and unmistakable. It means only one thing! Somewhere along the line, our American system of education has fallen down. We have turned these people from our schools into a complex, stormy, bewildering world without an adequate compass. If they turn to crime or subversive activities, it is because they were not grounded in fundamental integrity.

#### THE SOLUTION

The Odd Fellows believe that education which neglects moral training is founded on quicksand. To us the problem seems clear, the solution relatively simple. We have formulated a plan which is entirely practicable, simple, and in the best American tradition.

Our order, nonsectarian and nonpolitical, with its 25,000 lodges, having a membership of a million and a half, including 500,000 women, has undertaken to make this plan a reality.

We sincerely believe that this program can be one of the greatest social forces that America has ever known. Competent legal authorities have drawn and approved it. Since it was announced, not one single voice has been raised to oppose it; all have joined to endorse it.

Briefly, our suggestion is that each State enact a law enabling—not compelling—local boards of education:

1. To make a census of the religious affiliations of each school child and determine from parents and guardians whether they wish their children to have moral education.

2. To excuse such pupils from classes for 1 hour each week for the purpose of attending their respective places of worship or some suitable place to receive moral education.

3. To grant full school credit for such attendance.

There is no reason why this plan cannot work. It is important to notice that we do not advocate compulsory moral training. We have no desire to force any creed or any training on any child. But we do believe moral training should be made available to every child. That is not now being done.

The plan would be adapted to local conditions. We are certain that the various churches will welcome it with open arms, since it will give them an opportunity for service that is now completely lost to many of them.

America's best defense is not a Hindenburg line, not a Maginot line, but an Integrity line. It must be built, not with concrete and steel, but with morality and right thinking and judgment.

This moral rearmament, to use Mr. Hoover's apt phrase, is more important than battleships and airplanes. America's frontiers are within herself. If we are to repulse our enemies, within and without, we must build a mighty wall of integrity.

And it is to our children we must look. If we take care of our children America will take care of herself. We must guarantee unto each child the opportunity to kindle within himself a guiding light of right thinking and moral conduct.

To this task a million and a half Odd Fellows—men and women—dedicate themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your fine and constructive statement.

Mr. GASKILL. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your patriotism in coming here before the committee and giving us the benefit of it.

Mr. GASKILL. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the committee has here a statement from Mr. John H. Cowles, grand commander, the Council of the Thirty-Third Degree of Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of the Masonry, Southern Jurisdiction.

We had made arrangements for many witnesses to appear before the committee on up until January 3, when the committee expires, and for a great many representatives of organizations, but it manifestly is going to be impossible to hear these people. A great many of them are anxious to come. Some of them would be willing to pay their own expenses. In view of the exhaustion of the funds and the necessity of having to pay the stenographers for transcribing the record, we are not going to be able to hear from those people, as much as we would like to do it. But the fact we are not going to hear them is not due to the fact that we do not want to hear them, or have no interest in the matter they wish to present, but because we cannot possibly finance even the cost of transcribing the record and we were warned by the Committee on Accounts that if there was any deficit, it would be our individual deficit. They have served notice on us to that effect, and I do not know of anybody that wants to make it their individual deficit.

However, in this statement here, Mr. Cowles has asked that we read his statement. It is a short statement.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest, if it is proper, that any of these people who have statements to present, or who wish to get their views before this committee, be permitted to make their statement and, if in the opinion of the committee, it is a proper one, that we just incorporate it in the record, if not, that it be omitted from the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not permit people who want to deny, or advise people who want to deny allegations that have been made against them the same right to file statements, and give such statements to the press?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think they are entitled to that right. I think that should be done, provided their statement is a proper statement.



The CHAIRMAN. That is, provided it is in answer to any charge that has been made against them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And incorporate that in the record?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not think, if they have not availed themselves of the opportunity to come here, that they should make charges against people who are not going to be in a position to deny the charges, but should simply make that statement in answer to statements already made.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the objection to permitting, in absolute fairness, these people who want to do it—what is the objection to permitting them to do it? I want to make it clear there never was any request made of this committee by the Civil Liberties Union that they appear before the committee and answer any charge made against them in the course of the hearings.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is that despite the statement that is made?

The CHAIRMAN. Despite the statement that is made, Mr. Clerk, is that right; is that a correct statement of the facts? I do not want incorrectly to state it.

In a speech made by me as an individual, over the radio, I made reference to the Civil Liberties Union, and they wanted to have an opportunity to deny my speech. Of course, they can deny it through the same facilities, over the air or through the press; but the statement is correct that there never has been any request by the Civil Liberties Union to appear before this committee to answer any charge made by any witness under oath, or otherwise, that involved the Civil Liberties Union. Of course, they were all made under oath.

I am sure the committee is going to be very careful, particularly when we make the report, not to base any conclusions on incomplete evidence.

But the point is we wrote to the people, did we wanted to deny any charge, to send in a statement.

I think, in order to be absolutely fair about this thing, since it is manifest we cannot run here until January 3, because we have nothing to run on, unless we are prepared, as individuals, to pay these reporters for their expenses—I think it would be the fair thing to write these people and say to send in a statement in answer to any charge in this record. Of course, charges made on the air or in a speech have nothing in the world to do with this investigation. You might go out and make a statement, or I might go out and make a statement, and it would not have anything to do with the committee, but I mean in reply to some charges made in the record by some witness who has made a charge against somebody, that if he wants to deny that charge, in order to be absolutely fair and let the record show both sides, why not just write him a letter that he can answer that in a statement?

Mr. MOSIER. Why not put it in affidavit form, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think that is objectionable.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not think it is objectionable.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let me finish.

Mr. THOMAS. I thought you had finished.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The statements, I understand, they are going to make are coming to the committee and are to go into the record in their entirety, or after taking out such portions as might be objection-

able? In other words, all the testimony of those witnesses should not go into that record—or did you mean in your report?

The CHAIRMAN. I did not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. All this testimony certainly is not going into the report?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no. Our report will be made just like any other report. The testimony in the record is not put in.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, you are discussing now witnesses who go on the stand here and take an oath and testify before this committee, and one of them says that John Smith is a Communist, and John Smith wants to deny it, but we have not the facilities at the present time to accommodate John Smith and bring him here and put him on the stand. It seems to me that his denial, if we take it for any value at all, should be of the same grade as the testimony on the other side, which is under oath. I therefore suggest that his denial should be in affidavit form. If he does not care enough, if it is not serious enough for him to swear to an affidavit, it does not seem to me it ought to be considered seriously enough by us to receive it just in letter form.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the only object of the statement is to afford people an opportunity to have in this record their side of the story. But, so far as our findings are concerned—

Mr. MOSIER. That has not anything to do with it. That is something else.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not going to predicate our findings on anything but the evidence.

Mr. MOSIER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand there are a very few who have requested an opportunity to be heard.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am not speaking of the cases Mr. Mosier cited; I am speaking of cases where people come here and give you literature and say, "I believe this is a Communist organization." He does not say he knows, he says he believes. I think if a man write in and says, "I am not a Communist, insofar as I am concerned it is not a Communist organization; if it was, I would not be a member of it"—I do not think it is necessary for them to swear to it.

Mr. THOMAS. But if the person who came here made his statement as a sworn statement?

Mr. DEMPSEY. That he believed such a thing; he did not know it, but he believed it.

Mr. THOMAS. All right. He took an oath to it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Consequently, I think anyone who was going to deny such a statement should also do it by taking an oath to an affidavit, just as Mr. Mosier says. I think if you are going to have the one under oath you should have the other.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we want the facts.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, it only goes to the weight of the testimony, anyhow, so far as this committee is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the point: Of course a man swearing under oath and then stating an opinion, that does not mean anything, because you could not get him for perjury.

Mr. MOSIER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean an opinion stated under oath has no more validity than an opinion stated without an oath, because either one is opinion, except in the case of an expert.

As I say, I do not think but a very few have requested an opportunity to be heard. We have accommodated the most of them and, in accommodating Government officials, they have put into the record a vast amount of material that is going to run up the cost tremendously. I mean the three Government officials who requested a right to be heard, have tendered large briefs and gone into the matter in detail, and for which this committee has to pay these reporters, as I understand, approximately 16 cents or 17 cents a page to transcribe this thing.

What I was thinking about is the people we have invited. Of course, we have a right to rescind that invitation, but the heads of those organizations will just have to understand that we cannot accommodate them, and the reason why we cannot do it. But as to the people who have been involved in any charge here, I think, in fairness, we ought to lean backward in order to give them an opportunity to make a statement because of the reference which has been made to them and incorporated in the record.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. If someone of the witnesses on the stand swore to the fact, then ask the other one submit an affidavit.

Mr. DEMPSEY. My view of the difference is if this committee had confined itself to the rules of testimony that would be one thing, but we have been extremely generous in permitting people to make statements and sometimes members of the committee would ask questions which would take the witness far afield, into things we had nothing to do with, but the committee's desire to be generous to the witness has prompted them. And I quite agree with that; we cannot do anything else. But to make a man go and swear to that, I think would be unreasonable.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we do this: Where it is a question of evidentiary fact, as a statement of fact, if someone wants to deny it, let that denial be in the form of an affidavit.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And at least such a witness has the advantage of not being subjected to cross-examination, so that he is at a great advantage over what he would be if he came here and denied it before the committee. Then we will incorporate that in the record as to each individual organization. But so far as we are concerned, we are not going to make any finding unless we have absolute proof in this record to sustain it.

Now, I want to make another statement as to the latitude this committee has granted. All that anyone need to do is to go and read the hearings of any other committee in this House, pick out any of your committees, and see the latitude that was granted in those cases. For instance, take the Monopoly Committee, which is going on right now, and see how much of that is pure opinion, and how much is just a conclusion of the witness.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You cannot get away from it.

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot get away from it; no; because a congressional committee is not governed by the rules of evidence, and



never has been; because we are not like a court; we cannot pass judgment or sentence on anyone.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All we can do is to undertake to report our collective action.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is my point, exactly.

A man who appears here and swears "I sat in a Communist meeting with a certain man and he could not be there unless he was a Communist, and I have that knowledge," if a man wishes to deny that, he should deny it under oath.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. But you are going to restrict this rebuttal, or whatever we call it, to a denial of the charges that have been made?

The CHAIRMAN. That have been made in the committee—not by a member, but in the committee by a witness.

Mr. THOMAS. So that if the American Civil Liberties Union sends in a denial through their representative, they just cannot discuss every subject in the world, but they will have to confine their denial to the charges that have been made?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right, but to accord all of them a full opportunity to do it.

Now, it ought to be made clear that we undertook to get all of these people to come in here from the very beginning, repeatedly, and in spite of these invitations that have been carried over the air, that have been carried in the newspapers, carried even, in some cases, in letters, they did not see fit to come in. And now one or two of them toward the last, in the concluding days, when they read, evidently, that our money is nearly exhausted, and the committee is reaching an end, all of a sudden put up a cry, "I want to be heard." We want to be fair, because we have to be; that is our duty, to be fair, but we are now out of money and cannot continue and prolong this thing, and there is no way to do it unless we raise a contribution among ourselves to do it. So that the next best thing, and which will serve the same purpose, is to afford these people an opportunity to deny this in the way in which it is made. If it is a charge stated under oath, then let them confine their answer to the charge and swear to it in the form of an affidavit, and place it in the record. Then all sides will have a full opportunity.

I do not think anybody can take any exception to that, in view of the fact our money is gone, and now let it be thoroughly understood by these heads, and I want it to go out to the organizations, that the reason we are not carrying this through is because we cannot pay their expenses to come here, nor can we continue to run this thing and run up the bills for stenographers. And the reason we cannot is because of the financial difficulties we are facing. I want that thoroughly understood, because the statement is going to be made that we heard certain people and certain organizations, but other people and other organizations we would not hear.

Now this is the statement of Mr. Cowles:

*Chairman Dies and Members of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives:*

Complying with a courteous request that I make a statement to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, I submit the following, which I hope will be very helpful to the work of the committee and a benefit to our country.

In submitting this statement I speak for myself only, not as the representative of any organization, society, or other individual, but give my personal convictions, based on my travels throughout this country and also over the world, and upon the fundamental principles of freemasonry, a fraternity of which I have been a member for more than 50 years. The principles taught in the fraternity are measures by which I judge situations and conditions as to their relations with all that is just, right, and true.

As I understand masonry it is not political. It is not a religion, but it is religious, and it is patriotic and nonracial, teaching all its votaries the duties which they owe to their countries, whether native or adopted. It preaches love of liberty, devotion to high ideals, to culture, refinement, toleration, courtesy; consideration for others; freedom of press, speech and of the individual in matters of conscience, creed, and belief; separation of church and state; belief in constitutional government, protection of personal and property rights, and that everyone should remain master of his own voice, vote, and opinion.

These principles, if I am right and I believe that I am, were those that actuated the founding fathers of this great country of ours, many members of the Constitutional Convention and signers of the Declaration of Independence, Presidents and other high officials in the United States Government. These forefathers were oppressed and discriminated against in the countries of their birth, so came and settled in this country of opportunity. They opened wide the gates and invited the oppressed of all the world to come and find liberty and to build their homes.

They came, and in addition to those who were imbued with the finest ideals, there came thousands, and in the increasing years multiple thousands, of those who, notwithstanding the asylum they found here, never understood the genius of our form of government, but still retained the customs and the manners, good and bad, prevalent whence they came. Crooks, thieves, murderers, all sorts of criminals and the insane, came in droves and abused the privileges given them by admittance into this land.

In recent years, among these have developed numerous radical "isms," which are growing fast. The followers and promoters of these "isms" have no concern for the welfare of this country, but are solely interested in their personal fortunes, ambition for power, which they hope to obtain by the overthrow of constitutional government.

The advocates of these "isms" are introducing their peculiar ideas into the public schools and other educational institutions of our country. They work unceasingly to accomplish their ends, if not soon, then in the next generation or two. The public schools are the only real melting pot that we have in this country, and the base from which to eradicate these false "isms." The leaders and advocates, if not American citizens, should be deported, and if that is not possible, imprisoned.

I am opposed to naturalization of such people. Indeed, I think our naturalization laws are too lenient. Our youths have to live here 21 years before they are permitted to vote, not only being taught during all those years the duties of citizenship, but passing them in an atmosphere of democracy. While the immigrants who come here can in a few years gain the privilege of franchise and, too often, with no knowledge of our Government or care for it, soon become followers of ward politicians.

The United States Congress should have before this provided a Committee on Un-American Activities. Your committee so far has done exceedingly well considering the difficulties it has had to overcome and the restrictions with which it has been hampered. You should be permitted to continue your labors until you have discovered and disclosed every organization, society, cult, or individual in these United States, directly or indirectly advocating or supporting any "ism"; party or plan that tends to overthrow this constitutional government of ours, which has accomplished so much in 150 years.

I sincerely and fervently hope that the Congress will continue this committee and provide it with ample funds and cooperation with all departments of the Government, in order to destroy any and every thing inimical to the preservation of the liberties and privileges of our people.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN H. COWLES,  
*Grand Commander, the Supreme Council of the  
Thirty-third Degree of Ancient and Accepted Scottish  
Rite of the Masonry, Southern Jurisdiction.*



This will conclude the hearings for today. And tomorrow, at 10:30 a. m., we are to hear Bishop Adna W. Leonard, Methodist bishop, Pittsburgh, Pa.; and at 11 a. m., we are to hear Dr. James E. West, chief executive of the Boy Scouts of America, New York City.

And at the conclusion of tomorrow's hearings, that will wind us up. We hope to have this report ready within 2 weeks, if you agree to it, and have it ready to file with Congress.

And as we are winding up our hearings, we want to express our deep gratitude to the members of the press for their fairness, their patience, and the fact they have done a mighty good job, so far as this committee is concerned.

(The committee thereupon adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, December 15, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

#### IN RE HARRY BRIDGES

Recently the Washington Daily News carried the following item:

#### BUND LEADER MAY LOSE HIS CITIZENSHIP

"LOS ANGELES, December 15.—Immigration authorities undertook today the unusual procedure of revoking the American citizenship granted Herman Max Schwinn, Hamburg-born west coast leader of the German-American bund.

"United States Attorney Harrison said the attempt was based on discrepancies of dates for Schwinn's naturalization, approved here 6 years ago.

"Harrison said only a "go-ahead" from the Attorney General's office in Washington remained before court proceedings are filed citing Schwinn to show cause why he should not lose his citizenship."

As chairman of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, I commend the reported joint action by the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor in seeking the revocation of United States citizenship previously granted to Herman Max Schwinn.

In view of the reported joint action by these Departments against Schwinn, I am spreading upon the records of this committee certain documents of the Department of Labor relative to Harry Bridges which affect his right to citizenship in the United States.

First, let me point out that it is provided in the naturalization laws of the United States that—

"No alien shall be admitted to citizenship unless (1) immediately preceding the date of his petition he has resided continuously within the United States for at least five years and for at least six months within the county where he resided at the time he filed his petition; (2) he has resided continuously within the United States from the date of his petition up to the time of his admission to citizenship; and (3) *during all the periods herein referred to he has behaved as a person of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States.*"

It is provided in section 80 of the act of March 4, 1909 that—

"Whoever, in any proceeding under or by virtue of any law relating to the naturalization of aliens, shall knowingly swear falsely in any case where an oath is made or affidavit taken, shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars and imprisoned not more than five years (35 Stat. 1103; U. S. C., title 18, sec. 142)."

Unfortunately, it is also provided in section 24 of the naturalization laws—

"That no person shall be prosecuted, tried, or punished for any crime arising under the provisions of this Act (of June 29, 1906) unless the indictment is found or the information is filed within five years next after the commission of such crime (34 Stat. 603; U. S. C., title 8, sec. 415)."

Deportation proceedings have been deferred against Harry Bridges by the Secretary of Labor, pending the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Strecker case. Regardless of the outcome of the Strecker case and of the further action by the Department of Labor with respect to Bridges,



my examination of the Bridges file which was furnished to our committee by the Department of Labor, shows certain facts with respect to Bridges which in my opinion should be made public at this time. Furthermore, these documents might well be considered and made the basis of remedial legislation by the next Congress of the United States. There should be no Statute of Limitations saving an alien from deportation who shall be found guilty of perjury, or any other crime involving moral turpitude.

The records of the Department of Labor clearly indicate that Harry Bridges is not qualified for citizenship in the United States.

Harry Renton Bridges, the alien west coast labor agitator, was born in Australia; emigrated to the United States on May 7, 1920; filed his first papers on July 13, 1921, at New Orleans, La.; thereafter failed to perfect his citizenship papers within the required 7 years, and filed a new declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States on August 9, 1928, before the clerk of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, in which he stated, under oath, that he was married and that the name of his wife was Agnes, and that she was born in Scotland and now resides with him.

Thereafter Bridges again failed to perfect his citizenship papers within 7 years, but filled out Form A-2213, which is entitled "Preliminary Form for a Declaration of Intention," on May 2, 1936. This form is a necessary prerequisite to the filing of one's first papers and is now on record in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, and is being held pending the application of Harry Bridges for a third set of first papers. In this form Bridges states that he is married, and that the name of his wife is Agnes Bridges, and that they were married on May 1, 1934, at San Francisco, Calif., and that she was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on June 29, 1900, and arrived in the United States at New York, N. Y., on May 1912, and that they have two children whose names are Kenneth McClely, born June 27, 1916, at Marshfield, Oreg., and Betty Jacqueline, born December 26, 1924, at San Francisco, Calif.

These statements by Harry Renton Bridges, concerning his marital status, are taken from the files of the Department of Labor.

On January 22, 1935, a report was submitted to the district director at San Francisco by Inspector Thomas V. Donoghue, concerning Harry Bridges, which report in part was as follows:

"On January 17, 1935, I called at the office of the Naturalization Service, this city, and inspected the file there covering Harry Bridges. It appears that Harry Bridges filed his last application for a declaration of intention on or about June 15, 1928, and therefore his declaration of intention will be valid until June 15, 1935, until which time the alien will be able to petition for United States citizenship. *The District Director has informed me that he recalls a conversation with Assistant District Director Armstrong to the effect that Bridges has spoken guardedly to Mr. Armstrong on one occasion with reference to his application for citizenship. The suspicions of Mr. Armstrong were aroused whether the alien had been lawfully married as indicated by him in his petition.*

"The said petition indicates that the alien was married on December 2, 1923, under the name of Harry Renton Bridges, that his wife is Agnes Bridges, that he has a child, Betty Bridges, born December 26, 1924, in San Francisco; and that his residence at that time was 37 Altha Street, San Francisco.

"Upon procuring the foregoing information I called at the office of the license bureau, this city, and the records of said bureau do not show any person by the name of Harry Renton Bridges having been married in this city on December 2, 1923. If the aforesaid marriage took place, it did not take place in this city. It would, however, be advisable to request the Sacramento office of this Service to inspect the records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics on file at Sacramento to ascertain if said Harry Bridges was married anywhere in the State of California on December 2."

This excerpt is taken from file No. 55874/896, and there is no evidence as submitted by the Labor Department to this committee, showing that any investigation was made by the Naturalization Service of the State records at Sacramento, as suggested by Inspector Donoghue.

In the Bonham file which was furnished to this committee and therefore has no number, there is found, under date of November 30, 1937, a letter from Immigrant Inspector M. C. Pommerane to the Divisional Director of Immigration and Naturalization Service at Portland, Oreg., in which he says:

"In accordance with your instructions I proceeded to Marshfield, Oregon, and arrived there on the 29th inst. Inquiry at North Bend, Oregon, elicited

the information that Agnes Brown, *the present wife or suspected consort of Harry Bridges*, was previously married to one Walter Moore who is now residing at 2055 Harrison St., North Bend, Oregon, with his wife and son. I called at that address and found no one at home and after making inquiry in the neighborhood and being unable to secure any information as to whether Mr. Moore is employed, I proceeded to Coquille, Oregon, and in the court house eventually found records of the marriage of this couple. The record of the birth of the child and subsequent divorce, a certified copy of the marriage certificate reflecting the marriage of Walter Moore and Agnes Brown at Coquille, Oregon, on May 26, 1917, is attached, together with the decree of divorce of the same persons dated June 20, 1923, at Coquille, Oregon, which is also certified. \* \* \* The records of the Health Office at Coquille, Oregon, reflect the birth of an unnamed male child to Walter Moore, a bandsaw operator born in Iowa, and Agnes Brown, housewife, born in Scotland. The child was born in Preuss, Oregon, March 23, 1918, and is listed as a second child born to this couple. A careful search of the records back to 1913 failed to reflect the birth of any child in that county under the name of Moore or Brown or any other name in which the mother's name was given as Agnes Brown."

In file 55973/217-A there is a letter from Commissioner Houghteling to Senator Royal S. Copeland, under date of March 5, 1938, which, in part, is as follows:

"After my talk with you yesterday I talked to Edward W. Cahill, District Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the San Francisco District, about his interview with Harry Bridges on February 8. After his explanation I asked him to make a sworn statement of the facts thereof and I take the liberty of sending you a copy herewith. Mr. Cahill had not previously reported this interview with Bridges to the Central Office and may be subject to some criticism for not having done so, in view of the previous investigation which had been made in his district with his assistance into the activities of this alien.

"I also had occasion to discuss with Raphael P. Bonham, our district director at Seattle, certain of the other questions which you raised about Harry Bridges. Mr. Bonham said that he understood that the elder child named in the incomplete declaration of intention of Harry Bridges is a stepchild, being a child of Mrs. Bridges by a previous man. Our records indicate that Harry Bridges was not in the United States in 1916 at the time this child was born in Marshfield, Oregon.

"Mr. Bonham says that the reason for the filing of his second declaration of intention in 1928 so soon after the lapse of his first declaration at the end of the seven year period, was *that he did not dare to apply for naturalization in view of the fact of being the father of a four-year-old child to whose mother he was not at that time married. It is understood that he was convinced that naturalization would be refused but that he believed that by filing a new declaration of intention, with a period of seven additional years to straighten out his domestic situation, he would be able to do so and proceed with his naturalization.*"

The statement by Edward W. Cahill, referred to in the first paragraph in the letter to Senator Royal S. Copeland, does not appear in the files which were furnished to this committee. It may reasonably be assumed, however, that in the conversation between Cahill and Bridges, some explanation was offered by Bridges with respect to his domestic situation, which Cahill failed to report to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and which resulted in Commissioner Houghteling saying that Mr. Cahill "may be subject to some criticism for not having done so."

On March 1, 1938, Assistant District Director Paul Armstrong wrote to Commissioner Houghteling as follows:

"Mr. Bridges has not availed himself of the opportunity up to this morning when form A-2213 was borrowed from said clerk in order that copy might be made. Mr. Bridges has not yet filed a declaration on this latest application.

"About two weeks ago Mr. Bridges and his attorney came to this office and asked a few questions of the clerk at our information counter. They then went to the office of the clerk, U. S. district court, and asked to inspect the application form. They both looked over the form and then left the clerk's office. The clerk (naturalization deputy) asked Mr. Bridges whether he wished to file his declaration but Mr. Bridges is said to have left without answering the question. Form A-2213 is being returned to the clerk for use in filing declaration of intention if and when Mr. Bridges appears for that purpose."



The presence of Bridges' attorney with him, his examination of the papers, his failure to answer the question whether he desired to sign his first papers—all indicate the reluctance of Harry Bridges to state under oath that he was married May 1, 1934, in San Francisco, Calif.

As previously stated, "Preliminary Form for Declaration of Intention," signed by Bridges on May 2, 1936, is now in the office of the clerk of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, and only a copy of this instrument is in the Labor Department files. So I wired to the clerk of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California at San Francisco to make sure that the copy of the "Preliminary Form for Declaration of Intention" in the files of the Department of Labor was correctly copied. In reply Walter B. Mailing, clerk of the United States district court, telegraphed me under date of December 15, 1938, as follows:

"Harry Renton Bridges made declaration of intention August nine, nineteen twenty-eight, showing Agnes wife. Record does not give marriage date. In preliminary form for declaration dated May two, nineteen thirty-six, he states married Agnes May first, nineteen thirty-four, at San Francisco. He has not filed petition for citizenship in this office."

The original of this telegram, marked as "Exhibit A," is hereto attached and made a part of this record.

Inasmuch as I could find no evidence in the Department of Labor's files on Harry Bridges that the Department made any effort to check Bridges' marital status at the State registrar of vital statistics in Sacramento, Calif., I sent a wire to that office asking if they had any record of the marriage of Harry Renton Bridges.

On December 19, 1938, I received the following wire from the State registrar of vital statistics of the State of California:

"Find no record marriage in California of Harry Renton Bridges and Agnes Brown or McClay neither on December two, nineteen twenty-three, nor on May first, nineteen thirty-four, nor on any other date between July first, nineteen five, and June thirty, nineteen thirty-eight. Also find no record marriage Agnes Brown to Mister McClay between January first, nineteen twelve, and December thirty-one, nineteen twenty-three."

This telegram is marked as "Exhibit B" and is attached to and made a part of this record.

A further telegram, from the State registrar of vital statistics of the State of California, indicates that Harry Renton Bridges has never been married to anyone within the State of California. This telegram is marked "Exhibit C" and is attached hereto and made a part of this record. Certificates subsequently received from the State registrar of vital statistics of the State of California are marked as "Exhibits D and E" and made a part of this record.

I am submitting a copy of the foregoing for their consideration to the Secretary of Labor, the Attorney General of the United States, and the United States district attorney for the northern district of California, San Francisco, Calif.

#### EXHIBIT A

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., *December 15, 1938.*

MARTIN DIES, *Member of Congress,*

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities:*

Harry Renton Bridges made declaration of intention August nine, nineteen twenty-eight, showing Agnes wife. Record does not give marriage date. In preliminary form for declaration, dated May second, nineteen thirty-six, he states married Agnes May first, nineteen thirty-four, at San Francisco. He has not filed petition for citizenship in this office.

WALTER B. MALING,  
*Clerk, U. S. District Court.*

#### EXHIBIT B

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., *December 19, 1938.*

MARTIN DIES, M. C.,

*Washington, D. C.:*

Find no record marriage in California of Harry Renton Bridges and Agnes Brown or McClay, neither on December two, nineteen twenty-three, nor on



May first, nineteen thirty-four, nor on any other date between July first, nineteen five, and June thirtieth, nineteen thirty-eight. Also find no record marriage Agnes Brown to Mr. McClay between January first, nineteen twelve, and December thirty-first, nineteen twenty-three.

STATE REGISTRAR OF VITAL STATISTICS.

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EXHIBIT C

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., *December 21, 1938.*

MARTIN DIES, M. C.,

*Washington, D. C.:*

State records fail to show marriage Harry Renton Bridges, Alfred Renton Bridges, or Alfred Bridges to anyone between May seven, nineteen twenty, and June thirtieth, nineteen thirty-eight, in California. Records nearest are: (1) Harry T. Bridge; white; 31; birthplace, California; occupation, rancher; father, Thomas, born in England; mother, Leontine Harwood, born in California; married Hilda Louise Larsen in Alameda County, March 23, 1923. (2) Harry Bridges; white; 22; born, Chesterfield, Illinois; occupation truck driver for Bekins; father, William Bridges, birthplace, unknown; mother, Loretta Smith, birthplace, not known; married Regina Boltres in San Francisco on September 1, 1923. (3) Harry Russell Bridges; white; 30; divorced; born, Peoria, Illinois; occupation, truck driver for Bekins; father, William Bridges, born Louisville, Kentucky; mother, Martha Smith, born Louisville, Kentucky; married Nellie P. Henderson at San Francisco, November 14, 1931. (4) Harry H. Bridge; white; 21; born, Rochester, New York; occupation, textile salesman; father, Hyman Bridge, birthplace, Russia; mother, Pearl Sandpearl; married Anne J. Rixon at Los Angeles on December 13, 1931.

STATE REGISTRAR OF VITAL STATISTICS.

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EXHIBIT D

No. 23784

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

VITAL STATISTICS

---

CERTIFICATE OF SEARCH OF RECORDS

This is to certify, That an examination has been made of the State Index covering the period from July 1st, 1905, to June 30th, 1938, for the marriage of Agnes Brown or McClay but that no reference to this event is to be found therein.

In testimony whereof, Witness my hand and seal of office, at Sacramento, California, A. D. Dec. 20th, 1938.

Fee of \$2.00 received from Martin Dies, M. C.

Address Washington, D. C.

#6137

[SEAL]

MAMIE B. STRINGER,  
*State Registrar of Vital Statistics.*

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EXHIBIT E

No. 23783

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

VITAL STATISTICS

---

CERTIFICATE OF SEARCH OF RECORDS

This is to certify, That an examination has been made of the State Index covering the period from July 1st, 1905, to June 30th, 1938, for the marriage of Harry Renton Bridges or Alfred Renton Bridges but that no reference to this event is to be found therein.

In testimony whereof, Witness my hand and seal of office, at Sacramento, California, A. D. Dec. 20th, 1938.

Fee of \$2.00 received from Martin Dies, M. C.

Address Washington, D. C.

#6137

[SEAL]

MAMIE B. STRINGER,

*State Registrar of Vital Statistics.*

The following affidavits and communications of denial were submitted by persons mentioned or charged by witnesses appearing before the committee.

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK,

*County of New York, ss:*

Aline Davis Hays, being duly sworn, says:

I am one of the original sponsors and organizers of the League of Women Shoppers, and at the present time am the President of its national organization. Among the other original founders and sponsors of the League were: Helen Woodward, Aline MacMahon, Mary R. Beard, Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, Frieda S. Miller, Dorothy Kenyon, Freda Kirchwey, Alice Withrow Field, Mrs. Ira Gershwin, Mrs. Howell Van Gerbig, Susan Woodruff, Justin Wise Tulin, Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer, Mrs. Jacob Riis, Sheila Hibben, Mrs. Quincy Howe, Peggy Wood, and Lucy Sprague Mitchell.

The League of Women Shoppers is a nonprofit, nonpolitical organization and its constitution expressly provides that it "and its locals shall not affiliate with any other organization." It was organized to provide a channel of expression for the women who wish to use their purchasing power to improve the working conditions of those employed in manufacturing and selling goods they buy, and by such use to become an effective force for progressive social action.

On August 20, 1938, Mr. J. B. Matthews stated before the House Committee to investigate un-American activities that he had had some official connection with the League of Women Shoppers and that, although the League was not generally so recognized, it was one of the united front organizations inspired or influenced by the Communist Party. This was false.

Mr. J. B. Matthews is not and never has been a member of the League of Women Shoppers and never had any official connection with it. In fact, when the League was first formed males were not eligible for membership, and it was not until 1936 that men were accepted as associate members.

The League of Women Shoppers has no connection with the Communist Party nor are its actions prompted, influenced, or guided in any way by, the Communist Party.

On the 23rd of August the League requested permission to appear before the committee so as to deny Mr. Matthews' untruthful and baseless accusation, but such request was not granted nor was the League given any opportunity to appear at any of the committee's public hearings to disprove the falsehood so recklessly uttered by Mr. Matthews. This, in face of the committee's professed position that it was "more concerned with facts than with opinions and with specific proof than with generalities" and that "it was easy to smear someone's name or reputation by unsupported charges or an unjustified attack, but it is difficult to repair the damage that has been done."

It was not until December 22nd, 1938, and after the hearings of the committee had closed, that the League was requested to submit an affidavit. In submitting this affidavit, the League of Women Shoppers wishes to register its disapproval of the committee's unfair method of procedure in providing an arena for such an irresponsible individual to attack a responsible organization by reckless charges founded on nothing more than his unsubstantial opinion instead of adequate evidence.

ALINE DAVIS HAYS.

Sworn to before me this 3rd day of January 1939.

[SEAL]

FREDERICK GRIFFIN, *Notary Public.*

Commission expires March 30, 1940.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE.  
168 West 23rd Street, New York City, December 29, 1938.  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Referring to your communication of December 22nd addressed to our National Chairman, Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart, we beg to submit for the official record of the Committee the following sworn statement which covers our relief activities and at the same time controverts Mr. Stuart Lillico's unsupported statements before your Committee. Mr. Lillico, who was employed for some years by the "Japan Advertiser" in Tokyo, cannot be expected to speak favorably of the American Friends of the Chinese People, which has but one purpose—that of promoting friendship between the United States and China; and is not a communist organization.

*Statement of receipts and expenditures, China relief fund, from inception,  
September 1937, to December 29, 1938*

Donations-----	\$3, 445. 89
Interest earned on account-----	2. 24
Total receipts-----	\$3, 448. 13
Expenditures:	
Ambulance sent to China-----	\$998. 92
Ambulance shipping expense-----	228. 26
Money sent to China-----	1, 706. 15
Cost of insuring money-----	20. 00
Expenses of raising funds <sup>1</sup> -----	421. 20
Total expenditures-----	3, 374. 53
Balance in fund December 29, 1938-----	73. 60

<sup>1</sup> Amounts to approximately 12% of total receipts.

Julius Loeb, Vice Chairman of the American Friends of the Chinese People, being duly sworn, states that the above figures are correct to the best of his knowledge.

JULIUS LOEB.

Sworn to before me 30 Dec. 1938.

[SEAL]

SAMUEL S. ZIPSER, Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1939.

IN THE MATTER OF THE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

STATE OF NEW YORK,

*City and County of New York, ss:*

HARRY F. WARD, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

I submit this affidavit as national chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which is an American voluntary association. I was elected to that office at the most recent Congress of the American League, held in Pittsburgh, November 1937, by the vote of 1,416 delegates representing 4,025,920 members of 1,050 organizations from most of the States of the Union.

At the outset let me express the protest of my organization at the un-American manner in which your proceedings have been conducted. The record of your hearings shows a continuous violation of the fundamental principles of fairness and decency. Although your committee presumably was interested in ascertaining what the American League for Peace and Democracy is and stands for, you failed to call a single representative of the League to make any inquiries of the League, or even to permit the League to submit the facts to your committee. Instead you relied upon the testimony of persons whose record and reputation must have informed you of their prejudice toward and hatred of the American League, and whose testimony, therefore, by all elementary rules of evidence, was subject to doubt from the outset. Furthermore, you permitted these witnesses to clutter up the record with falsehoods, sly insinuations, and half-truths, despite your frequent assertions, publicly made, that your committee was interested only in facts which would have "probative



value." We have forwarded our protest to the Hon. William B. Bankhead, Speaker of the House of Representatives, in a letter, a copy of which follows:

"HON. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD,

*"Speaker, House of Representatives,*

*"Washington, D. C.*

"SIR: We are compelled to call your attention to the procedure of the Committee of the House on Un-American Activities appointed by you under a resolution adopted by the last Congress

"This Committee has behaved in a manner different from that of any other Committee of Congress of which we have knowledge. Its hearings have been conducted in violation of all the rules of evidence. There has been no cross-examination, no rebuttal, and no checking of the testimony of the witnesses, nor of their antecedents or motives. The Chairman has acted as though he were at one and the same time prosecutor and witness, judge and jury. He has spread opinion and inference over the pages of the press as though it were proven fact, thus damaging the reputation of individuals and organizations, who have been given no opportunity to establish the facts. This organization can produce documentary evidence contradicting the testimony of the two witnesses who made allegations concerning us before the Committee.

"We submit that this Committee has not in any true sense of the word conducted an investigation, that its procedure is itself 'un-American activity,' that its findings are therefore worthless, and that the acceptance of them by Congress would seriously lower its prestige throughout the country."

The testimony before your Committee was mainly supplied by Walter Steele, Homer Chaillaux, and J. B. Matthews. I shall concentrate mainly on the testimony of Mr. Matthews, since Walter Steele and Homer Chaillaux have already discredited themselves so thoroughly by their conduct and reputation that there is no need for me at this late date to waste much time on their hackneyed stories. Suffice it to say that the testimony of those two gentlemen fails to present a single fact to indicate any un-American activity on the part of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Mr. Chaillaux states, on page 437 of the record of the "hearings": "It leads you to believe that there is this one definite thing which I will bring out in the report on the American League for Peace and Democracy—that they are not interested in peace and democracy—they are not interested in the abolition of war—they are not interested in but one thing, and that is in hiding their support of Communism by attacking some other group or some other activity." Of course, Mr. Chaillaux "brings out" nothing at all. Mr. Chaillaux repeats reckless, unproven statements, the only difference between his remarks on this occasion and others in the past being that he now speaks under the respectable cloak of a Congressional Committee. I shall be glad to bring out what neither Mr. Chaillaux nor your committee seemed anxious to find out; that is, what the American League for Peace and Democracy actually is, what it stands for, who controls it, and what its activities are.

Let me first take up, however, the testimony of J. B. Matthews. The record clearly shows that he was called to establish "that there is a direct connection between the Communist Party, The International Party in Moscow, and this American League Against War and Fascism and its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy." Mr. Starnes, of the Committee, repeatedly tried to pin him down on that, and he finally submitted what purports to be conclusive proof of the connection. First, that Mr. Browder attended a meeting of the Communist International at which the American League was born. Second, that the League Against War and Fascism was set up simultaneously in America, Canada, Great Britain, and France. Third, that the name of the League was changed simultaneously to the League for Peace and Democracy. Each statement is false, historically and demonstrably so. Mr. Matthews offers no proof of his assertions, but I shall prove each point I make.

First, the League Against War, the organization from which the others have grown, was in existence long before "the winter of 1932-33," when the alleged meeting of this Communist International took place. It was organized in France by Henri Barbusse, and was at the outset confined to that country. Monsieur Barbusse, after the French League had been in existence for some time, summoned, together with Romain Rolland, the world-famous author, a World Congress Against War, which met in Amsterdam in August 1932. It was at that Congress that the first steps were taken to organize a world-wide movement against war. The international organizing committee consisted of Bernard

Shaw, Madame Sun Yat Sen, Theodore Dreiser, Albert Einstein, Maxim Gorky, and Heinrich Mann, and among the delegates from the United States were Sherwood Anderson, Professor Margaret Schlauch, Scott Nearing, Dr. Israel Goldstein, and others. Our American delegates, on returning to this country, proceeded to organize an American committee which, in September 1933, called the first United States Congress Against War. At that Congress, attended by over 2,000 delegates from thirty-five states, in response to a Call, signed by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, and about sixty national organizations, the delegates prepared a ten-point program and established the American League Against War and Fascism.

The Canadian League was not organized until about a year later, and, in fact, I was present at its initial Congress and helped to organize it.

The British organization was formed by British citizens subsequent to the World Congress referred to above, we assume in the same manner and for the same reasons that our League was formed here.

Attached hereto is a historical survey by Professor Langevin, a distinguished scholar, delivered in Paris, September 1936, long before the Dies Committee came into existence and therefore not subject to the charge that the survey was inspired (Exhibit "A").

Second, as to Mr. Matthews' unsupported assertion that "last winter all four simultaneously took new names," the record again demonstrates this to be false.

It was extremely important for Mr. Matthews to prove this simultaneous action on the part of the various peace organizations. Having no real proof of the connection between the American League and Moscow, Mr. Matthews hoped to insinuate the connection in this manner on the theory that since all four organizations came into existence simultaneously and changed their names simultaneously, they must be controlled, guided, and directed from some common center, which must, of course, be Moscow. This paves the way for him to say later, without offering even a shadow of proof, that the contributions which the Communist Party made to the expenses of the League when he was Chairman in fulfillment of its obligations as an affiliate, came from Moscow.

The fact is, however, that the changes of name did not take place simultaneously. The Canadian League changed its name about a year before the American League. The British organization has not taken our new name. The Australian League has only just done so, as the following extract from a letter received November 2, 1938, will show:

"Our Movement here has taken the same step as you; the Movement Against War and Fascism has been replaced by the League for Peace and Democracy, and we are endeavoring to make this a real change and a big step forward."

And the World Committee, with which all national organizations are affiliated, *still retains* the name "World Committee Against War and Fascism." Below is attached the legend on the letterhead of the World Committee, which was cut from a letter received from France only a few weeks ago, by the American League.

#### COMITÉ MONDIAL CONTRE LA GUERRE ET LE FASCISME

(Welkomitee gegen Krieg und Faschismus—World Committee Against War and Fascism)

Fondateur, Henri Barbusse; Président d'honneur, Romain Rolland; Secrétaire général, Francis Jourdain. Conseil de présidence: France, Paul Langevin, Jean Longuet, André Malraux; Angleterre, Sir Norman Angell; Allemagne, Heinrich Mann; Etats-Unis, H. F. Ward, Sherwood Anderson, John dos Passos; Canada, A. A. MacLeod.

Let me say positively and unequivocally that the change of name was not dictated nor recommended by the Communist party or any members of it. As a matter of record, it was first raised in our Board by myself, as a result of suggestions from some of our members and prospective members, and a conversation with Mr. McLeod, chairman of the Canadian League, concerning the result of the change there.

It is appropriate to refer to Mr. Matthews' comments on the men and women prominent in public life who are members of, or associated with, the American League. He calls them "dupes and decoys." I wish to call the attention of your committee to the names on the above letterhead, and to ask whether the committee really believed these men were dupes of anybody. I have affixed a



copy of the call to our Fifth Congress to be held in Washington, D. C., January 6, 7, and 8, 1939, and ask the committee whether it believes the men who indorsed this Congress are dupes or decoys (Exhibit B). Let me assure the committee that despite the publicity given to Mr. Matthews' testimony and the committee's anxiety to protect "otherwise good, sound-thinking American citizens," not a single prominent American whose name has been mentioned by Mr. Matthews or your other star performers, Steele and Chaillaux, has resigned from the American League.

Let me add this further proof of the untrustworthiness of your star witness. He stated that he resigned from the American League because his "education with respect to Communist trickery and violence was proceeding rapidly."

Yet, in the spring of 1935 we find Mr. Matthews "returned to the American League as a member of its national bureau, and continued in that capacity until the following September." And I might add that he then gave considerable time to its work as a volunteer. We leave it to the committee to explain Mr. Matthews' return to the American League, after he had resigned therefrom because of "Communist trickery." I note that Mr. Matthews is silent as to the events preceding September 1935, when he again resigned. It was necessary for Mr. Matthews, who complains of "Communist trickery and violence," to resign from the league because of his conduct in the Consumer's Research strike in 1935, which is a matter of public record. If your committee had permitted cross examination at this point, the reason for the character of Mr. Matthews' testimony concerning the American League would have been brought to light.

The testimony also discloses sworn evidence by one Edward Herzog, likewise purporting to be an expert on the American League, that Heywood Broun was the principal speaker at our Congress in Cleveland. We are submitting a record of the Congress proceedings which will reveal that Mr. Broun was not only not the principal speaker but did not address the Congress at all (Exhibit "C").

And finally, we have the testimony of one Professor Fenlon, likewise presuming to be an authority on the League. His criticism takes the form of a plaintive question, "But I ask, what is this anti-war League of the College, and why is it, and why are all units of Communism and Socialism so fervidly furthering the program of this more general league?"—referring to the American League for Peace and Democracy. And he thereupon promises "to listen to officials of the League" when we march around denouncing Communism.

I wish to state for the benefit of Dr. Fenlon and your committee that the sole purpose of the American League, the one reason it was organized and for which it now exists, is to fight against war and fascism, the two major enemies of America and of all mankind today, and to do this by endeavoring to: Keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world; Preserve and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people. Not only the millions of supporters of the American League, but the whole American people (including Dr. Fenlon and the Committee) are menaced at this time by fascism and its consequence, war. If that was not clear a few years ago, certainly recent events have so established the fact that even the blindest can see it. I refer you to Ethiopia, to the invasion of Austria, to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and to the dreadful conflicts still going on in Spain and China. Is that not sufficient proof and justification for the program of the American League? Is the committee unaware of the Nazi-Fascist infiltration in South America, which brings the dangers of fascism and war ever closer? As a complete answer to the distortions of fact, the insinuations and the lies that appear in your "Hearings" about our organization, I append a copy of the Purpose and Program of the American League for Peace and Democracy for 1933 (Exhibit "D"). I challenge your committee to find anything in that document or in the activities of the League that is "un-American" or "subversive," anything that should not command the support of loyal American citizens, anything that justifies the slanders your chairman has spread in the press and upon the air concerning us.

It is against the menace of war and fascism, in behalf of peace and democracy, that the American League calls on all Americans who love their country and its people to unite. We do not care whether a person is Jew or Gentile, whether he be black or white, whether he be worker, farmer or business man, whether he is Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Communist, or a member of no political party; so long as he is an American, interested in preserving and



defending the peace and democracy of America, he is welcome to membership in the American League. Of course we have Communists in our organization, and we make no apologies for that fact. We insist that an organization is to be judged by its program and its activities, and its members are to be judged by their behavior in relation to the organization, and not by any other connection. If and when the Communists oppose our peace and democracy, of course we will be against them. Instead of being to the discredit of the League, it is to the credit of our Communist members that they have worked unitedly with members of other political parties in support of our program. The Communist members of our National Executive Boards, numbering two out of fifteen, have rendered honest and effective service in behalf of the League. So long as Communists are ready to support the program of the American League, to defend peace and democracy, to fight against war and fascism, they will always be welcome. We resent the Committee's inflammatory insinuations that an organization which has Communists in its membership is un-American. We look upon such a charge as a direct threat to the democratic institutions of our nation. This is an attempt to interfere with the rights of Americans to belong to political parties of their own choosing.

It is only one step from this point to brand trade unions as Communist—which your Committee has already done—for having members of the Communist Party in its ranks and thereupon to brand even a church as Communistic because there are Communists among its worshippers. The press only today reports an attack by Hitler upon the Catholic Church for "Communist tendencies." Is there any difference between that action and the methods of your Committee?

In closing, I wish to state categorically as a responsible official of the American League that the American League for Peace and Democracy was not organized by, is not, either in form or in fact, controlled by or dictated to by either the Communist Party of the United States of America or of the Soviet Union, or of any other country, or by the Communist International. There are no invisible, secret, and mysterious ties between us and anybody. When the American League against War and Fascism was composed partly of political organizations, the Communist Party of the United States was one of its affiliates. That affiliation terminated when our 1937 Congress in Pittsburgh changed the name and voted unanimously (without instruction, coercion, or covert hint) that no political parties could be affiliated members.

We are an American organization, our membership controls our League, makes its policies, raises its finances and conducts its affairs, through duly elected officers; all openly and proudly. We are affiliated with the World Committee Against War and Fascism, although as a matter of fact the Committee has held no World Congress since its initial founding in 1932. Our ties with other peace organizations similarly affiliated, as well as with the World Committee, have been solely through correspondence and occasional personal contacts, except for a conference of our various delegates attending the World Peace Congress, called by the International Peace Campaign in Brussels in September 1936.

Every statement made by me herein is either a matter of public record or can be definitely proven by the slightest investigation on your part. This proof, facts of "probative value," not gossip, inference, assumption, or insinuation, plus the analysis of the testimony, clearly establish what the Committee could have quickly discovered had it been interested: (1) that the American League for Peace and Democracy is an American organization, wholly devoted to the defense and preservation of peace and the democratic institutions of America, and that it has never been and is not now engaged in un-American, subversive activities; (2) that the Committee has itself been guilty of "un-American" activity in permitting disreputable, discredited, and untrustworthy witnesses to appear before it and use it for the dissemination of false and slanderous charges.

I shall submit this affidavit, together with copies of all the exhibits attached hereto, to the Congress of the United States, asking for redress, in the form of repudiation of the methods and results of your committee, refusal to continue it, and public apology to the American League, especially to those distinguished Americans supporting it, whose names have been publicly slandered. At the same time I shall call the attention of the coming congress of the League, to be held in Washington on January 6, 7, and 8, 1939, to the special need

at this time to fight for the enforcement of the constitutional guarantees in the Bill of Rights as indispensable weapons against those subversive and un-American activities, threatening our peace and democracy, which your committee was supposed to investigate.

HARRY F. WARD.

Sworn to before me this 3rd day of January 1939.

[SEAL]

JOSEPH FELDMAN, *Notary Public*.

Commission expires March 30, 1939.

AFFIDAVIT

I, James J. Matles, located at 1133 Broadway, Room 1223, New York City, on or about August 14th, 1938, while away from my office in New York City on official business in the mid-west, read newspaper accounts of the testimony given by Mr. John P. Frey, President, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

According to these newspaper accounts, I learned that Mr. Frey named me, among many others who were charged by him, as either being members of the Communist Party or in sympathy with Communism.

Upon returning to my office in New York City, I sent a letter to Mr. John P. Frey on August 20th stating my position in the matter. My letter of August 20th to Mr. Frey follows:

AUGUST 20, 1938.

Mr. JOHN P. FREY,

*President, Metal Trades Department,  
American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. FREY: On getting back to my office, I learned that in your testimony before the Dies committee you mentioned my name among many others, whom you charged with being Communists or in sympathy with communism.

As you well know, until June 1937 I was Grand Lodge representative of one of the principal unions affiliated with your Metal Trades Department, the International Association of Machinists.

I wish to recall that in April of last year, International President Wharton designated me as his personal representative to meet with the president of a principal manufacturers association in the country. This conference, as I learned during the discussion, was for the purpose of finding ways and means to destroy the Steel Workers Organizing Committee with the help of the craft unions of your Department.

In June 1937 (two months later) I resigned as Grand Lodge Representative of the Machinists Union and my resignation was accepted. I tendered my resignation at the same time 30,000 members of the Machinists Union decided to leave the A. F. L. and affiliate with the C. I. O. Is it possible that because I refused to join with you and some prominent manufacturers in a plot for the destruction of the C. I. O., you now accuse me of having Communistic sympathies?

I should think that had you included the above facts in your testimony, your charge of Communistic sympathies against me, and a number of other officers of C. I. O. Unions, might have appeared ridiculous even to Congressman Dies.

I understand quite well that at your Metal Trades Department Convention this fall you will be faced with the necessity of making a report covering last year's efforts and progress of your Department. Since you are unable to report any constructive achievements, you have apparently decided this year, as in the past, to indulge in a sensational display to distract the attention of your membership from the failures of your organization.

The failures of the Metal Trades Department for several decades as compared with the splendid record of achievement by the C. I. O., in which our International Union played no small part, explains your hysteria.

Very truly yours,

(s) JAMES J. MATLES,  
*Director of Organizations.*

JJM:SK  
UOPWA:16

On August 30th, I relieved the following reply from Mr. John P. Frey:



METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT,  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
400-403 A. F. OF L. BLDG.,  
Washington, D. C., August 30, 1938.

Mr. JAMES MATLES,  
*Director of Organization,*  
*United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers,*  
*1133 Broadway, New York City.*

DEAR SIR: Absence from Washington prevented an earlier reply to your letter of August 20th, relative to my testimony before the Dies Committee.

The testimony I presented to the Dies Committee is based on a complete investigation made by trustworthy and reliable persons. If you believe I have erred, and you will submit to me any facts or proof tending to establish such error, I shall promptly investigate the facts and proof you submit as well as make a recheck of my present file and material. If after so doing I find that I am in error as to any material fact or statement, I shall file a frank correction with the committee. I have endeavored to adhere scrupulously to the truth, and it is my intention to do so in all matters pertaining to the investigation of the Committee.

I want nothing but the truth to be brought before the Committee, and if for any reason some fact has been misstated, I assure you, it is unintentional. No one is more ready than I am to correct a mistake, and I will do so if I am convinced that I have made one.

Very truly yours,

(s) JOHN P. FREY,  
*President, Metal Trades Department.*

On September 1st, I again wrote to Mr. Frey, copy of which follows:

SEPTEMBER 1, 1938.

Mr. JOHN P. FREY,  
*President, Metal Trades Department,*  
*American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. FREY: I have received your letter of August 30th. As you probably recollect, in my letter of the 20th to you, I denied your charge and sought to refresh your memory concerning important facts concerning my standing in the labor movement.

I am perplexed to note that you ignore the contents of my communication, but state that you will be willing to file a correction with the Dies Committee should you find that you were in error.

I find it difficult to follow the logic of your position. You have testified before the Committee and included charges of communism against me in the course of your testimony. You ignore the contents of my letter of the 20th and now ask me to submit "evidence" to disprove your charge. Surely you, the accuser, should rather submit evidence to prove your charge.

You must be aware that there is little in the way of "evidence," save a personal denial, that any man could adduce to disprove the charge you have made against me.

For your information, however, I beg leave to inform you that your closest associate in the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, Arthur Wharton of the International Association of Machinists, with whom I, as Grand Lodge Representative, was closely connected for quite some time, never once, not even in the slightest manner, linked me with communism.

In fairness to you, lest you should attach a disproportionate weight to the fact that I have just cited, I feel compelled to inform you of certain further facts that may lead you to draw the same conclusions concerning Mr. Wharton's political beliefs as you have apparently drawn as to my own. The very friendly tone of your communication of August 30th precludes the possibility that I should seek to take advantage of your kindness by citing for my own benefit the evident opinion of a man who you have apparently trusted in the past, without giving you all the facts that appear relevant to the case.

Before reaching a decision to withdraw my name from the long list you have submitted to the Dies Committee, you should know the following facts.

Before the affiliation of a number of independent locals with Mr. Wharton's International Association of Machinists, I received a letter from one of these locals whose business agent was commonly accused of communism. The local asked me to advise it whether or not it should expect trouble with the Grand Lodge of the International Association of Machinists on this account after their affiliation with that body.



I promptly sent a copy of this letter to President Wharton and asked his advice. He informed me that he could not be expected to set aside the laws of the International Association of Machinists, but at the same time recommended that the local take out a charter without worrying about it.

The business agent in question was retained as business agent by the International Association of Machinists, his salary was paid by the Grand Lodge and he received considerable praise from the Grand Lodge for his work and accomplishments.

These facts do not lead me to believe that Mr. Wharton is a communist, but as it is very apparent that it requires slight evidence to confirm your widely-extended suspicions of communism in the labor movement, I have felt it my duty to apprise you of these circumstances lest you be unfairly led to exonerate me upon the basis of circumstances with which you were not wholly familiar.

Let me repeat that I do not regard the foregoing as proof that Mr. Wharton is a communist. Your keener susceptibility to suspicions of this sort may lead you, however, to an opposite opinion.

If so, I am confident your conscience will impel you to add Mr. Wharton's name to the already long list you have given the Dies Committee. If not, I am equally confident that you will feel it your duty to withdraw mine.

May I add, in conclusion, as I am about to leave for our Annual International Convention, the friendly wish that you will be able to report as successful a year, with as many gains for your members, to your coming convention as we shall be able to do at ours.

Very truly yours,

(s) JAMES J. MATLES,  
*Director of Organization.*

JJM:K  
UOPWA:  
No. 16

Not receiving a reply from Mr. Frey to my letter of September 1st, I again wrote to him on September 20th requesting a reply. My letter of September 20th to Mr. Frey follows:

SEPTEMBER 20, 1938.

Mr. JOHN P. FREY,  
*President, Metal Trades Department,  
American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR Mr. FREY:

Upon my return to the office from our International Convention, I find that you have not yet replied to my letter of September 1st.

I would appreciate your informing me if there is any further information that you are interested in, and whether you have undertaken to clear up the testimony given by you to the Dies Committee concerning me.

Hoping to receive your early reply, I remain

Very truly yours,

(s) JAMES J. MATLES,  
*Director of Organization.*

JJM:K  
UOPWA  
No. 16

To this second request for a reply Mr. Frey answered on September 24th. His letter to me of this date follows:

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT,  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
*Houston, Tex., September 24, 1938.*

Mr. JAMES J. MATLES,  
*Director of Organization, United Electrical,  
Radio and Machine Workers of America,  
New York City, N. Y.*

DEAR Mr. MATLES: Your letter of September 20th was forwarded to Houston, Texas, where our preparations are being made for the convention of the Metal Trades Department next week.

Our chief investigator has a number of items concerning some of your connections and activities which would have to be cleared up before I am in a position to write to you finally and definitely.

Yours truly,

(s) JOHN P. FREY,  
*President, Metal Trades Department.*

Despite his statement in his letter of September 24th, although more than three months has passed since he wrote me this letter, I have heard nothing more from Mr. Frey.

Copies of my letters to Mr. Frey of August 20th and September 1st, and of Mr. Frey's letter of August 30th to me, I mailed to Congressman Martin Dies, Chairman of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

The first and only letter I received from the Special Committee on Un-American Activities was received on December 24th. Letter from Mr. Robert E. Stripling, Secretary of the Committee, follows:

DECEMBER 22, 1938.

Mr. JAMES J. MATLES,

*Director of Organization, United Electrical,  
Radio & Machine Workers of America, New York City.*

DEAR MR. MATLES: With reference to your letters of August 30 and September 20, 1938, in which you deny the charges made against you before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, the Committee regrets that due to insufficient funds to continue its hearings, that it was unable to have you appear before the Committee and deny these charges under oath.

Since it is the desire of the Committee to be fair and accord everyone an opportunity to be heard, I have been directed to advise you that if you will submit your denial of the particular charges made by any witness before this Committee against you in the form of an affidavit, they will be glad to have same incorporated in the official record of the Committee.

I should like to have your reply as soon as possible, as the Committee terminates on January 3.

Very sincerely yours,

(s) ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Secretary.*

All of the foregoing is a true statement of fact concerning Mr. John P. Frey's testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as it affects me and my position in the matter.

JAMES J. MATLES.

Sworn to before me this 28th day of December 1938.

MOLLY BERLINER,  
*Notary Public.*

Commission Expires March 30, 1940.

STATE OF OHIO,  
*County of Mahoning, ss:*

AFFIDAVIT

Affiant, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that his name is John L. Mayo, that he resides at 711 Oxford Street, Youngstown, Ohio, and is the Sub-Regional director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee for the Mahoning Valley steel district and has been for the past year and a half.

Affiant further denies completely and fully any and all statements made concerning him by John P. Frey before the Dies Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives regarding affiant's affiliation with or membership in the Communist Party. Affiant further says that he is not now nor has he ever been in any way connected with communism or the Communist Party and that any statements made by anyone directly or indirectly imputing such affiliation are absolutely false, fraudulent, libelous, and slanderous in character.

JOHN L. MAYO.

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence this 22 day of August, 1938.

[SEAL]

AGNES TARIDA,  
*Notary Public.*

My Comm. Exp. Dec. 29, 1940.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
*County of Allegheny, ss:*

Before me, the subscriber, J. S. Goldstein, a Justice of the Peace in and for the County and Commonwealth aforesaid, personally appeared John Chory, of 1443 Bell Ave., North Braddock, Pa., who, being duly sworn, according to law,

doth depose and say I am the person referred to by your committee as a paid organizer of the C. I. O. and a member of the Communist Party. In answer I do hereby, under oath, deny these accusations and do further invite and solicit a full and complete hearing at the earliest possible date, at which time I will gladly submit to a thorough and complete questioning. If it is not possible for me to have a hearing I submit this as my answer and respectfully request that you make this a part of your record and further deponent saith not.

JOHN CHOREY.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 30th day of December, A. D., 1938.

[SEAL]

J. S. GOLDSTEIN,  
*Justice of the Peace.*

My commission expires the first Monday of January 1944.

AFFIDAVIT OF ROGER N. BALDWIN, FOR INCLUSION IN THE RECORD OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

STATE OF NEW YORK,

*County of New York, ss:*

ROGER N. BALDWIN, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. Witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities have attempted to connect me with the Communist Party on the basis of a statement published in a Harvard University Class Book of 1935. From a discussion of my economic views, the single statement "Communism is the goal," is taken to make it appear that I am a Communist. It is obvious from the text of my statement that the word "communism" was used in its ordinary dictionary sense to designate the common ownership of property, not the political movement of Communism.

The full text of the statement dealing with my views, which were compressed into a single statement from answers to a questionnaire, is as follows:

"My 'chief aversion' is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I am opposed to the New Deal because it strives to strengthen and prolong production for private profit. At bottom I am for conserving the full powers of every person on earth by expanding them to their individual limits. Therefore, I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal. It all sums up into one single purpose—the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution of the most effective nonviolence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."

For the sake of the record, I may state that I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. I could not be a member of that party under any circumstances, as I am opposed to many of its principles and tactics. I have been criticized publicly over a long course of years for my views by official Communist spokesmen and in Communist publications, although I have worked with Communists, as with Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, in practical movements for specific reforms.

2. Witnesses before the House committee have attempted to identify me with advocacy of force and violence by misquoting my testimony before a previous House committee under the chairmanship of the Hon. Hamilton Fish. The summary of the testimony published by the committee was so condensed as to make it appear that I support and sympathize with the advocates of violence. The position I took, as indicated by the official record (*part I, vol. No. 4, pp. 405-417*) was quite contrary. The Americal Civil Liberties Union for which I was testifying holds that any utterance not associated with an overt act or an attempted act is within the limits of free speech. That has been sound American doctrine since the origin of our Constitution. Personally, I am and have been for years a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy, program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form.

3. My views on economics and politics, like the views of all members of the Civil Liberties Union, are purely personal and have no significance whatever



in relation to the union's work. The Civil Liberties Union has no economic or political program. Its members differ widely in their economic and political views.

ROGER N. BALDWIN,  
*Director.*

Sworn to before me this 31st day of December 1938.

[SEAL]

JEROME M. BRITCHEY,  
*Notary Public.*

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, B. W. HUEBSCH, AND ROGER N. BALDWIN,  
AS OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL  
LIBERTIES UNION, FOR INCLUSION IN THE RECORD OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-  
AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, B. W. HUEBSCH, and ROGER N. BALDWIN, being severally duly sworn, depose and say that each of them is, and for many years has been, a member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union. This affidavit is submitted on behalf of the said American Civil Liberties Union in response to a letter received from the Secretary of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities for incorporation in the official record.

After several persons appeared before this committee and charged the American Civil Liberties Union with connections with the Communist movement, Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, addressed a telegram on August 30, 1938, to the Chairman of the Committee as follows:

Congressman MARTIN DIES,

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

On behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union I request an early opportunity to refute the misrepresentation of the union's purposes in your radio broadcast last night. Your charge that the union is Communist-controlled and carrying on the work of the Communist Party under guise of democracy is wholly without basis. We challenge you to produce any evidence to bear you out. It is just such irresponsible statements as these which have caused the ridicule of your committee to which you object. I shall be glad to appear before your committee at any time you set after Labor Day to acquaint you and the committee with the real aims and activities of the American Civil Liberties Union.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS,  
*Counsel.*

On September 7, 1938, in answer to this telegram, the following letter was received from Robert E. Stripling, secretary of the committee:

MR. ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS,

*Counsel, American Civil Liberties Union,  
New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HAYS: In the absence of Congressman Dies, who is on a brief vacation in Texas, I wish to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of August 30.

As soon as Mr. Dies returns from Texas, I shall be glad to call it to his immediate attention.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. STRIPLING,  
*Secretary.*

RES: L

On December 10, 1938, Mr. Hays sent the Hon. William B. Bankhead the following letter:

"Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD,

*Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: We desire to draw to your attention the conduct of the Committee of the House on Un-American Activities appointed by you under a resolution adopted by the last Congress. That committee, under the chairmanship of the Hon. Martin Dies of Texas, has been conducting hearings of so extraordinary a character that they have aroused national condemnation. In our judgment

the prestige of Congress suffers great damage from the loose and unprincipled manner in which the investigations have been pursued.

The accepted rules of evidence have been wholly ignored. Witnesses of no standing or reputation have been allowed to testify without examination of their credibility or cross-examined as to their motives. Witnesses with personal grievances and grudges have aired their charges without opportunity to reply. The most fantastic statements have been placed in the record and spread over the pages of the press without any check whatever as to the alleged facts. Many of the committee's hearings have been held with only a minority of the committee present. The chairman alone has presumed to endorse statements made by witnesses without the concurrence of the committee or without the formulation of any findings or report.

Two agents employed by the committee to secure evidence were proved to be, one a man with a record of criminal prosecution and associations wholly disqualifying him for such a task; and the other a former employee of a professional strike-breaking agency. We can conceive of no greater disservice to American democracy than the activities of a committee which has paraded before the country so great an array of witnesses opposed to the very democratic freedom which the committee is presumed to preserve.

We submit that these methods of inquiry have so discredited the committee's work that it is unworthy the serious attention of Congress. The committee has conducted not an investigation but a prosecution without according the accused any safeguards whatever. The chairman has constituted himself prosecutor, judge, and jury. Such methods have never before, so far as we are aware, characterized an investigation by a House committee. Unless the House disavows them by rejecting the results of such proceedings and discontinuing the committee, the prestige of Congress will be lowered throughout the country.

Not only are the methods followed by the committee open to unqualified condemnation, but its bias equally destroys its usefulness. Established to inquire impartially into the forces undermining American democracy, the committee has perverted its commission from Congress into a crusade against a wide range of progressive and liberal organizations on the ground that these are somehow or other connected with the international Communist movement. Only a feeble inquiry has been made into any forms of antidemocratic propaganda inspired from foreign sources or originating in the United States.

The committee is evidently playing up to popular prejudice against communism by loosely characterizing as Communist, movements which have no connection whatever with the Communist Party or in which a few Communists may be found. The committee has revealed, through the comments of its chairman, particularly, a reactionary bias against liberal supporters of the New Deal, the C. I. O. and men and women in public life sympathetic with organized labor. The pronouncements of the chairman of the committee have made almost synonymous with communism any form of militant labor activity on either the economic or political field, support of the Spanish Government, or defense of democratic rights for unpopular minorities.

We cannot refrain in presenting this general charge against the committee from alluding to the testimony involving the American Civil Liberties Union. When witnesses first charged the Civil Liberties Union with some vague connections with the Communist movement we at once requested of the chairman an opportunity to reply. To this request we received a perfunctory acknowledgement. We have been given no opportunity to reply and we would not expect such an opportunity to be fairly accorded to any organization accused, in view of the committee's record of prejudice and unscrupulous methods of inquiry.

The American Civil Liberties Union is interested in any genuine inquiry into the forces operating against American democracy, in whatever guises they appear. Such a genuine inquiry has already been undertaken by a committee of the Senate under the chairmanship of Senator La Follette. Yet even that inquiry has been the object of suspicion and attack by witnesses before the committee of the House.

We submit that the conduct of your committee is, from the point of view of the declared purpose of the House in creating it, little short of a public scandal and that the sooner its unprincipled attacks upon progressive forces



in American life are stopped the better for the country. We look to the incoming House to end its unsavory career. I am, sir,

Very sincerely yours,

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS,  
*General Counsel.*

AGH:DG

A copy of this letter was sent to the Hon. Martin Dies. In reply, the letter from Mr. Stripling above referred to was received on December 24th, 1938, reading as follows:

MR. ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS,  
*General Counsel, American Civil Liberties Union,  
31 Union Square West, New York City.*

DEAR MR. HAYS: With reference to your letter of December 10, 1938, in which you deny the charges made against your organization before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, the committee regrets that due to insufficient funds to continue its hearings, that it was unable to have you appear before the committee and deny these charges under oath.

Since it is the desire of this committee to be fair and accord everyone an opportunity to be heard, I have been directed to advise you that if your organization will submit its denial of the particular charges made by any witness before this committee against it in the form of an affidavit, they shall be glad to have same incorporated in the official record of the committee.

I should like to have your reply as soon as possible, as the committee terminates on January 3.

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Secretary.*

We regret that our counsel was given no opportunity to appear before the committee and answer the various statements made to the committee. We do not believe that submission of an affidavit is a satisfactory method of meeting the issues here involved. Moreover, because of the limited time, the intervention of the holiday season, the mass of unindexed "testimony" and the unavailability of much of the "testimony," it will not be possible for us to do more than make a brief statement concerning the more serious charge of communism which has been lodged against the American Civil Liberties Union by several of the witnesses. By so doing, we do not admit any other charges and hope to be given an opportunity to appear and testify with respect to all charges.

On behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union we make the following statements:

1. The American Civil Liberties Union has never been a front or part of a united front for the Communist Party.

2. The American Civil Liberties Union has no direct or indirect connection with any political movement. The members of the board of directors and national committees, hold varied economic and political positions and are engaged outside the Union in many other movements. Their connections with such movements are of no more concern to the American Civil Liberties Union than their personal economic or religious views.

3. The American Civil Liberties Union has no connection with any other organization except when cooperating on some particular issue or case involving a question of civil liberties. It has no official connection, as testified to by certain witnesses, with the International Labor Defense, the Workers Defense League or the American League for Peace and Democracy.

4. The American Civil Liberties Union believes in the safeguarding of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution regardless of the opinions or character of the persons affected. It has come to the defense of Communists, Nazis, Silver Shirts, members of the Ku Klux Klan, Jehovah's Witnesses, Catholics, Jews, and the Ford Motor Co., when it believed that their right to free speech was infringed upon. It believes that the fullest expression of opinion is essential to the preservation of democracy. It has, therefore, resisted all attempts to curb such expression whether by censorship or otherwise.

5. The American Civil Liberties Union is managed by a Board of Directors, acting under the ultimate control of a National Committee numbering approximately seventy (70) throughout the country. The Board of Directors meets weekly to discuss policies. In the combined Board and National Committee only one person is a Communist; only three express political preference for the



Communist party, although unaffiliated with any party. The Board of Directors and the National Committee are opposed to any form of government, whatever its economic basis, which seeks to impair the Bill of Rights.

6. The American Civil Liberties Union has on numerous occasions taken a position opposed to that of the Communist Party with respect to civil liberties. This has arisen recently particularly in the right of Nazis to hold meetings and conduct parades. One instance of this occurred in November 1937 when the American Civil Liberties Union and the Communist Party appeared before Mayor LaGuardia on opposite sides in connection with a permit which had been granted to Nazis to parade in a portion of the city in which German-American elements largely predominated. The views of the American Civil Liberties Union were in that instance accepted by the Mayor, and the permit was not revoked.

7. The character, purpose, and efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union are found in its reports which have been published and widely distributed for 18 years. These reports show a completely nonpartisan defense of such diverse interests as Communists, Fascists, Anti-Fascists, Nazi, Silver Shirts, Catholics, Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, Negroes, Hindus, Minorities, Quakers, the C. I. O., and A. F. of L. Cases involving Communists never occupied one quarter of the total number of cases handled, and then only when interference with their rights was widely prevalent. In recent years the proportion of cases involving Communists has dropped sharply to an insignificant few cases. More issues affecting rights of German-American Nazis than Communists have arisen. Moreover, defense of legal cases is only a part of the union's work. Its chief efforts are directed to educational and legislative campaigns in furtherance of freedom of expression and other civil liberties.

8. The contention that the American Civil Liberties Union is a Communist organization was raised by Mayor Hague of Jersey City in the suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union and the C. I. O. This contention was based on the same kind of gossip and conclusions as were produced before this committee. Judge Clark of the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey, after hearing witnesses who were subjected to cross-examination, rejected the contention. He found that "Plaintiff, American Civil Liberties Union, was established and is maintained for the purpose of taking such measures as it deems lawful and essential for the enforcement of the rights secured by the First Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States \* \* \*. The purposes of the plaintiffs above set forth are in the letter and spirit of our Constitution and laws and of the theory of our democratic institutions. \* \* \* There is no competent proof that the plaintiffs or any of them had any other purpose and more particularly there is no competent proof that the plaintiffs or any of them incited or advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of New Jersey by force of violence or incited or advocated the commission of any other acts in violation of the laws of the United States or the State of New Jersey."

We submit that this judicial finding is entitled to more weight than the statements of witnesses who were not subjected to cross-examination or limited by the accepted rules of evidence and whose bias or motive could not be explored.

9. We realize that any organization which actively protests the infringement of the rights of unpopular persons (and these are the ones who most need the protection) will be criticized. If these unpopular persons happen to be radical, then those who come to their support will be accused of being radical—or communist. That is a charge we have long labored under. We shall not let it deflect us from continuing our activities to safeguard constitutional liberties. We take a position only when such liberties are violated; we have no other interest. And we take this position no matter whose rights are threatened, no matter who does the threatening. This we believe to be the only true Americanism.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,  
*Vice Chairman Board of Directors.*  
B. W. HUEBSCH,  
*Treasurer.*  
ROGER N. BALDWIN,  
*Director.*

Sworn to before me this 31st day of December, 1938.

JEROME M. BRITCHEY,  
*Notary Public.*

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER, INC.,  
New York, N. Y., December 31, 1938.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

*City of New York, County of New York, ss.*

MAX BEDACHT, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

Several weeks ago the press carried a report that Congressman Martin Dies, chairman of a Special Congressional Committee on un-American Activities, had submitted to the Department of State in Washington a list of organizations which allegedly (according to the records of this Committee) are agents of foreign governments or foreign institutions, but have failed to register as such with the Department of State. This list as published in the New York Times also contained the name of the International Workers Order, Inc.

The meeting of the General Executive Board of the International Workers Order, Inc., held on November 28th, upon taking note of this news item, passed a resolution to send the following telegram to the Special Committee:

NOVEMBER 29, 1938.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,

*Washington, D. C.*

News reports indicate that you list International Workers Order, Inc., as an un-American agent of a foreign power. The General Executive Board of the International Workers Order protests against this unfounded accusation. The opinions of your committee and the alleged testimony of your witnesses notwithstanding, the International Workers Order, Inc., is an American fraternal society. It represents no one but the democratic will of its members. It serves no one but the needs of its members. It has served them to date with total disability benefits of nine hundred thousand dollars and total death benefits of one and one half million dollars. Its members are loyal Americans. They banded together to help each other in case of need. They believe in and support American democracy and use its privileges to ask and to work for greater economic security for themselves and for those dependent upon them. We demand that this statement be made part of the records of your committee.

WILLIAM WEINER, *President.*

MAX BEDACHT, *General Secretary.*

(For General Executive Board.)

In answer to this telegram the General Executive Board through its President, Mr. William Weiner, received a letter from the Committee dated December 22 and signed by Mr. Robert E. Stripling, Secretary, declaring, "the Committee has directed me to advise you that if you or your organization will submit your denial of the particular charges made by any witness before this committee against you in the form of an affidavit, they shall be glad to have the same incorporated in the official record of the committee." The General Executive Board meeting of December 30 has thereupon instructed the undersigned to have drawn up and signed the present affidavit.

The International Workers Order, Inc., is a fraternal organization incorporated in the State of New York. It operates as a fraternal benefit society under the supervision of the Insurance Department of the State of New York and is licensed as a fraternal benefit society in a number of other states. The International Workers Order, Inc., had on December 1, 1938, an adult membership of 121,665 and a Juvenile Department with 23,685 members.

The International Workers Order, Inc., is a membership body which conducts all of its work and life upon the democratic principle of equal rights of all members. All decisions of the lodges of the International Workers Order, Inc., and of the General Executive Board, and of the Convention are made upon motions of members of these bodies, after discussion and upon majority votes by these members. Since its existence the International Workers Order, Inc., has paid in the form of sick and disability benefits, in round figures, nine hundred thousand dollars and in the form of life insurance one billion, five hundred thousand dollars.

The International Workers Order, Inc., does not take orders from any person or institution outside of the Order, nor is it the agent of any person or institution outside of the Order. It has no other business but that decided upon by its membership and laid down in its constitution and By-Laws. A copy of the Constitution and By-Laws is attached to this affidavit.

The General Executive Board and its officers is ready to submit denial of all "the particular charges made by any witness before the committee" whenever



the Special Committee submits such charges to it. The International Workers Order, Inc., has no knowledge of such charges except the ones appearing in the public press. The Special Committee has never informed the International Workers Order, Inc., of any charges made by any witness appearing at any of its sessions.

The letter of the Secretary of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities states that "the Committee regrets that due to insufficient funds to continue its hearings, it was unable to have you appear before the Committee and deny these charges under oath." The International Workers Order, Inc., is opposed to the granting of further funds to continue the hearings, in view of the Committee's pursued policy of hearing witnesses who make the wildest charges without being asked to corroborate them with any proofs, and further in view of the Committee's policy of not acquainting those who are so charged of the nature of the charges or furnishing them an opportunity to disprove such charges.

MAX BEDACHT.

Sworn to before me this 31st day of December 1938.

[SEAL]

FAY SIEGARTEL, *Notary Public.*

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

*City and County of San Francisco, ss.*

ERNEST BESIG, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is director of the Northern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union with offices located at 216 Pine Street, San Francisco; that he has acted in such capacity since June 23, 1935;

That on October 25, 1938, the San Francisco News carried a United Press story concerning the testimony of one Harper Knowles of San Francisco before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., in part as follows:

"Mr. Knowles, accused the Labor Department of 'abusing confidential information supplied by the American Legion to the local immigration officials concerning activities, nationalities, and antecedents of aliens violating immigration and naturalization laws.

"'Invariably it was found that this information was passed on to the American Civil Liberties Union or the International Labor Defense or some other radical organizations to be used for the benefit of the parties concerned,' Mr. Knowles said. 'In other words, confidence, instead of being respected, was abused, and the information which the Labor Department secured through efforts of patriotic citizens was actually used as a weapon against the organization supplying such information.'"

That on October 26, 1938, the affiant wrote to Chairman Martin Dies, in part as follows:

"There is no truth to Mr. Knowles' charge that the A. C. L. U. has received confidential information from the Department of Labor concerning activities, nationalities, and antecedents of aliens accused of violating immigration and naturalization laws."

That on December 27, 1938, the affiant received a response to said letter, signed by Robert E. Stripling as Secretary to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and dated December 22, 1938, advising him that if he would submit his denial of the particular charges in the form of an affidavit by January 3, 1939, it would be incorporated in the official record of the Committee;

That the affiant does herewith reaffirm the denial of the charges contained in his letter of October 26, as set forth above.

Furthermore, affiant avers he has not and never has had any knowledge or information concerning the alleged or any disclosure of any confidential information by the Department of Labor to any individual or organization whatsoever, and, therefore, denies the said charge;

Affiant also avers he has no knowledge of any testimony concerning the American Civil Liberties Union given before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities except as reported in the aforesaid article in said newspaper, but nevertheless denies in full the said charge and brands and denounces the said charge as false, untrue, and malicious.

Further, affiant denies that the American Civil Liberties Union is or ever has been a radical organization, unless by the use of the word "radical" the charge implies that the American Civil Liberties Union goes to the root of



things, which is the meaning of the word as derived from the Latin word "radix."

ERNEST BESIG.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of December, A. D. 1938.

[SEAL]

FLORA HALL,

*Notary Public in and for the City and County of San Francisco,  
State of California.*

MARINE ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION, No. 97, INC.,

*San Francisco, Calif., December 30, 1938.*

UNITED STATES CONGRESS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D. C.*

(Attention: Mr. Robert E. Stripling.)

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your letter under date of December 22, 1938, contents of which have been carefully noted.

In answer to the second paragraph of your letter, I am enclosing one affidavit which is self-explanatory and is in answer to the indiscriminate scattering of charges made against my character before your Committee by one Harper Knowles.

Attached hereto you will please find one copy of a letter addressed to the Editor of the San Francisco News signed by Thomas G. Plant, Vice-President of the American Hawaiian Steamship Company, and two original letters, one signed by J. E. Bulger, Secretary of the Shipowners and Merchants' Tugboat Company, Ltd., and one signed by N. A. Fay, Vice-President and General Manager of the River Lines.

Trusting the correspondence contained herein will be incorporated in the record to serve as an answer to those charges made against my character, I remain

Very truly yours,

R. MERIWETHER.

RM: AM.

AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN STEAMSHIP CO.,

*San Francisco, October 26, 1938.*

THE EDITOR, THE SAN FRANCISCO NEWS,

*812 Mission Street, San Francisco, Calif.*

DEAR SIR: The testimony of Mr. Harper Knowles before the Dies House Committee has contained, according to newspaper reports, charges of a damaging nature against Mr. Randolph Meriwether, Secretary of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Assoc.

Speaking as an individual, I must say that nothing that has ever come to my attention of Mr. Meriwether's actions and activities has ever been of a dangerous or radical nature. My contract with him has extended over the last four years of labor disturbances on this coast. While he has always worked vigorously on behalf of his Association, he has also been cooperative and has endeavored to see the employer's side of the problem. He has always been scrupulous in his endeavors to secure the observance of agreements between his Association and the employers.

Even if we have been on the other side of the fence I believe in the principle of fair play and deplore the harm that can be done by the indiscriminate scattering of charges, unless the charges can be proved beyond question. Unless they can be proved they should be withdrawn.

Sincerely,

THOMAS G. PLANN.

TGP-fs.

SHIPOWNERS & MERCHANTS TOWBOAT CO., LTD.,

*San Francisco, Calif., October 28, 1938.*

MARINE ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSN. #97.

*Ferry Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.*

GENTLEMEN: I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of myself and the Company I represent, to strenuously protest against the article published in

the newspapers branding Mr. Randolph Meriwether, Business Manager of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association as a dangerous radical. I have come in close contact with Mr. Meriwether at various times since the World War and am convinced that he is an ardent patriot and sincerely believes in our democratic form of government.

We have had disagreements in regard to labor problems and at times strikes, but I never could say that he at any time conducted himself other than a true-blooded American and not a dangerous radical as quoted by Harper Knowles. He always has been trying to obtain a higher standard of living for the membership he represents and I can safely say that he abhors the thought of any radical activities as much as I do.

Very truly yours,

J. E. BOLGER,

*Secretary, Shipowners & Merchants Towboat Co., Ltd.*

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THE RIVER LINES,  
*San Francisco, October 27, 1938.*

GENTLEMEN: In glancing over one of the San Francisco newspapers yesterday, I notice reference is made to Randolph Meriwether as being a "dangerous radical."

This, in the writer's opinion is a very unfair and unjust accusation against Mr. Meriwether, whom we have known for many years as 100% American citizen.

Furthermore, in our negotiations with Mr. Meriwether on behalf of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association #97, we have been successful in settling our problems without resorting to strikes or stoppages of work and all differences were always adjusted without severing the pleasant relationship existing between the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association #97, and The River Lines.

Yours very truly,

THE RIVER LINES,

N. A. FAY,

*Vice Pres't & Gen. Mgr.*

NAF/EL.

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#### AFFIDAVIT OF RANDOLPH MERIWETHER

Randolph Meriwether, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is now and has been continuously for the past seventeen years Secretary and Business Manager of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, #97, Inc.; that whereas your affiant has been the subject of an unfair and unwarranted attack by one Harper Knowles before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, and whereas said Harper Knowles is quoted as having referred to your affiant before said Special Committee as one of "the three radicals that comprise the most dangerous group on the San Francisco waterfront"; and whereas your affiant has not been afforded an opportunity to appear before said Special Committee to expose such accusations as false in their entirety; therefore your affiant hereby declares that the charges above referred to are completely without foundation in fact in the knowledge of your affiant, the organization he represents, the employers with whom he has had relations for many years, and in the knowledge of Mr. Knowles.

That never at any time during the seventeen years your affiant has been a representative of the marine engineers has he been affiliated with any radical organization or group, nor has he at any time been involved in "radical" or "dangerous" activities. That your affiant's sole purpose, as reflected in his Union activities, has been to uphold American principles as expressed in terms of American living standards for the men he represents.

That your affiant has never deviated from this purpose, which is borne out by the confidence placed in him by the membership of his organization, which has reelected your affiant many times to a position of highest responsibility. That employers with whom your affiant has sat in conference share this confidence in him as a responsible and rational believer in the democratic form of government is attested to by correspondence attached hereto over the signatures of such representative employers as Thomas G. Plant, Vice President of the American Hawaiian Steamship Company, J. E. Bolger, Secretary, Shipowners and Merchants Tow Boat Company, Ltd., and N. A. Fay, Vice President and General Manager of the River Lines.

That the accusations of said Harper Knowles represent deliberate and vicious defamation, absolutely unsupported by any facts or circumstances in your affiant's life-long record of service to organized labor, and are unworthy of inclusion in the public record of any committee established by the Congress of the United States.

R. MERIWETHER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30 day of December 1938.

[SEAL]

FRANK HARVEY,

*Notary Public in and for the City and County of  
San Francisco, State of California.*

CROMWELL, CONN., December 29, 1938.

Congressman MARTIN DIES.

*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Thank you for the form letter addressed to me by Mr. Robert E. Stripling, Secretary of your committee, dated December 22. In reply I enclose a statement which I sent to all the newspapers of Connecticut and which practically all of them published, many with favorable editorials.

Two points I wished to make: I am a reputable citizen with a right to any views which I wish to hold.

My appearance before any organization as a speaker reflects not dishonor but rather the contrary upon that group.

Second. The statement made about my connection with the C. I. O. in New Britain, Conn., was false in fact and in implication.

If at the time of making my request to appear before your committee I may still have cherished a few illusions as to the character of that committee these illusions have long been dissipated. In common with the majority of citizens in New England I consider your committee thoroughly vicious.

I agree with you that \$25,000 could not possibly have carried on such activities as you have engaged in, and I sincerely hope the incoming Congress will make it its business to investigate the source of the funds which you have been spending. The list of guests at your recent banquet at the Biltmore in New York might furnish several suggestive leads.

May I add that the spectacle of viciousness and corruption has always seemed to me like the sight of other forms of pathology with which we physicians, unfortunately, become familiar, but when this deformity is coupled with youth, that most precious of all life's gifts, I can only say, Mr. Dies, that I am filled with profound sadness.

Very truly yours,

EMILY M. PIERSON.

EMP/AGP

CROMWELL, CONN., August 20, 1938.

TO THE EDITOR:

I am wondering if the rest of the "evidence" involving governmental agencies, organizations, and individuals, which is being offered before the Dies Committee in Washington, is as inaccurate as the statements made about me. Material was presented on August 15th by Mr. Frey of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, stating that I, "a prominent Communist agitator," had addressed the C. I. O. of New Britain, Connecticut. I have never spoken before the C. I. O. of New Britain, and I have spoken only three times before any C. I. O. body. My only connection with the C. I. O. of New Britain was to run a movie projector for a friend of mine there on one occasion. My alleged "Communist speech" that night was a word of apology because I had been delayed for forty minutes by a medical appointment. However, for Mr. Frey's information, I would state that I have spoken on numerous occasions for American Federation of Labor bodies and have enjoyed doing so. Moreover, the New England organizer for the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Francis P. Fenton, found some moving pictures of mine so useful that he borrowed them, has been showing them in New England, and has failed to return them up to the present date. Most of my invitations to speak, however, have come from



church organizations, civic bodies, business men's organizations, schools, and women's clubs.

There is no reason why Mr. Frey should know or be interested in the fact that my speaking and social activities antedate the organization of the C. I. O. I would, however, like him to become more familiar with my wicked record as a "Communist agitator."

After my graduation from Vassar College and after receiving an M. A. from Columbia University, I was, for two years, head of the English Department of a Connecticut high school. For the next eight years I was State Organizer of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, an experience, by the way, which has made me quite familiar with the type of attack at present being carried on by the reactionary Dies Committee.

After the successful culmination of our fight for "votes for women" in the United States, I was able to fulfill my life-long dream of studying medicine. I received my M. D. from Yale in 1924 and entered private practice in my home town. Later I was appointed Health Officer of this town, a position which I still hold. My leisure time I have continued to devote to the support of progressive social and labor measures, my chief efforts being in the movement for world peace.

As for my views on Communism: I have visited the Soviet Union three times. With each succeeding visit my admiration has grown for this young socialist republic, which, in the midst of world-wide depression, is moving to greater and greater prosperity; which is today the chief supporter of world peace and of the sanctity of international agreements. On returning to the United States, I investigated American Communism. I find the Communists law-abiding citizens, upholders of democracy, true friends of world peace. I find their constitution condemns the use of force and violence. Moreover, I find in their constitution a pledge to oppose any and all groups seeking to undermine American democratic institutions. I see nothing in the American Communist Party to warrant the attacks being made by the Dies Committee and similar groups.

I have long believed that our democratic ideals will find their fullest realization in a fundamental change to Socialism. This will involve the extension of our present political democracy to industrial democracy. Possibly due to my scientific training I have developed more enthusiasm for the benefits of a Socialist civilization since seeing the successful results of the great economic experiment going on in the Soviet Union.

While I am not a member of the Communist Party, unscrupulous attacks on law-abiding minority groups such as that by the present reactionary Dies Committee seem reminiscent, to me, of witch hunts which my New England ancestors opposed. Such attacks have always outraged my sense of justice. The Dies Committee was appointed for the purpose of investigating "un-American" activities. I think we are all fairly well agreed as to the meaning of the term. The Dies Committee did, indeed, go through the motions of investigating the real enemies of democracy in the United States, Naziism and fascism. However, after deliberately allowing the chief agents of Nazi espionage to escape, and mountains of incriminating documents to be spirited away, this committee has enthusiastically turned its attention to its real undeclared purpose, an attack on democracy itself and on all progressive groups in our country.

In Mr. Frey the Dies Committee has found a tool well suited to their purpose. In December 1935 when I heard Mr. Frey speak at the labor parley at Wesleyan University, he attacked industrial unionism with a virulence born, it seemed to me, of jealousy that the C. I. O. had succeeded in doing what he had failed to do, in organizing the millions of unorganized workers. He has now hit on the convenient subterfuge of red-baiting to implement his hostility, and is thus providing exactly the type of witness the Dies Committee requires.

As for the Dies Committee, I believe their objectives are thoroughly vicious, and that the real nature of their aims will become clearer with each succeeding session. It is no accident that during the few days of their investigation of "Communists" they have attacked already the C. I. O., Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Workers' Alliance, the United States Department of Labor, the W. P. A., the Federal Theatre, the National Youth Administration, the League for Peace and Democracy, and the entire "New Deal", for which twenty-seven million voted in the last presidential election. This is the classic fascist technique: begin with the Communists and end with the Church; destroy as you go all people's organizations. Personally, I suspect that the Dies Committee, which is supposed to be

investigating un-American activities and groups, is really itself the servant of un-American forces in the United States.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) EMILY M. PIERSON.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,

*County of Middlesex.*

CROMWELL, December 29, 1938.

Personally appeared before me, Emily M. Pierson, and certifies to the truth of the statements made in this letter.

[SEAL]

EWALD LADINIG, *Notary Public.*

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

*County of Marin:*

Redfern Mason of Mill Valley, Marin County, State of California, being duly sworn, deposes and says that:

I emphatically protest against the testimony concerning myself given by Mr. Harper Knowles before the Dies Committee. By suppressing the truth he suggests what is false.

Mr. Knowles posed as a representative of the American Legion. The Legion gave him no authority to do so and has since formally repudiated him.

Mr. Knowles states that in my candidacy for mayor of San Francisco I was supported by Communists. The inference he wished to be drawn from that statement was that I, too, am a Communist. That is untrue. Mr. Knowles might as reasonably have claimed that President Roosevelt was a Communist because Communists voted for him.

Mr. Knowles stated that I was a contributor to a Communist publication. The venom of insinuation is manifest. He meant that such contributions made me a Communist. I defy Mr. Knowles to find in any of the books and articles I have written during the fifty years of my professional career any word advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

If Mr. Knowles had been an honest witness, he would have testified that, as a secretary of the Knights of Columbus, I helped the A. E. F. in France during the World War and that I purchased bonds to further the American cause.

He conveniently omitted to state that I had been for many years on the staffs of the Rochester (N. Y.) Post Express, the San Francisco Examiner, and the Boston Transcript.

REDFERN MASON, *Affiant.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of December.

[SEAL]

SALLIE S. BRYANT.

Notary Public in and for the County of Marin, State of California.

My name is Bruce Bliven; I live at 133 West 11th Street, New York City, and my place of business is 40 East 49th Street, New York City. Since 1923 I have been a member of the editorial board and managing editor of The New Republic, a weekly journal of comment published in New York City.

On October 25, 1938, two witnesses appeared before the Dies Committee Investigating Unamerican Activities. According to reports in the daily press, their names were Harper Knowles and Ray Nimmo, and they represented themselves to be spokesmen for the Medical Research Committee of the American Legion in California. These men were quoted in the newspapers as having charged that The New Republic is "a Communist weekly."

This statement is without any foundation whatever in fact. The New Republic is not and never has been a Communist organ of any kind, directly or indirectly. It is and always has been devoted to the discussion and defense of American ideals. If the statement of Messrs. Knowles and Nimmo had not been made before a Congressional committee, and therefore privileged, they would have laid themselves open to a libel action.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

Signed and sworn before me this 29th day of December 1938.

MARIAN T. KEENAN, *Notary Public.*

Commission expires March 30, 1939.



## AFFIDAVIT OF UPTON SINCLAIR

It has been widely reported in the press that at least two of the witnesses before the Dies Committee have said that I was a Communist; that I had held positions in the Communist Party, and had taken part in consultations for the determining of Communist policies.

The fact is that I have never been a member of the Communist party and have never been a Communist. I have never advocated Communism, but on the contrary, in every book, pamphlet, and magazine article in which I have discussed the subject I have explained that I am not a Communist and why. I have been for more than thirty-five years a Socialist, and for the greater part of that time have been a member of the Socialist party. In 1904, I founded the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, which is now the League for Industrial Democracy; in 1906, I was candidate of the Socialist party for congress from New Jersey; in 1917, I resigned from the Socialist party in a public statement declaring my support of the United States government in the World War. After the war I rejoined the Socialist party and ran for congress in California in 1920; for the United States in 1922; for governor of California in 1926, and again in 1930. In 1933 I joined the Democratic party and won its nomination for the governorship of California in 1934. Just recently I joined the National Progressive party.

For more than thirty-five years past I have used the following definition of Socialism as the doctrine and procedure which I advocate: the social ownership and democratic control of the instruments and means of production. I believe and teach that the change from private competitive or monopoly ownership to public and cooperative ownership can be brought about peaceably and gradually under our present Constitution. I have written many books and pamphlets in the effort to prove this, and I have never, in my writings or in any other way, advocated the bringing about of the change by any other method.

Bolshevism, which is the doctrine now known as Communism, or Leninism, advocates the overthrow of capitalist governments by the workers and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. This was the method used in Russia, and from the time that it occurred I have defended the right of the Russian workers to settle their own affairs. I opposed the armed intervention of the United States government to put down the Russian revolution. I have always and everywhere defended the right of the Russians, the Spanish, the Chinese, and all other peoples, to determine their own form of government, without military intervention such as we ourselves took part in against the Russian people. I have denounced the attacks of Germany and Italy upon the people of Spain, and the policy of our government in denying the duly elected people's government of Spain the right to purchase arms for its own defense. But in discussing the domestic affairs of the American people, I have invariably argued that, since they enjoy democratic institutions and have the ability to change their government and their business affairs at any time they please, they should make the necessary changes by democratic and orderly processes, and under the Constitution.

In my book, "The Brass Check," published in 1920, appears a chapter entitled "The Case of Russia." I wrote on page 385: "Let me make clear at the outset my point of view, oft repeated. I am not a Bolshevik, and have never been a Bolshevik." I then went on to define the word Bolshevik and explain my belief in the democratic method of procedure, adding: "I am well aware that this method will be slower, but I believe it will be quicker in the long run, because it will avoid the waste incidental to civil war, and the possibilities of failure and temporary reaction." On page 386 I added: "But such a program, of course, can be effective only in a country where political rights are recognized."

This is a perfectly obvious distinction which any honest person can understand at once. Where people have political rights they should use them to get such economic changes as they need and desire. Where they have no political rights they have to win them, by the same method that our forefathers won them in 1776, and as the British and French and other people won them through a long series of struggles.

In "The Book of Life," published in 1922, I give a detailed study of all these problems, occupying more than one hundred pages. There is a chapter beginning on page 179, entitled "Confiscation or Compensation," in which I defend the method of compensation of the owners of industry. The following chapter demonstrates the futility of efforts to bring about a proletarian revolution in the United States. The entire work defends the cooperative method and advocates peaceable, orderly, cooperative change.



In the pamphlet, "Letters to Judd," first published in 1925 and reprinted in 1932 and 1933, are several chapters endeavoring to maintain this same thesis. I presented an edition of 100 thousand copies of this book to the Socialist party, and it was used in the presidential campaign of 1932.

The pamphlet, "The Way Out," first published in 1933, presents long arguments to the same effect. Near the end of 1933, I launched the so-called "Epic Plan" to End Poverty in California. This plan proposed to put the unemployed at productive labor to produce the goods which they themselves were going to consume. In the first pamphlet, "I, Governor of California: And How I Ended Poverty," of which nearly a quarter of a million copies were circulated during the campaign in California, I took the utmost pains to make clear the democratic procedure proposed for this plan. The book was from beginning to end an account of an imaginary democratic procedure by which I, as elected governor of California, would bring about the end of poverty in California by peaceable and orderly methods.

I told what the opposition of the Communists to this plan would be, and the opposition of the Communists to the plan was in actual fact exactly as I had foretold in the pamphlet. The evidence of this is given in detail in the history of the Epic campaign which I published immediately after the campaign, under the title of "I, Candidate for Governor: And How I Got Licked." The fact that I was called a Communist during the campaign meant nothing except that the opponents of the plan were afraid of its success, and in order to defeat it they told lies about Upton Sinclair and his ideas. They even went so far as to print a fake circular, attributed to the Communists, endorsing our Epic campaign. This trick was first tried during the primary campaign and was fully exposed, but nevertheless the same fraudulent circular was used during the general election campaign.

The Communists fought the Epic campaign as hard as they knew how. They printed circulars denouncing Epic and threw handfuls of these circulars from the balconies at mass meetings where I spoke. The Communist organ of San Francisco referred to the Epic Plan as "one more addled egg from the blue buzzard's nest." They printed cartoons ridiculing me and my idea.

Every Communist in the United States knows that I am not a Communist. So does every reactionary know it. The reactionaries desire to have no economic change in the United States, but to continue the present system of exploiting labor for the benefit of a small class. They find it a cheap and easy method to discredit all advocates of economic reform by calling them Communists. This saves the need of argument and is supposed to keep the people from finding out the truths which scientific Socialism has to offer to the world.

The hired agents of big business who traveled from California, provided with elaborate typewritten copies of fraudulent material to be laid before the Dies Committee, knew that Upton Sinclair is not and never has been a Communist, and does not advocate and never has advocated Communism.

One of these witnesses stated that I had taken part in a conference in Senator Olson's in November 1935, in which plans had been made to advance Communism in California. I have not been in Senator Olson's office since the 1934 election, and in November 1935, I was on an automobile tour with my wife in which we covered some 12 thousand miles and I lectured about the Epic Plan in a score of cities in the middle west and on the Atlantic coast from Albany to Boston and on down to Florida. I have a mass of newspaper clippings and other evidence concerning this tour.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

*County of Los Angeles, ss:*

Upton Sinclair, being duly sworn, hereby declares that the five typewritten pages attached hereto, each of which bears his signature, constitute the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth concerning his opinions, writings speeches, and conduct regarding the subject dealt with therein.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of December 1938.

[SEAL]

WM. L. RIEDELL.

My commission expires April 20, 1942.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

*City of St. Louis, ss:*

I, MAX MICHELSON, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is informed and believes that John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, when testifying before the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Congress of the United States, listed affiant as being a person affiliated with the Communist Party;

Affiant unqualifiedly denies that he is, or ever has been, connected with the Communist Party or any branch thereof;

Affiant states that he is opposed to the doctrines and principles and philosophy of the Communist Party and always has been; and affiant further states that he has publicly stated, time and time again, that the doctrines of the Communist Party will not and cannot solve either the social or political problems of the United States;

Affiant states that he is attached to and well disposed toward—and a firm believer in—the Constitution of the United States of America and the laws of the United States of America;

The affiant states that he served in the United States Army during the World War, doing his bit like other millions to make Democracy safe for the world. Affiant states that he was honorably discharged from the United States Army;

The affiant states he is a married man and has two children and that he is teaching and educating these children to be real American citizens; that he has taught them from their earliest days that the Constitution of the United States is the Charter of Liberty to a free people;

Affiant further states that as a Labor leader of many years' standing he has learned and knows full well that the Constitution of the United States and its laws provide the greatest safeguard for America's laboring millions; affiant further states that if there is any doubt regarding affiant's attachment to the Constitution of the United States and to this Democratic form of Government, he invites the Committee to call the following witnesses, who—affiant says—will testify to affiant's true faith and allegiance to the Constitution and Laws of the United States:

The following employers of labor of St. Louis:

Mr. Harry Burkart, of the F. Burkart Manufacturing Company; Mr. Hugh McKittrick Jones and Mr. A. L. Garfinkle, of the Lowell Bleachery Company of St. Louis; Mr. P. Schultz, of the Absorbent Cotton Company of America, Valley Park, Missouri; Mr. B. Jones, General-Manager of the Chase Bag Company, St. Louis Branch; Mr. C. S. Sheldon, Executive Vice-President of the Chase Bag Company; Mr. David Calhoun, Vice-President of Ely-Walker Dry Goods Company, St. Louis, Missouri; Mr. Irving Bettman, Sr., of Maex-Haas-Korrekt Clothing Company, St. Louis, Missouri; and Mr. Albert Epstein, President of Knickerbocker Clothing Company, St. Louis, Missouri; as well as Hon. Joseph A. Lennon, prominent St. Louis Attorney;

The following Labor leaders of St. Louis:

Joe Clark, William Brandt, Joe Hauser, Martin Dilmon, Lawrence Rafferty, Charles F. Kupferer, Dan Murphy, Kitty Amsler, Christine Cain, Harry Fromkin, and Dela Cox, with whom affiant has been closely associated in every phase of activities undertaken by the St. Louis Central Trades for a number of years;

MAX MICHELSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, Notary Public within and for the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, this 29th day of December 1938.

My commission expires Oct. 9, 1941.

[SEAL]

HELEN TIERNEY, *Notary Public.*

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

*County of Allegheny.*

On this 27th day of December 1938 personally appeared before me a notary public in and aforesaid County and State, John A. Dutchman, Sub-Regional Director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee located at Lawrenceville district, Pittsburgh, Pa., who, after being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says:

I, John A. Dutchman, am a resident of the City of Pittsburgh for the last two and one-half years past and in the state of Pennsylvania for forty years past.

I am of Catholic faith, member of Catholic organizations, and also a supreme officer of a Slovenian Catholic Union, a fraternal organization with home office at Joliet, Illinois.

Your deponent further says that he is not a Communist, never was one, and never will be. Don't believe in its philosophy or its policy.

My father was an American citizen by naturalization and so am I and believe only in American Principles.

This affidavit is for the purpose of incorporating in the official record of your honorable committee my denial of the charges made by one John Frey before your honorable committee charging me with communistic affiliation, which are untrue.

For the benefit of the committee I further state that I opposed and fought communism in our Union in all its forms, and I will continue to do so in the future.

I hope that this statement and affidavit will clear my record before the committee and the American public, which is true, so help me God.

JOHN A. DUTCHMAN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of December 1938.

[SEAL]

WILLIAM POW, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires March 7, 1939.

#### MARITIME LABOR BOARD

WASHINGTON

[Registered. Via air mail]

HOTEL WHITCOMB,

*San Francisco, Calif., October 28, 1938.*

HON. MARTIN DIES,

*Member, House of Representatives, United States Congress,*

*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: While en route to San Francisco, on official business, I read a newspaper account to the effect that a certain Mr. Harper Knowles, whom I have never met, testified before your Committee that I was a member of some "Communist professional group."

I desire to state most emphatically that I *am not* and *never was* a Communist or a member of any Communist organization. I yield to no one in my firm devotion and loyalty to the Constitution of the United States and to our form of government. Prior to my coming to Washington, in January 1937, I was for about 15 years a respected official of the State of California; and no one, to my knowledge, has ever accused me of Communist affiliations or leanings.

In all fairness, I respectfully request that this letter be made a part of the permanent public record of your Committee and that you give it such publicity as in your judgment will be fair to me as a citizen and a public official.

Respectfully yours,

LOUIS BLOCH.  
(Dr. Louis Bloch.)

[Duplicate of telephoned telegram]

NEW YORK, N. Y., Nov. 28, 1938.

HON. MARTIN DIES,

*Dies Investigating Committee, Washington, D. C.*

The newspapers in New York report that one Sam Baron charges International Labor Defense as being "red" group. Sam Baron is an unmitigated liar and is a completely discredited Socialist and one who has been repudiated by the entire labor and progressive movement in this city. International Labor Defense is an



American organization. International Labor Defense stands for the enforcement of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States and for the defense of American democracy. It is opposed to any form of discrimination against anyone because of race, color, or creed. I ask that this telegram be made part of the record and ask for an opportunity to testify before your committee to answer the charges of this faker who appeared before you.

VITO MARCANTONIO.

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[Duplicate of telegram telephoned]

DULUTH, MINN., *October 17, 1938.*

Hon. MARTIN DIES,

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:*

Re testimony of Steve Gadler before your committee. Gadler reported in Duluth papers as saying "Bernard appeared at a picnic in Minneapolis and offered a card as evidence that he was a speaker there for the Midwest Daily Record." For the purpose of your record wish to inform you that I have never attended any picnic given for the Midwest Daily Record nor owned nor offered any card.

DULUTH, *October 17, 1938.*

Hon. DIES,

*Washington, D. C.:*

Authorizing me to speak for this paper, please enter this denial of Gadler's reported testimony in the proceedings of your committee.

JOHN T. BERNARD, M. C.

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[Copy]

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,  
*Washington, November 11, 1938.*

MY DEAR MR. DIES: I have been expecting to hear from you since the "disclosures" regarding Howard University which were made before your committee by one James A. Cobb on November 5, as reported in the newspapers. Mr. Cobb's highly colored statements were with reference to the alleged "teaching" of communism at Howard University, and, further to paint the lily, he charged me with "suppressing" a report from the Division of Investigations recommending the dismissal of Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President of the University.

I assumed, apparently erroneously, that in your eager patriotism and in your zealous search for the truth, you would forthwith call upon me for a statement of facts, even although you had made the initial mistake of putting someone on the stand to give an imaginative account of something that never did happen. Since you have not seen fit to offer me an opportunity to reply to the misrepresentations of Mr. Cobb, I am volunteering for the information of the public, if not of yourself. And, following your example, I am giving copies of this letter to the press coincidental with mailing it to you.

The voluble Mr. Cobb referred to this report of my Division of Investigations as a "lost" report. Thus he sought to magnify into a sensation a very drab and routine situation. This report is no more "lost" than the hundreds of thousands of other documents pertaining to the business and affairs of this Department which repose in our files. If you committee desires to have a copy of this report, I will be glad to furnish it at your request.

It is true that I caused an investigation to be made of the alleged teaching of communism at Howard University. I did this after I had received from Senator Tydings in 1935, two letters from correspondents of his accusing President Johnson of permitting communism to be discussed at the University, particularly upon the occasion of a national conference held under the auspices of the Joint Committee on National Recovery and the Social Science Department of Howard University. The theme of the conference was "The Position of the Negro in our Economic Crisis."

On November 25, 1935, I advised Senator Tydings as follows:

"I have undertaken to inquire into the circumstances, but I find that the Secretary of the Interior, in the opinion of the Solicitor of the Department, does not possess authority to prohibit the use of the buildings of Howard University for any purpose. I am also advised that there is a grave doubt as to whether I may order any investigation of the University except in connection with the control of the expenditure of Federal funds."

As a legislator of long standing and one who presumably is interested in Government, I am shocked that you do not seem to be aware that Howard University has only a tenuous relationship with the Department of the Interior. I could not discharge President Johnson if I wanted to, but you should not infer from this I have any desire in that direction. For your information, the President of Howard University is appointed by the Board of Trustees, over which the Secretary of the Interior has no control. There is not a single member of the staff of Howard from President Johnson down who is under the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior.

It is perhaps to be regretted, from your point of view, that the foregoing statement of facts do not justify the shabby sensationalism of Mr. Cobb's "disclosures" before your committee. It is certainly to be regretted that a Congressman should be so credulous as you have been in this and other recent instances. Apparently every burnt child does not avoid the fire. However, in the interest of truth, even if thereby it may find itself with strange bed-fellows, I hope that this communication will find repose in the records of your hearings.

Very truly yours,

(Sgd.) HAROLD L. ICKES,  
*Secretary of the Interior.*

HON. MARTIN DIES,  
*Chairman, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

STATE OF WISCONSIN,  
*Milwaukee County, ss:*

George Froboese, being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says, that he resides at 3227 North 2nd Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; that he makes this affidavit for the purpose of denying statements alleged in the daily press to have been made by one Bernard C. Hofmann, a Milwaukee radio salesman and president of two German-American organizations, in his testimony before the Special Committee on un-American activities in Washington on the 4th or 5th of November 1938, and in particular does this affiant deny that he had any conversations with the said Bernard C. Hofmann on a train trip to Chicago in 1936; that for some time past this affiant had refused, because of the obnoxious attitude of the said Bernard C. Hofmann, to speak to him at all; that at any rate, this affiant knowing the limitations and the influence of said Bernard C. Hofmann would have deemed such a conversation futile and useless; that this affiant at no time to no one, and in particular to the said Bernard C. Hofmann, made the statement that the Bund wanted to change or overthrow the form of government in this country.

That this affiant reiterates his offer under oath to the one expressed in his telegram to the Committee on November 7, 1938.

GEORGE FROBOESE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3rd day of January, A. D., 1939.

[SEAL] EUGENE WENGERT,  
*Notary Public, Milwaukee County, Wis.*

My commission expires Jan. 14, 1940.

AFFIDAVIT OF FRITZ HAILER, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, RE REFUTATION OF CHARGES  
MADE BY HOMER MARTIN

[Copy of Western Union Telegram]

DECEMBER 31, 1938.

Mr. FRITZ HAILER,  
814 Hammond Bldg., Detroit, Michigan.

If you will submit your denial of the testimony of Homer Martin in the form of an affidavit by January third, I will be glad to place it in the record. This is in accordance with the policy of the committee.

ROBERT E. STRIPLING,  
Secretary, Committee on Un-American Activities.

(Official.)

FRITZ HAILER,  
814 HAMMOND BUILDING,  
Detroit, Mich., December 19, 1938.

HON. MARTIN DIES,  
Chairman, Dies Committee, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Permit me to call your attention to the testimony recently given by one Homer Martin before your honorable committee.

Insofar as the witness' alleged statement is concerned and as it relates to me, I refer to the reply made by me, published at the same time in the local press and contained in the hereto attached article from the Detroit News (Dec. 2, 1938) which I enclose for your perusal.

My answer states that the witness' charges are entirely in error and is, in my opinion, a complete refutation thereof. The unwarranted accusations made by Mr. Martin and contained in the enclosed article, have no foundation in substance or in fact.

In addition to my statement made to the press and as already mentioned, I desire to state that I have been a resident of Detroit for more than thirty years and have been actively engaged in the practice of law here for upwards of twenty-five of those thirty years. My wife and three children were born in Detroit.

In view of the above and in my humble opinion, my reputation both individually and professionally, for honesty, integrity, patriotism, and square-dealing, are beyond reproach and I am sure that my colleagues and members of the Bar stand ready to verify these facts to the satisfaction of all fair-minded citizens.

I was inclined to wholly ignore the testimony of Mr. Martin but after mature thought and judgment, I can not let his statement go unchallenged, hence this letter to your Committee and may I respectfully request that the same be placed with your files and records.

Most respectfully yours,

FRITZ HAILER.

FH:LEM  
Encl.

DIES PREDICTS LABOR WILL TURN OUT REDS—MARTIN TELLS HOUSE COMMITTEE  
THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE TRYING TO CONTROL BOTH C. I. O. AND A. F. L.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2.—(AP)—Rep. Martin Dies (Dem.), Texas, asserted today that Communists had been forced to "loosen their hold" on American labor unions because of their "exposure" by the House Committee on un-American activities.

Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.), told the committee Thursday that Communists were active in all labor organizations, including both the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O.

Martin's union is one of the largest in the C. I. O. He said he had told John L. Lewis, C. I. O. president, that some of the organization's leaders who since have been removed were "nothing but stooges for the Communist Party and threaten to destroy the C. I. O."

DIES SEES CLEAN-UP

Summing up the testimony of the U. A. W. executive and other witnesses who have discussed communism in the labor movement, Dies said:

"I think this exposure of Communists is going to result in responsible labor leaders being forced to clean them up. There is a tremendous sentiment in the



labor movement to take them out of strategic positions where their influence won't be felt."

Martin's prepared statement, made public after he had been on the stand for an hour, did not mention Communism, but contained an attack on the committee which he did not make verbally.

"I want to make it clear," he said, "that this testimony is made under subpoena from this committee and that only my respect for the law of the land causes me to come here at this time.

#### OBJECTIVES MISSED

"When the Dies Committee was appointed, the hope was expressed, and one that I shared, that a sincere and honest inquiry would be made into the dangerous activities being carried on by the foreign totalitarian governments in this country. However, this committee had not functioned very long when it became manifest that its alleged objectives were being missed and that by the ill-prepared and loose presentation of reckless statements by irresponsible witnesses, grave doubts were being created as to the reliability and veracity of the charges made. Moreover, the unfortunate parade of questionable witnesses by whom outstanding patriotic and law-abiding citizens were being indiscriminately attacked and charged with being Communists, created a definite feeling, universally entertained, that the committee could and would not make any real contribution to the solution of the problem. A decent respect for truth and a genuine desire to preserve the democratic institutions in this great country of ours compels me to offer what I consider to be honest criticism. I should be derelict in my duty were I to do anything less.

#### LAMENTABLE SITUATION

"It is a most lamentable situation when a committee for the House of Representatives, supposed to carry out an impartial investigation of activities alien and dangerous to the best interests of our Nation, carry on in such a manner as to be universally recognized as a political tool in the hands of reactionary and vested interests in their efforts to defeat honest, intelligent, and progressive statesmen.

"It is unfortunate for the cause of democracy, which is now the object of hatred of every form of dictatorship and their advocates in this country, when witnesses are allowed to appear before your committee with statements, without the process of cross-questioning to find out if their statements are true, that have absolutely no foundation of truth. Many of the witnesses who have appeared before the committee would have been discredited both in their testimony and the motives back of their testimony had a serious effort been made to ascertain the facts.

#### CALLS GADOLA A FASCIST

"One notable example was the testimony of one Judge Gadola of Flint, Mich., who is known not only as a labor-hater, but is reported also to have had very close connections with the Fascist movement in Michigan. It is common report that Judge Gadola has been seen many times at Fascist meetings. It is reliably reported also that in Flint Judge Gadola participated in meetings called for the purpose of raising money to help Mussolini in his war of aggression against Ethiopia. Furthermore, his action as a judge leaves no doubt as to his complete bias against any labor activities. Notable instances of his bitter, biased and prejudiced attitude are as follows:

"Following Governor Murphy's successful efforts to settle the General Motors strike because of his humane statesmanship, the General Motors Corp. and the UAW, agreed to the dismissal of the injunction suit which had been started by the General Motors Corp. before the notorious Judge Black, who was a substantial stockholder in the General Motors Corp. Only the exposure by the union of his unholy relationship between Judge Black and the General Motors Corp. ended Judge Black's insistence to sit on the case.

"It was then that Judge Gadola stepped into the breach. Despite the agreement of all parties that no useful purpose could be served by the further continuance of the injunction suit, especially since a peaceful settlement had been arrived at, Judge Gadola refused to dismiss the case and technically it still is current litigation, although almost two years have passed.

## KNOWN AS UNION FOE

"It may be well to remember that at the very time that Governor Murphy was approaching a successful climax of his efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement, and sensed that a postponement of General Motors application for a injunction would be conducive to a speedy accomplishment of his objective, that Governor Murphy had caused to be brought to Judge Gadola's attention his request that a continuance be had while negotiations continued. Judge Gadola showed his respect for the chief executive of the State of Michigan by telling him to go to hell.

"This vicious, anti-labor complex of Judge Gadola has been manifested since that time by an undignified and unjudicial demeanor on the part of Judge Gadola, who, in and out of season, and chiefly without provocation, has indulged in frequent tirades and attacks upon organized labor and the Governor of the State of Michigan.

"As illustrative of this, may I direct your attention to the fact that a few months ago our organization appeared before Judge Elliott, of Genesee County (the same county in which Judge Gadola sits) and secured a temporary restraining order to prevent a local Flint concern from avoiding its responsibilities created by an agreement with our union when it sought to move out of the county and indulge in what in common parlance is called 'make a run-away' effort. Judge Elliott, in keeping with the precedents that had been established within the last few years, granted such a temporary restraining order, whereupon Judge Gadola and the notorious Judge Black both complained to judges of the Michigan Supreme Court in their criticism of Judge Elliott's action.

## POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

"The latest episode in which Judge Gadola demonstrates this unbelievable antagonism toward organized labor is exemplified by a recent law-suit commenced in Genesee County, in which he issued a temporary injunction ex parte, restraining an employer from living up to an agreement made with a labor union. Could it possibly have been an accident that such a man was given the sounding-board which a congressional committee furnishes, at a time when a heated political campaign was being waged in Michigan?

"No one can deny that Judge Gadola's testimony had no place in a fair inquiry into alleged subversive activities directed specifically at Fascism, Nazism, and Communism, except that the only connection that Judge Gadola had with any of these 'isms' puts him squarely with the ranks of the Fascists themselves.

## ASSAILS FREY'S TESTIMONY

"Another notable example of how the witness stand of the Dies Committee has been used as a sounding-board for unfair attacks was that of the testimony of John P. Frey, who, while knowing that the American Federation of Labor was equally cursed with the incubus of Communists, took advantage of his opportunity to blast the Committee for Industrial Organization.

"Mr. Frey knows quite well that the problem of Communists and their activities has embarrassed the American Federation of Labor as much as it has the C. I. O. Mr. Frey also knows, and the whole country knows, that John L. Lewis, president of the C. I. O., Sidney Hillman, Philip Murray, David Dubinsky and many others have long been the most active and intelligent foes of Communism and the most ardent exponents and proponents of democracy and democratic principles in government, as well as in labor activities.

## UNRELENTING WARFARE

"It is well-known fact that these great leaders of labor, as well as many others have for years carried on an unrelenting warfare against the activities of Communists in their organizations. The United Mine Workers of America, in its constitution, forbids even membership to members of the Communist Party.

It has been suggested that the most dangerous menace in this country was that of Communism. It should be conceded that I have done more than talk about the problem of fighting the Communist influence. I think I am qualified to offer the opinion that, without minimizing the need for eliminating the Communist influence that the activities in this country of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany present at least an equally pressing problem.



"I should like to direct your attention to the activities of government representatives of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany carried on in the City of Detroit. I am safe in suggesting that our experience in Detroit can be duplicated throughout the entire country. First let me address myself to the conduct of the Italian government in Detroit.

#### RECALLS CONSUL'S CASE

"In 1934, Detroit was blessed by one Giacomo Ungarelli, who had arrived from Brazil to serve as Italian vice-consul. Ungarelli came to Detroit because of his effective methods in forcing Italians living in Brazil to become willing and pliable agents of the Italian Fascist government. He was sent to Detroit to succeed a vice-consul who had not been hard enough in forcing the Detroit Italian community into line in support of the Italian Fascist government. Ungarelli immediately began his work. Prominent Detroiters, American citizens of Italian ancestry, were called in by Ungarelli to fall into line in support of the Fascist government.

"This meant that American citizens were being asked by the Italian government to be traitorous to their country and carry on activity in support of Fascist Italy. When these requests met with refusal, threats of physical violence were made. When this did not succeed, Ungarelli set into motion an economic boycott against these persons. Merchants who obtained provisions and supplies from Italy were told that they would be cut off from their source of supplies in Italy if they did not accede to his demands. Ungarelli also sought to persuade those whom he thought were loyal to Fascist Italy to refuse to patronize American citizens of Italian descent who had proved stubborn in resisting him. Attempts were made to compel Detroiters, American citizens, to contribute financially to organizations and activities sponsored by the Italian government. Threats of injury to relatives and friends in Italy if resistance was offered, constituted one means of persuasion employed by Mussolini's puppet.

"A veritable reign of terror ensued, which even caused Detroit citizens to go to the prosecuting attorney of Wayne County for relief against the terroristic methods of this Italian vice-consul.

"Finally, protests were lodged against Ungarelli with the State Department in Washington. So compelling were the facts against him that the American State Department made certain representations to the Italian government which resulted in the Italian government recalling Ungarelli from the United States.

#### OFFICIALLY PROMOTED

"The official excuse given was that Ungarelli was 'promoted' from a position of vice-consul in the fourth largest city in the United States to the position of consul in an insignificant North African village near the Sahara. It is reported that Ungarelli's successors, two in number, proved to be more decent than the Italian government expected them to be, with the result that both have been recalled and there is now on the way to Detroit, it is said, another consular representative of Fascist Italy, a 'squadrista'—a storm trooper of ability and a rival of Ungarelli's terroristic abilities.

"Undoubtedly there has been a definite revival of Fascist activities within the last few months, including an interference with the election campaign in Wayne County. The Fascists, in indorsing two Italians running for office on the Republican ticket, spoke in this fashion of Italians opposed to Italian reactionaries running on the Republican ticket: 'When nationalities inferior to ours, like the Polish, Irish, and Jewish, have absolute control of the political situation in Detroit, some degenerate ignorant Italian sons, for the price of treachery, are using the right of speech to sell, like Judas Iscariot, the dignity and honor of our race. We, the avengers of our rights, and our history, give warning so that you may not be deceived by those miserably sold worms.'

#### HAILER UNDER FIRE

"It is reported that Italians living in the United States today, having immediate relatives who now reside in Italy, are threatened that their relatives will suffer unless the Italian-American citizens follow carefully the Fascist line. It is also reported that there are thousands of Italians living in the United States who are fearful of becoming citizens lest the exactions of Mussolini



place them in the embarrassing position of having to violate their oath of allegiance to the United States.

"Now, some observations about the Nazi government and its activities in Detroit. The consular officer of the German-Nazi government in Detroit is one Fritz Hailer. Hailer is an American citizen, a practicing lawyer in the city of Detroit, sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Michigan.

"Yet Fritz Hailer, sworn to uphold the republican-democratic form of government is a consular officer of Nazi Germany, a government which has proved itself to be a fiendish, cruel, and savage dictatorship; a government which heaps ridicule and contempt upon our democratic government and reviles and pours infamy upon our outstanding citizens, both Republicans and Democrats, who have cried out against the terrorism of the Nazis. What right does Hailer have trying to serve this Fascist dictatorship and still maintain his status as a practicing lawyer sworn to uphold our democracy and democratic institutions?

#### ACTIVE NAZI WORKER

"Moreover, Fritz Hailer, ever since the Nazi government came into being, has been a leading spokesman, defender and apologist of the Nazi government. He has made countless speeches lauding the Nazi government. Am I presumptuous when I suggest that no true American can laud the Nazi form of government and its conduct and be loyal to our American government?

"Only last July, Fritz Hailer, in his capacity as a German consular officer and stepping out of his American citizenship, made a speech, in a park near Detroit, calling for support of Hitler. At this meeting, the Swastika was prominent in the flags that were flying.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that the representative of the North-German Lloyd Steamship Co., in a speech in Detroit in May of this year, made the following statement: 'My Jewish friends accuse me of being the leading Nazi spy in Detroit, and I admit it.

"The German Bund now has a working arrangement with Detroit Italian Fascist groups to permit the use of the Italian Fascist Hall for Bund meetings.

"It is obvious that Italian and German dictatorships are carrying on an active propaganda, un-American in character, and spending large sums of money, in their effort to destroy confidence in American institutions. What I have said is illustrative of what is actually going on. I am particularly concerned with the undeniable fact that there is much evidence that the dictatorial countries are conspiring subversive movements in the United States, that all of them are spending large sums of money in support of their activities which would fail overnight were the stimulus of foreign assistance removed. May I particularly direct your attention to what I think is a paramount need—namely, that a thorough investigation be made of the manner and the practices by which these artificial movements are organized, fostered and supported."

(Hailer today issued a brief statement denying Martin's charges. He said: "In commenting upon the statement of Homer Martin, if he is correctly quoted, and inasmuch as the same refers to me, I wish to say that I have lived in Detroit for more than 30 years, am a taxpayer and my professional record is open to anyone. Concerning the contents of the speech mentioned by the witness, I emphatically say that his statements in regard thereto are wholly unfounded and untrue.")

#### BACKS FORMER VIEWS

Dies read from a previous Martin statement, "There has been an attempt, an intelligent, knowing attempt, to turn the whole C. I. O. over to the Communist Party," also that "organizers have been sent to me for no other reason than that they are members of the Communist Party."

Martin said that was right.

Martin said that Communists, to protect themselves against charges of subversivism, use the cry of "red baiter."

"Three-quarters, or a great many labor leaders fear or fight Communism," Martin said.

"In political life," he said, "you have some people afraid to expose them and others that expose them for political purposes."

In that statement, John Brophy, organizational director of C. I. O., was accused of appointing two Communist organizers.

"Communists have influence and position in the U. A. W. in Wisconsin," Martin said, in explaining another statement.

## JUDGE GADOLA POINTS TO PATRIOTIC RECORD

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 2.—Circuit Judge Paul V. Gadola denied Thursday that he had ever attended a meeting of any Nazi, Fascist, Communist, or other un-American group. He also denied that he had helped raise money for Premier Benito Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, as charged by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.), in testimony in Washington before the Dies Committee investigating un-American activities.

To refute accusations that he was a Fascist, Judge Gadola pointed out that he had been chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Flint post of the American Legion for three years and also chairman of the Sixth Congressional District committee for that group.

"All Communists accuse anyone who opposes them of being Fascists to throw up a smoke-screen," Judge Gadola said. "Martin's U. A. W. paper has called me just about everything since the 1937 sit-down strikes. I never helped raise money for any un-American organization."

The jurist branded as "absolutely absurd" Martin's statement that he was a notable hater of organized labor." He pointed out that when he was elected in 1930, a major portion of his support came from organized labor.

"I have labored myself," Judge Gadola said. "Even today the best friends I have are honest laboring men, but not the radical element, led by Martin, which constitutes the C. I. O."

Judge Gadola, discussing Martin's testimony regarding his action during the strike injunction proceedings in his court in 1937, said that the union leader had "the correct impression."

"Speaking in private conversation with Maurice Sugar, an attorney for the union, I said Gov. Murphy had no right to interfere with processes of the court, and could recall no precedent in which a chief executive had attempted such action."

Concerning his Italian ancestry, also brought out in the Washington hearing, Judge Gadola said that his parents were born in the United States but that his paternal grandfather came from Italy.

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 COLOMBO DERIDES MARTIN STATEMENT

Emil W. Colombo, Detroit attorney who was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for County Clerk in the November election, said Martin's statement was "silly on its face."

"He is probably referring to a pamphlet which the Democrats circulated among the Jewish and Polish people of Wayne County," Colombo said. "That pamphlet said I was supported by a Fascist organization. We checked and found there was no such organization in the city. As for the statement which appeared in a pro-Fascist Italian publication, asking Italian-American citizens to support me and I. A. Capizzi, we checked with the editor of the paper who told us the statement was sent to him as a paid advertisement by some outfit in New York.

"The whole thing was a political scheme to discredit me in the eyes of non-Italian voters."

Capizzi, unsuccessful Republican candidate for prosecutor, joined Colombo in denying that they received support from any Fascist organization. Capizzi said the pamphlet mentioned in Colombo's statement was "a palpable fake" and that it was so denounced in his campaign speeches.

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 KNOX CHALLENGES MARTIN STATEMENT

Ralph Knox, named Thursday by Homer Martin, along with Judge Paul V. Gadola, of Flint, as a "screwball" who had testified before the committee, objected today on two grounds—the terminology and being mentioned with Judge Gadola.

"Judge Gadola and I share completely opposite viewpoints," Knox said, "and as for my being a 'screwball' I have been in the labor movement 20 years and I challenge Martin to take an intelligence test with me to determine which of us is the screwball."

Knox, former President of the Briggs U. A. W. local 212, who named more than 100 U. A. W. members as members of radical groups in his testimony before the committee in Washington, Oct. 19, is now organizing an independent union.

Martin also testified Thursday that a representative of the North-German Lloyd Steamship Co. here, admitted that he was a leading Nazi spy in Detroit in a talk last May.

Daniel J. Harkins, representative of the line here, made the following statement: "I would consider it poor taste to make any remarks reflecting on the sincerity of Mr. Martin or any other witness before the Dies committee, but I am very much surprised that the slightest amount of credence should have been given to a remark which was obviously intended to be facetious and which really did originate with one of my comrades of the American Legion.

"The remark was made publicly in front of a group of Americans of unquestioned standing and integrity, so that there was no doubt in the minds of everyone else hearing it that it was intended to be facetious."

Harkins added that he has been a member of the American Legion for 15 years, as past vice-commander of Crosseup-Pishon Post, Boston, and a member of Cadillac Post here.

FRITZ HAILER,  
814 Hammond Building,  
Detroit, Mich., January 3, 1939.

MR. ROBERT E. STRIPLING,

*Secretary, Dies Committee on un-American Activities,*

*Washington, D. C.*

[Via air mail]

DEAR SIR: Enclosed herewith, my Affidavit re refutation of charges made by Homer Martin, in pursuance of your telegram of December 31, 1938.

Yours very truly,

FRITZ HAILER.

FH: LEM

Encl.

P. S.: Sorry the above could not be forwarded sooner. Your telegram arrived Saturday night after office hours and the Western Union telephoned the contents thereof to my residence; also the holiday intervened.

STATE OF MICHIGAN,

*County of Wayne, ss:*

FRITZ HAILER of the City of Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan, being duly sworn, doth depose as follows:

That he is and has been for a period of thirty years and upwards last past, a resident of the City of Detroit, said County and State, a citizen of the United States and has been actively engaged in the practice of Law for almost twenty-five of those thirty years in said City; that he is a member in good standing, of the local and State Bar Associations and duly admitted to practice in all Courts of the State of Michigan as well as the Federal Courts, including the United States Supreme Court.

That he is the father of three children, who together with their mother—wife of this deponent—were all born in said City of Detroit.

That on or about December 2, 1938, an article appeared in the public press, purporting to be the testimony of one Homer Martin, given before the Dies Committee on un-American Activities, in Washington, of and concerning this deponent, in substance, accusing deponent of un-American activities and utterances, whereupon deponent made a statement to the local press denying said charges and accusations of said Homer Martin; that deponent wrote a personal letter to the Honorable Martin Dies, Chairman of said Committee, on December 19, 1938, refuting and denying said charges and enclosing with said letter a clipping from the local press containing his denial of said charges and also requested that his said letter be placed in the files and records of said Committee—a true copy of said letter being hereto attached and made a part of this affidavit.

That he makes this affidavit in response to a telegraphic request from Robert E. Stripling, Secretary, Committee on un-American Activities in Washington, D. C. dated December 31, 1938—which was received by this deponent at 8:30 P. M. on said date—suggesting that deponent's denial of said charges upon the part of said Homer Martin be submitted in the form of an affidavit.



That he denied the charges so made against him by said Homer Martin as soon as same were brought to his attention by the press; that he also denied such charges as indicated in his said letter—copy of which is hereto attached—and that in furtherance of said denial, deponent makes this affidavit and says that the said unwarranted accusations upon the part of said Homer Martin are without foundation in substance or in fact.

Deponent further sayeth not.

Fritz Hailer.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of January, A. D. 1939.

[SEAL]

LUELLA E. MUSSOG,

Notary Public, Wayne County, Mich.

My commission expires June 11, 1939.

MILK CONSUMERS' PROTECTIVE COMMITTEE,  
New York, N. Y., December 27, 1938.

ROBERT E. STRIPLING,

Secretary, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of December 22, addressed to Dr. Caroline Whitney, was referred to me for reply as secretary of this committee. As you will observe from the enclosed clipping from the New York Times of November 21, this is due to Dr. Whitney's untimely death.

Our committee is anxious to take advantage of your offer, but we do not have before us a copy of the charges made by Mr. Matthews. If you will kindly furnish us with a copy of these charges, we shall supply you with the affidavit requested at once. Your immediate attention to this request will be very much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

GLADYS HOLLAND, Secretary.

MILK CONSUMERS' PROTECTIVE COMMITTEE,  
New York, N. Y., January 26, 1939.

Mr. ROBERT E. STRIPLING,

Secretary, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. STRIPLING: Enclosed is an affidavit signed by Meyer Parodneck, vice chairman of the Milk Consumers' Protective Committee, in reply to the charges made against this committee by J. B. Matthews testifying before the Dies committee on August 22, 1938.

We request that this deposition, together with the previous correspondence you have received from me and from Dr. Caroline Whitney, late chairman of the Milk Consumers' Protective Committee, be published in the official record of the Dies committee hearings.

Thanking you for this opportunity, we remain,

Very truly yours,

GLADYS C. HOLLAND, Secretary.

AFFIDAVIT OF MEYER PARODNECK, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MILK CONSUMERS PROTECTIVE COMMITTEE, SUBMITTED TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, ss:

Meyer Parodneck, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am vice chairman of the Milk Consumers Protective Committee, of 215 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

We learned through the press that our committee was mentioned by Mr. J. B. Matthews on August 22, 1938, in certain statements made by him before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. Our chairman, Dr. Caroline Whitney, wired the committee requesting an opportunity to appear and testify with respect to his statements. No such opportunity

was afforded us, but instead we were given the privilege of submitting an affidavit. This affidavit is accordingly supplied.

Our committee was formed in response to a demand on the part of consumers and consumer organizations for the creation of a central body through which activities for the protection of the consumers' interests on the milk question may be carried on. This committee was formed September 1, 1936, at a meeting held at the Cooperative Cafeteria, 54 Irving Place, New York City. The minutes of the first meeting indicate that from among those present the following were appointed an executive committee:

Rosalie Manning, Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association.  
Winifred Fraxier, United Neighborhood Houses.  
Madeline Di Giorgio, Judson Memorial Church and Neighborhood House.  
B. F. McLaurin, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.  
Pauline Weinberger, needle trade local, Project Workers Union.  
Isabel Taylor, workers educational project, Works Progress Administration.  
Mrs. Margaret Adney, Community Church.  
Meyer Parodneck, Sunnyside Consumers Cooperative, Inc.  
Ira Cotins, Cooperative Distributors, Inc.  
Harold O. Hatcher, Knickerbocker Cooperative.  
Mrs. Frederick Packard, Consumers Council of New York.  
Mr. O. K. Fraenkel, League of Women Shoppers.  
Rose Nelson, Progressive Women's Council.  
Judah Wattenberg, United Parents Association.  
Sue Jenkins, Consumers Union of United States, Inc.

For 4 years prior to 1936 I was the head of a consumers' society known as the Sunnyside Consumers Cooperative. This society engaged in the business of distributing milk to its members. In the course of that work I became familiar with the situation in the dairy industry.

The consumers of New York had been subjected to a price-fixing law which fixed a high retail price for milk under the pretext that it was necessary in order to give the farmer a better price. As the head of a consumers' organization operating in this field, it was my duty to report this information to our members and to take such steps as were necessary to protect their interests.

On February 5, 1934, a hearing was held in the aldermanic chambers of the city hall of New York City upon a proposal to impose a milk-marketing agreement for the New York metropolitan area. In behalf of the Sunnyside Cooperative, I appeared at this hearing to give my views as to practical ways for improving the farmers' return without raising consumer prices. My testimony at this hearing was reported in New York City's afternoon papers of February 5, 1934.

The unfairness of the milk-control law with its burdensome price-fixing provisions was arousing the indignation of the entire city. I was called upon to address meetings and participate in radio broadcasts on the subject of milk prices. When, on April 23, 1934, the Milk Control Board, without the consent of its consumer representatives, decided to raise the price of milk, public indignation reached a peak. An injunction action was commenced by Samuel Untermyer, representing the New York Post; and a group of consumers and organizations called a mass protest meeting on May 6, 1934, at the Seward Park High School, New York City.

This meeting was sponsored by the Community Councils of the City of New York, Emergency Council of Consumer Organizations, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Bronx Free Fellowship, the Staten Island Home Owners Defense League, the Consolidated Home and Farm Owners Committee, the South Side Consumers Organizations, the Farmer-Labor Political Federation, and Cooperative Distributors, Inc. Among the speakers at this meeting were included Dr. Louis I. Harris, former health commissioner, Miss Helen Hall, head of the National Federation of Settlements, Howard Y. Williams, former Minnesota Congressman, Adria Locke Langley, president of the Women's National Economic Independence League. This meeting was extensively reported in the New York papers.

Directly, as a result of this action, the price rise was rescinded and no further activity was carried on by this group.

I did, however, in behalf of the Sunnyside Cooperative and in the course of its regular business in supplying milk to its members, continue to come in constant contact with the developments in the dairy industry. Prices continued to rise as soon as organized effort in this field ended. When in the summer of 1936 the up-State producers threatened to strike unless they received

a better price for their milk, the interested consumer groups in New York realized that it was necessary to continue our activities. We knew that the demands of the dairy farmers could be met without increasing the price of milk to the consumers, and, accordingly, on September 1, 1936, this committee was formed.

Mr. Arthur Kallet, who was a neighbor of mine and a member of the Sunnyside society, offered, in behalf of the Consumers Union of the United States, of which he was the executive, to supply temporary secretarial assistance and quarters. As a member of a cooperative dealing in milk, Mr. Kallet was kept informed on the problems of the industry. Miss Susan Jenkins, who was associated with Mr. Kallet in Consumers Union, was designated as that organization's representative on our executive committee and served as secretary for the committee. The first chairman elected by the executive committee was Mr. Frank Olmstead, then a director of Cooperative Distributors, Inc., and associated with Young Men's Christian Association at New York University. He was succeeded by Dr. Caroline Whitney, an economist and lecturer. Dr. Whitney was responsible for the major activities of this committee.

We were instrumental in abolishing the retail minimum price-fixing provisions of the State law. We have made some valuable contributions in the field of research on this important question and organized a city-wide milk cooperative which serves as a barrier against unwarranted price increases.

This affidavit would have been made by Dr. Whitney, who was chairman of the committee through the major portion of its existence and who was most closely associated with its work. It is our misfortune, however, that Dr. Whitney died suddenly on November 19, 1938, depriving us of her vast fund of information.

We are not a political committee, but solely a consumers' organization. As such, all persons, regardless of religious or political belief, color, or economic status, are welcome to participate in our activities. All of our policies have been established by our executive committee which is democratically elected by the delegates of our constituent member organizations.

We have never had any dealings with Mr. Matthews and we have no record of ever having received any inquiries from him concerning our organization, its personnel, or its activities. We know nothing of any conferences he may have had with any political party preceding the formation of the Milk Consumers' Protective Committee. The consumers' drive against high prices has been a continuous one for several years before Mr. Matthews claims to have planned it.

All of the facts hereinbefore stated are matters of public record.

I know of no member of our committee who participated in any conference such as Mr. Matthews claims to have had during the spring and summer of 1935.

We wish to submit this affidavit and the correspondence for the record so that those who read the charges may likewise have the facts available to understand the background of our committee.

MEYER PARODNECK.

Sworn to before me this 26th day of January, 1939.

SAMUEL S. KOLMAN,  
*Notary Public.*

Term expires March 30, 1940.



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met at 1:30 p. m., in executive session, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call Mrs. Lazell.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. LOUISE LAZELL

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mrs. LAZELL. Louise Lazell.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in Washington?

Mrs. LAZELL. I will be in Washington 4 years this December.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you from?

Mrs. LAZELL. Denver, Colo.

The CHAIRMAN. During the 4 years you have been in Washington, have you been connected with the Government?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity, what kind of work?

Mrs. LAZELL. I worked with Mrs. Woodward when I first came, in a voluntary capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. That is Ellen Woodward?

Mrs. LAZELL. Ellen Woodward; Mrs. Roosevelt sent me over to her. I had 1 year from September 1935 to September 1936 in the Democratic National Committee, where I wrote speeches and gave out information for the women's division. I was transferred from there to Stanley High's Good Neighbor League.

The CHAIRMAN. Stanley High's Good Neighbor League?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; in which I handled the speakers' bureau during the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. On what pay roll were you during the time you were doing that work?

Mrs. LAZELL. The Good Neighbor League pay roll.

The CHAIRMAN. After that, what did you do?

Mrs. LAZELL. From that, I came to the W. P. A. in September a year ago. Fourteen months ago I was called by Mrs. Woodward, who knew of my work; I have done a good deal of writing, a good deal of publicity and some ghost writing while here. She felt that I would read impartially. I had had experience as a publisher's

reader and as a writer myself, and she told me because of the grave criticism of the Massachusetts Guide in connection with the *Sacco-Vanzetti case*, because they had given a partisan slant to it, she wished me to read very carefully all the publications of the Writers' Project from that time on, which I have done.

The CHAIRMAN. What was there about the version of the *Sacco-Vanzetti case* that she considered partisan?

Mrs. LAZELL. The comment in the end. I understood at the time I took over it was all right to have a report on any event, but that our books, as Government publications, should refrain from editorializing; that is, giving a point of view for or against.

The CHAIRMAN. What point of view did that article give?

Mrs. LAZELL. It is published, and anyone can see it, but it was quite evidently partisan against the Government, as it were, and it was a Government publication.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, it was in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Representing that they had not gotten a square deal?

Mrs. LAZELL. I believe in phraseology which made it seem like a Communist comment. Then I have had repeatedly to delete phraseology that would otherwise make the Guide look very partisan.

The CHAIRMAN. I will get to that in a moment. You have been with the Federal Writers' Project how long?

Mrs. LAZELL. Fourteen months.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your duties?

Mrs. LAZELL. Reading for policy. In addition to that, Mr. Alsberg has asked me to comment, if I felt the publication itself was not up to par in a literary way, because I am supposed to have some literary judgment as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have authority to delete any portion of it?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have authority to recommend the deletion. Mr. Alsberg retains the right of final judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time that you have been engaged in that work, have you seen any instances of an effort to place in the Guide Communist teachings, or phraseology?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you in your own language to give us instances of that. But first, tell us what the Guide is.

Mrs. LAZELL. The Guide is an experiment in giving a guidebook for tourists to every State in the Union. In addition to that it has essays which cover history, archeology, labor, commerce, and so forth. The labor essays almost always had to be toned down.

The CHAIRMAN. Who first prepares the Guide for a particular State?

Mrs. LAZELL. Local people do.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the local people on the Federal Writers' Project?

Mrs. LAZELL. The State office. In many cases the State office material has been perfectly acceptable and they have been told to add material.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to that in a minute.

Mrs. LAZELL. The State office prepares the material first. It comes to the Washington office. There is a great deal of rewriting done there, a great deal of insertions, and some deletions.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the Federal Writers' Project for New York will send material from the offices in New York?

Mrs. LAZELL. Just a moment. The Federal Writers' Project of New York has been acting as an independent unit except for Mr. Henry Alsberg's control. It has not gone through the Federal headquarters here except that Mr. Alsberg has read it and he has sent it to me for comment.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of New York, every State office of the Federal Writers' Project sends its material to Washington.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Washington rewrites it?

Mrs. LAZELL. A great deal.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us in your own language just what you have seen with reference to the deletion of material or the addition of material by the editor on the Federal Writers' Project here in Washington?

Mrs. LAZELL. In most cases the deletion is warrantable, in that they send too much material or not well-arranged material. In many cases the insertions have been such that I have had to quarrel with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Explain to us what has been the character of these insertions?

Mrs. LAZELL. For instance, insertions in the New Jersey Guide; I wish to give this as an instance of the increasing difficulty that I have of reading for policy. The New Jersey Guide, which naturally would be a very controversial piece of literature, was assembled in the spring. In that case the State people put a great deal of material in that I felt would not be permissible in a nonpartisan Government publication. I took the matter up with Mr. Alsberg so strenuously that I stated to him that if it came out in that form I was afraid it would be the last Guide we would publish. He took my criticism, as he has up till now, and acted upon it, in that he sent a very able editor up to New Jersey to rewrite the material. It came back and received my O. K. I heard nothing more about it for some time.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not said what those insertions were. Give us some idea of them.

Mrs. LAZELL. In speaking of one commercial organization, it said that it was the biggest buyer of tear gas in the State. It has never used any tear gas, and in one little strike that they had only sticks and stones were thrown. But I think the implication was that it was holding a cellar full of tear gas in reserve. I thought that was not the sort of thing that was a factual story.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us some other instances of insertions?

Mrs. LAZELL. These were not insertions, because the New Jersey people are quite radical in their expressions.

The CHAIRMAN. What other statements did you notice in the material sent in by New Jersey?

Mrs. LAZELL. I believe I have some of it here. I do not want to quote from memory, because, after all, memory is not so good. I believe I have some of the material here. Some of these were not communistic; some were attacks on Mr. Hague. I am trying to be impar-



tial and wipe out any hearsay stuff about anybody. You see, my reading is not pro-Fascist, pro-Communist, or pro anything except a decent Government manuscript. So at one place it said this about "our friend Hague":

He can at will produce a Democratic majority of more than 125,000 in Hudson County.

As I say, that was hearsay and not factual material for a guide.

Now, I also deleted other stuff—communistic things.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got any instance of the communistic material; can you tell us any instances of that?

Mrs. LAZELL. I will try to find something. Unfortunately at this time I was having so much work to do I did not always write in complete quotes. I only said, "Please delete from here to here." But I will try to find something.

The CHAIRMAN. I will just ask you this question: Were there communistic statements in the material sent from New Jersey that you were employed to delete?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; and which the separate editors agreed with me was dynamite. They were perfectly willing to cooperate with me.

The CHAIRMAN. These statements were appeals to class hatred?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Inflammatory statements?

Mrs. LAZELL. Inflammatory statements.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of them go so far as to advocate revolution?

Mrs. LAZELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of them go so far as to advocate a complete change in our system of government?

Mrs. LAZELL. No; only criticism; no, they would not go that far.

Mr. MASON. Would you say the tenor of them was communistic propaganda?

Mrs. LAZELL. Incendiary rather than definite communistic propaganda.

Here is something from California that is quite explicit.

The CHAIRMAN. I will get to that in a moment.

Mrs. LAZELL. I wish to make this final statement on the New Jersey situation. While I have seen the Tours with the insertions and have made some comments, the rest of the New Jersey copy, with many insertions made by Mr. Coy, has gone up to the publisher without my seeing it, which is unusual. I suppose they will show it to me later and say that they were in a hurry or something. But I usually see it before it goes into the stage where it is now.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that any of the material as finally approved by the Washington office or by Mr. Alsberg constituted appeals to class hatred?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. When you recommended that certain portions be deleted, was that recommendation acted favorably upon every time?

Mrs. LAZELL. So far; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as what?

Mrs. LAZELL. I mean so far as today, yes; but—I want to give you a "Yes, but —" before I am through, and then I have given all, because

I can only speak of policy, and not of what is happening in general. I have got a "Yes, but—" that I think is a very strong "Yes, but—."

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me what that "Yes, but—" is.

Mrs. LAZELL. California.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to get to that in a moment. Has Mr. Alsberg placed insertions in the material from New Jersey?

Mrs. LAZELL. I think Mr. Coy has done it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he has done it upon more than one occasion?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; there were a number of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen that material with the insertions?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have seen one insertion which I did not like because I thought it was incendiary, but I have not seen the whole of it because it was not sent to my desk. Mrs. Shreve has seen it, because it goes by her desk.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you go so far as to say that the tenor of the Guide from New Jersey has been class hatred and incendiary propaganda?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And would you say that that propaganda would have the effect of starting up class hatreds?

Mrs. LAZELL. I should think it would; at least they expect it to.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that guide invariably condemn business and industry?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And picture them as pro-Fascist?

Mrs. LAZELL. As being the enemy.

The CHAIRMAN. As being the enemy of the masses of the people?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the material always took a partisan slant?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In favor of organized labor, we will say?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The C. I. O. particularly?

Mrs. LAZELL. Well, not the C. I. O., but I should say more the radical element in the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. The radical element in the C. I. O. was championed in this guide?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. While the business people and industrial classes were pictured as enemies of the mass of the people?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. I wish you would subpoena the Viking Press. They have the galleys which have just been sent to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about Mr. Coy having inserted inflammatory or incendiary statements?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have seen only one copy of this. I have been told so, and it is in line of what I have seen of insertions in other things.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have dealt with New Jersey. What has been the case in New York?

Mrs. LAZELL. So far they have written only the New York panorama. There were one or two instances where my strictures were accepted. That is so far as the manuscript has come along, but I do not know how long that will continue.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you found, or do you know as a fact, that Mr. Coy and Mr. Alsberg, at the headquarters of the Federal Writers Project, have shaped their material for propaganda purposes?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Against business and against industry as a class?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir; and against the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Against the Government itself?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. While you have been successfully deleting a great deal of that, has some of it been passed over your objection?

Mrs. LAZELL. There are some I cannot absolutely remove. For instance, there was something about criminal syndicalism that was taken out of the Iowa Guide. There was something about the criminal syndicalism law of Iowa, which is of particular interest to people who want to destroy the Government. We have had them wire back that they insisted that we put it back, and we spent several weeks trying to soften it. So far it has received no comment.

The CHAIRMAN. So that in a number of cases the best you can do is to soften language that is intended to stir up hatred in the United States.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. I told some Communist sympathizers that in the end they would not gain anything by any such warfare.

The CHAIRMAN. I was simply going to ask you with reference to all of the States except California. You have passed on it for all the States?

Mrs. LAZELL. All of the States have not come in yet. Some have come in from Michigan, containing a terrific tirade against Henry Ford. I want to know how they got this far with it. It was too terrible, and we sat on it.

Mr. MASON. It does show, however, that in the State headquarters they prepare such propaganda to be sent in.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mrs. LAZELL. That is true in some States, but in other States they are finding ways to make the copy clean. The Montana copy came in nice. There is one comment that came through to me finally. I do not know whether I will lose that fight.

The CHAIRMAN. What other States have sent in communistic or inflammatory material?

Mrs. LAZELL. Very few States have sent such material in. Michigan has sent in some.

The CHAIRMAN. New Jersey and Michigan have sent in such material?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Iowa?

Mrs. LAZELL. Just a little. I do not know who that was. Most of the Iowa copy is very acceptable. More than one work on it. I am not positive that the criminal syndicalism matter came from Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you mention any other States that have sent in communistic material?

Mrs. LAZELL. No, sir; not on the whole. Most of the State officers resist it. In Tennessee there were rejected 10 or 15 pages of instructions as to the Negro's rights and their labor troubles. It related to Negro and labor troubles there.



The CHAIRMAN. Then, I understand you to say that the officials of the Department have written back for more material on the Negro question and on labor troubles, so that, is it correct to say, that those in charge here in Washington have invited propaganda for the purpose of stirring up strife between capital and labor and between the races.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. Would you say those in charge here in Washington or some in charge?

Mrs. LAZELL. Some in charge.

Mr. MASON. Undoubtedly some of them down there are clean.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. Mr. George Cronin, who was associate director with Mr. Alsberg until last November, was demoted. I think you should subpoena Mr. Cronin. They made a lot of fuss about it. He was named associate director with Joe Baker, with Henry. He made a fine stand.

Mr. MASON. Was de demoted because he protested?

Mrs. LAZELL. He protested openly at several meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have covered the situation in those States. You have tried to do a clean job, but have received orders from the national office to send in more of that kind of material.

Mrs. LAZELL. More material on labor and strikes. Almost every day we get them. I said to one person, "You do not realize that you are hurting labor." Labor is in serious war with capital. I know there are fine labor people who will object to this stuff.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have covered all of the States except California. Now, tell us what you found with reference to California.

Mrs. LAZELL. As to California, I have something in writing here. This is the statement I have. This is something that will happen later, but I will give it to you. I hope you will use it without quoting it. If you quote it, it simply means my job. I am on this Federal writers' job under Henry Alsberg, and I will do the job as long as I can do it honestly. When the California copy is going through, I think that will be the time that I may not continue. The National Almanac for Thirty-Niners is going through. We are getting out that almanac. The almanac is coming out. The Almanac for Thirty-Niners is the predecessor of the Guide. This thing appears in it, without rhyme or reason. This is an opportunity which Henry Alsberg has taken, and this is an item which will show what I am up against right now.

The CHAIRMAN. What was to appear in it?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have the language here. On pages 9 and 10, directly following Saturday, January 28, is a letter and comment on the Mooney trial that I said that we should not on any account print. This is a letter and comment on the Mooney trial, which I quoted to Mr. Alsberg. I stated that it was something that we should on no account print in this Government publication. It was quoted from the historic document department, which is one of our departments. The letter, with bad spelling and all, is as follows:

GRAYVILLE, ILL.

Mr. ED RIGALL.

DEAR ED: Has been a long time since I hurd from you. I have a chance for you to cum to San Frisco as a Expert Wittnes in a very important case, you will only haf to answer 3 & 4 questions and I will Post you on them. You will get milage and all that a witness can draw. Probly 100 in the clear. So if you

will come ans me quik in care of this Hotel And I will mange the Balance. It is all OK but I need a wittense. Let me know if you can come. Jan. 3 is the dait set for trile. Please keep this confidential.

Answer hear.

Yours truly,

F. C. OXMAN.

The "very important case" was the Preparedness Day bombing trial of January 1917, which sent San Francisco Labor Leader Thomas J. Mooney to prison for life. State's chief witness against Mooney was F. C. Oxman.

Imagine that appearing in a Government publication.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that an authentic letter?

Mrs. LAZELL. How do we know? It was being printed, and it came from our historic document department. Mr. Alsberg called me, and Mr. Coy was there on one side. He is in California a part of the time. Alsberg said, "I am very sorry." I thought we were coming to the end of the row with him. He said, "I am sorry you have agreed with Mrs. Lazell." He said, "this is a very serious matter." He said, "Take it out, but be sure, though, that the whole account be printed in the San Francisco Guide."

That has not gone through yet, and the proof of my position will be the California Guide. Mr. Alsberg will see to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you furnish us a copy of the California Guide when it is completed?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. They are doing work on it now. There is one more thing about this: They give the story of the Massacre of the Innocents, and of the funeral afterward. I suggested that the line reading "Floral offerings from the police were returned" be deleted. That should be cut out, and it should be smoothed down.

Mr. MASON. Your statement is that such material is to be in the California Guide?

Mrs. LAZELL. Such material and more of it may appear in the California Guide. Mrs. Woodward sent me to do this job, and she is no "red."

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to California?

Mrs. LAZELL. No, sir. I have been editing it, as this material comes in. If this goes out, my job is gone. I can prove that by the Guide when it comes out. Until it comes to me, this "red" stuff stays in. Henry Alsberg let the New Jersey stuff remain mostly until it got to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Henry Alsberg ever made any statement to you that would lead you to believe that he was a Communist sympathizer? We want you to tell us exactly the truth. We are not going to give publicity to your testimony at this time; but, of course, eventually it will have to come out.

Mrs. LAZELL. All right; it is my job.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee will do everything in its power to protect you against discharge. If any effort is made to discharge you, the entire committee will protest it to the whole country.

Mrs. LAZELL. I will give you a perfect example of a thing that happened.

The CHAIRMAN. You tell us frankly and candidly the whole truth, and this committee will do everything in its power to see that you are not punished for it.

Mrs. LAZELL. I think the grand attack will be made on the other thing, anyway. Wherever I have been in these 4 years, I have tried to be American in what I did. Last spring a little book from South Dakota, called *Unfinished Histories*, that was published at Mitchell, S. Dak., came up. It was just about little incidents at little towns. It was sent in, and I read the proofs. The stuff was badly marked up. About 6 weeks later the page proofs came through. This was the first and only time they rejected the radical thing about the book. I did not read the manuscript carefully, word for word, and I put my O. K. on *Unfinished Histories* without realizing there was matter in it that was not in the other; but a little later I was called up before Mr. Alsberg's assistant, and they were very much upset. There was a little article in it called *Home Guards*, that showed how a bunch of citizens got together and chased the I. W. W. out of town. To them that was horrible. There was nothing horrible about it. In fact, it was rather humorous. Nobody was hurt or killed, but Mr. Alsberg was shocked. This must be suppressed. He said, "What will the New Masses say if they get hold of it?"

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he said to you?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The *New Masses* is a well-known Communist publication.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. That was suppressed because of that one story, and a revised edition is out now. The story is out now, with no other change.

Mr. MASON. In all these other publications, they have encouraged the selection of accounts of atrocities.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir; but they were shocked when some good Americans chased a bunch of toughs out of town.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Mr. Alsberg made any other statements to you that led you to believe that he was a Communist sympathizer?

Mrs. LAZELL. No; not directly. That is the only one where I can give you an exact quotation. I thought that was sufficient.

If I may make only a personal comment, I think they are working there to create a much more dangerous thing than the Federal Theater; to create propaganda through the whole country in which key positions will be given to Communists. They are working now toward a Communist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us who is working that out.

Mrs. LAZELL. Mr. Alsberg and Mr. Gehr, who is his right-hand man in many things. I know nothing of his policies, but I believe that he believes—but that is outside of my realm. The only thing is that I think they are building up a very dangerous thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Gehr ever make any statement to you to lead you to believe that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. LAZELL. No. He only fights me on every point in which I endeavor to smooth things out.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he ever made any radical or revolutionary statements to you?

Mrs. LAZELL. No, indeed. The only statement that I understood he made was that I was a dangerous Nazi. I happen to be a niece of Gen. Zachary Taylor, once President of the United States, and I am about as much of a Nazi as he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about this new plan.



Mrs. LAZELL. That is only speculation on my part. Up to now I have given you facts. We all feel that they are working toward a very complete and solid organization. In the spring Mr. Alsberg brought a number of people in who were not needed, and put them in key positions. Mr. Coy feels very safe in the protection of Mr. Aubrey Williams.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever talked to Mr. Aubrey Williams?

Mrs. LAZELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen anything to indicate that he sent down these people to Mr. Alsberg?

Mrs. LAZELL. No. Mr. Alsberg goes to him occasionally.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about it yourself?

Mrs. LAZELL. No, sir; not first hand, except through Mrs. Ellen Woodward, who is a thorough American citizen. Mr. Hopkins does not figure in this story at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mrs. Hallie Flanagan?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about her activities?

Mrs. LAZELL. I think Hallie has been riding herd on a lot of wild "red" horses.

The CHAIRMAN. Has she ever talked to you—Miss Hallie Flanagan?

Mrs. LAZELL. No. I told her I thought she had a new phase of drama in the Living Newspaper—a very effective one.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that?

Mrs. LAZELL. Well, it is very effective. It can be used as propaganda. Have you seen the Living Newspaper things? They are well worth seeing. I have been a dramatic critic, and they are well worth seeing as pieces of artistic work. But she is riding herd on a lot of radicals; there is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that she herself is sympathetic with the Communists?

Mrs. LAZELL. No; I do not think she is. I don't know her well enough, and in my discussions with her that has never come in.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the Living Age is distributing communistic propaganda?

Mrs. LAZELL. I don't know. I know that they tried to take it in. She has her own play bureau, and I have mine.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these new employees have been brought in?

Mrs. LAZELL. Mrs. Shreve would know better than I.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they brought in many new employees?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; and I believe they are absolutely unnecessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those employees of a radical tendency?

Mrs. LAZELL. They seem to be uniformly so.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you heard them discuss the question of communism?

Mrs. LAZELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You think Mr. Alsberg is deliberately bringing into the Department as many radicals as he can?

Mrs. LAZELL. I don't know whether he is doing it under orders or voluntarily.

The CHAIRMAN. But is he doing it?

Mrs. LAZELL. It has seemed to us for a long while that he was bringing in such persons.

The CHAIRMAN. You reached that opinion from conversations with them?

Mrs. LAZELL. From contact with them and from the material they produce and from the general tone of them. As I say, I do not know. That is not nearly as concrete as the actual things I have to handle. That I know. When it comes to the California stuff, it seems to me that such material is impossible in a State Guide, and the Montana State Guide I shall probably have to fight out, to keep radical and pro-radical and incendiary stuff out of the State Guide.

The CHAIRMAN. In all these Guides, is it the uniform policy to array class against class?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And to encourage class hatred?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In your department, do you know of any aliens who are working there?

Mrs. LAZELL. No; we have a Viennese girl working in my room who is distinctly not an undesirable alien. The first remark she made, which I think she would be willing to give you under oath, was, "Why, this is sheer communism." And I said to her, "You better not say that out loud." That was her first shock. She is the daughter of a Viennese physician, and that was the first impact that struck her fresh mind.

I am a pretty good American, and I am a newspaper woman of pretty good standing out West. I was an editorial writer, and worked on the Denver Post for 6 years, and I never heard of such a thing before.

I just want to get out a good Guide. There are enough Americans left. Am I right? Have we enough able people who know their business? Now, I am a stranger, and my whole loyalty is to Mrs. Ellen Woodward, who is my chief, and I came with a perfectly unbiased mind, with the exception of one or two disturbers of the peace that I have had to sit on.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of the background of Mr. Coy?

Mrs. LAZELL. No; I know nothing of Mr. Coy except that had he dropped from Mars he would know a little less about running the job he has been getting. He doesn't know A B C about getting out a guide book. A part of the policy is to get out a decent book.

The CHAIRMAN. But he knows a good deal about how to insert communistic statements?

Mrs. LAZELL. Insertions; yes. I cannot see any other qualification.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything you can add to your testimony?

Mrs. LAZELL. I am sorry; no, because I want to keep strictly to my own experience.

The CHAIRMAN. What conclusions have you reached as the result of your contacts in the departments and in the performance of your duties, and so on—what conclusions have you reached with reference to the Federal Writers' Project?

Mrs. LAZELL. The Federal Writers' Project has in its hands a splendid piece of work, but a housecleaning is absolutely necessary. There are enough able people, and have been from the beginning, to carry on, and that will eliminate my job altogether.

Mr. MASON. Would you say that the Federal Writers' Project is being used by a group of radicals to propagandize the States through the use of these Guides?

Mrs. LAZELL. I do; and that is just the beginning.

Mr. MASON. And that unless we get rid of those who have the control of the policy in the Federal Writers' Project, that is exactly what will be accomplished by the issuing of these Guides?

Mrs. LAZELL. Very soon.

The CHAIRMAN. From your experience and contacts, would you say that the Federal Writers' Project is being converted into an agency to spread communism throughout the United States?

Mrs. LAZELL. I think so; and I think the recommendation of Mr. Gear recently for new stuff, using part of their work in pamphlets on current issues, would be the beginning of their propaganda. He recommends that that be done, and that is something that we should not do.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you object if this committee decided to transmit, in secrecy, your testimony to the President of the United States, demanding that immediate action be taken to stop this communistic propaganda?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have no objection whatever. Mrs. Roosevelt already knows my attitude. My loyalty to the President is absolute. Whatever he says is right to me.

The CHAIRMAN. After all, the President is the only one who has authority to take immediate action?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that a fact, Mr. Mason?

Mr. MASON. I would think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And the committee may decide that the matter is so urgent and important that the transcript of your testimony, as well as the testimony of these other witnesses, should be immediately transmitted to the President with out recommendation that he take drastic steps to put an end to this un-American activity in the Government of the United States carried on through the taxpayers' money.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; I may add one thing: I think you should subpoena Mr. George Cronin, who has objected to the handling of contracts and the wasting of money for the Government. I think his testimony would be very valuable, and if he knew it was going straight to the President he would tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. We will subpoena Mr. Cronin. The difficulty in that is that Mr. Cronin may not be willing to testify from fear of his position.

Mrs. LAZELL. If he has enough protection—his wife is about to have a child, and last year she was very ill, at this time last year, when he was demoted, and I think, out of consideration for her, he is showing a reluctance that he would not show at any other time. But if he knew it was going direct to the President, and not to the newspapers, I am sure he would be glad to come here and testify.

The CHAIRMAN. If we have him, it will be in strict secrecy.

Mrs. LAZELL. In strict secrecy. And he has a long story to tell, of which I have no contact, of how these contracts have been mis-handled and how people without proper qualifications have handled



them. That is not my story; I know nothing about it. He was demoted for trying to keep these contracts straight.

The CHAIRMAN. That is about all the information you can give us?

Mrs. LAZELL. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. We appreciate your patriotism and courage in coming before this committee and giving us the benefit of this important information.

Mrs. LAZELL. You should not be afraid of Americans, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Now, shall we hear from you next, Mrs. Shreve?

### TESTIMONY OF FLORENCE D. SHREVE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Mrs. Florence D. Shreve; is that right?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where have you worked, Mrs. Shreve?

Mrs. SHREVE. Recently with the Federal Writers' Project.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you go to work?

Mrs. SHREVE. November 8, 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Under what period?

Mrs. SHREVE. I am still working now, but I go on furlough on the 27th of this month.

The CHAIRMAN. From what State do you come?

Mrs. SHREVE. California.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in Washington?

Mrs. SHREVE. Almost 4 years.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to secure your position in the Federal Writers' Project? Do you care to say?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes; I was employed as an editor in the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration until August 15, 1936. There was a demobilization of the unit, and 550 employees were dismissed with 1 month's notification, because the entire unit was broken up for lack of funds, and a new program of housing work was taken up. I took a brief vacation, went to California for about 6 weeks—

The CHAIRMAN. We do not care about the details.

Mrs. SHREVE. Well, I returned and was offered a position in the writers' project. I did not seek it. I was asked if I would come there, and asked to take charge of the expert work of typography and take complete charge of the publication end; that is, the technical end of publishing these books—that is, all of the books that were published by the writers' project—guide books, small pamphlets, and other little booklets.

The CHAIRMAN. What were your duties with reference to those books?

Mrs. SHREVE. I have to prepare copy for the printer; I have to mark it to show what kind of type is to be used; I have to lay out and specify just what should appear on what pages; make up what we call the format of a book. Then, when the proofs come back, I supervise the reading of the proofs and the corrections. I adjudicate all the corrections. If two of my readers disagree, or the printer asks questions, I decide what shall be done in the matter of these correc-

tions. If the readers show me matters of policy that they think are questionable, or misstatements of fact, or errors of fact, I take them to the editors that have charge of the particular subject, or I take them to the policy reader and ask for a decision on those points.

In other words, I am publication editor. I am supposed to see that that book comes out in the proper shape.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have given us a good idea of your duties.

Now, Mrs. Shreve, suppose you tell us, in your own language, just what you have found out in the way of actual facts, since you have been connected with the Federal Writers' Project.

Mrs. SHREVE. The first book I worked on was "Washington City, The Capital," which, as you remember, was a large guide written about Washington. In the preparation of the copy for the press, I found two references to riots in Washington in the year 1919, immediately after the close of the war. Both of those references stated—I can't give you the exact wording, but I can give you the substance—that those riots were inspired by the Ku Klux Klan; that they were race riots against the Negroes inspired by the Ku Klux Klan; and in these two places in the book—one was the Negro, as I say, and one was another section of the book—both those statements appeared, and I objected to them on the ground that they were controversial; there was no way to prove them; they were unnecessary; we were raising an unnecessary discussion about something that was controversial.

It was with great difficulty that I succeeded in keeping that matter out of the two books. Of course I was new. I did not know anyone in the organization. I thought everybody was working with honesty of purpose. Mr. Gehr was editor in chief, and I found that after I would take things out of proofs and leave them on my desk at night, the next morning they would be reinserted, and finally I had to lock them up in my desk to make sure that things would not be changed after I had changed them. But we did, after a good deal of struggle—and I had to refer the matter to the Assistant Director to get his approval of my stand on that matter—we did succeed in keeping that out.

There were several other minor things of similar character, none of them quite as important as that. There has always been an effort to build up subtly the oppression of the Negro everywhere, in all copy. In all copy that has come to me, and all proofs, I get constant demands to take them to the Negro department. We maintain a Negro department. We have four editors on duty constantly to supervise all references to Negroes in all of the books, and they often build up a case for the Negro where none is necessary.

That was the beginning of things that showed me that there was a subtle effort to work things in of an editorial nature; that we were not just giving history, and we were not just giving guide-book material, but we were trying to editorialize and convert people to some particular doctrine.

Not long after I had finished the work on that guide book I was informed by a member of the staff that I was under surveillance; that the director had told people to watch out for me, because I was a Department of Justice spy. I tried to trace that down, and the only two things that I could find to corroborate it were that I had

a son who worked in the Department of Justice, and I myself had worked as an agent for the last committee on un-American activities—the McCormick committee. That seemed to mitigate against me in this unit.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, tell us more instances.

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes. I had to tell you that in order that you could see what came afterward.

For a while after that book was finished I worked on what we call copy reading. After it had been prepared by the writers and editors, then expert editors, who are called copy readers, go over it and see that it is written smoothly, to see that there are no glaring mistakes of fact, and to see that it is properly worded for publication; and I tried to do as good a job as I knew how as a copy reader.

Suddenly one day all that work was taken away from me, with not a particle of warning, and I was told that I was a Fascist and that I must not be allowed to handle copy because I would attempt to write terrible things into it. I had been taking out the little subtle things.

The CHAIRMAN. What had you been taking out? Just characterize it?

Mrs. SHREVE. Oh, the struggle between capital and labor; that the Negro had been downtrodden; and always—there was a word that they used; I can't think of it at the moment—

Mrs. LAZELL. Underprivileged.

Mrs. SHREVE. That is it—underprivileged; the underprivileged Negro.

Those little subtle things were coming in very quietly at that time. They were just creeping in. At first I was thinking that there were just certain stray writers that were a little bit prejudiced.

At the same time I was reading copy, I was taking care of proofs which were beginning to come in for the smaller publications. After awhile the proofs began to arrive for the larger books.

I would like to say here that I had nothing to do with the six books which we call the New England Guides—for Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Those six States were done through the Boston office; Mr. Gehr was sent there and had complete charge of the production of those six books.

When the other books came in, I had charge of the proofs of each book, and I found that things were creeping into the books, and my proofreaders would come to me with questions, whether this should be allowed to go in or whether that should be allowed to go in.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "things creeping in"?

Mrs. SHREVE. Propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of propaganda?

Mrs. SHREVE. Radical labor propaganda, subtle propaganda which the Communists now use to promote prejudice between capital and labor.

Very often I would take the proofs to Mrs. Lazell to show her that this had been coming from the chief; she had put her O. K. on the original manuscript until the proofs had come in. In other words, the manuscript, after Mrs. Lazell had read it, had been altered somewhere along the line, and the proofs would be a little different.

They reached such a proportion, when I was reading the proofs, when the proofs came in, that I wrote a memorandum to Mr. Alsberg,



and I sent that memorandum to Mr. Alsberg. I have here a copy of the memorandum, together with his reply.

Inasmuch as considerable time elapsed between the time Mrs. Lazell approved the manuscript—that is, gave her policy approval until that same material appeared in galley form, as we call it—I had no way of knowing what happened in the meantime, and I thought we should establish a better routine to prevent any changes being made, which she had not seen. It was simply a matter of protection. Mr. Alsberg sent me word through his secretary to see Mr. Coy, the editor in chief, and work out something for that.

The CHAIRMAN. These two communications, one a memorandum dated August 2, 1938, and the other dated August 2, 1938, both addressed to Mr. Henry G. Alsberg, from Florence D. Shreve, the memorandum written in typewriting, and the answer in his own handwriting, will be inserted in full in the record at this point.

(The communications referred to are as follows:)

#### MEMORANDUM

AUGUST 2, 1938.

To: Mr. Henry G. Alsberg.

From: Florence D. Shreve (F. D. S.).

The manuscript for the Montana State Guide has come to me for press preparation.

A long period of time has elapsed since I received Mrs. Lazell's memorandum approving Montana manuscript for policy. It is, therefore, impossible for me to determine whether this is the same manuscript which she approved on May 24.

Frequently, after approval of a manuscript, changes are made in the text and the manuscript travels in and out of my office for this purpose.

In the present instance I have observed that some of the writing is not properly done. In at least two places—pages 17, 18, and 28—which I noticed in the hasty scanning incidental to marking the copy, the presentation was bold and crass. I believe it would have received adverse criticism from a policy reader.

Since I am charged with the responsibility of the final preparation of manuscript, I wish we could devise a routine which would preclude possibility of changes being made without approval.

(In handwriting:) This whole matter is in Mr. Coy's hands. Mrs. Shreve has nothing to do with the contents of the manuscript.

H. G. A.

#### MEMORANDUM

AUGUST 2, 1938.

To: Mr. Henry G. Alsberg.

From: Florence D. Shreve (F. D. S.).

Supplementing my memorandum of even date, permit me to report to you that I took the matter up with Mr. Coy, as Mrs. Pfeiffer said you wished me to.

Mr. Coy differs with me as to the necessity for a more careful system of handling. He considers the present system adequate and does not wish to make any changes. He made it very apparent that any one's desire to save time, money, and embarrassment by working in a professional manner is decidedly de trop.

(In handwriting): Mr. Coy's decisions are the result of conferences with me and therefore are final. Any suggestions you have must be made to him. Please do not go over his head.

H. G. A.

Mrs. SHREVE. The result of this was a curt statement by Mr. Alsberg that I had nothing to do with the manuscript, and it was all in Mr. Coy's hands.

In the Montana Guide, a great deal of material has been written. But in the Montana Guide this was put in:

While men of character and means built or financed the machinery of production, and thus controlled the vast natural store of wealth, the worker took wages instead of metal for his labors.

A subtle comparison between wages paid and the wealth of gold.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that left in the Guide book?

Mrs. SHREVE. The Montana book is not published. I have had this thing since August, and they will not call for it.

Last week I was notified that my services would be terminated on the 22d, and I asked Mr. Alsberg what his reason was, and he said, "Constantly exceeding your authority."

I owe one allegiance, Mr. Dies, and Mr. Mason, and that is to my government. I do not owe allegiance to one job or one man. After I go out I do not know what my family will eat, and it does not make any difference. He has taken my job away from me because I have been fighting for a principle.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been fighting to keep communistic influences from getting into the publications of the Government.

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mrs. SHREVE. Mr. Taxo is one of the men who does reading in my absence. Here are a few of the things he found in the New Jersey proofs last week.

The CHAIRMAN. He can testify to that himself.

Mrs. SHREVE. The evidence is here.

As these Guides are coming through, more and more of this is being inserted. The New Jersey Guide is the most flagrant of all, because the copy was taken after it had passed the State's approval and was in proof form, it was seized in my office by Mr. Coy and kept by him for more than a week, and when it finally came back it had pages of notations to be inserted, and they are in handwriting, and every one of those new notations is inflammatory.

That material was rushed in and rushed out of my office before we could copy any more of these notations.

The CHAIRMAN. Read those notations that you copied.

Mrs. SHREVE. These are a few of the paragraphs.

Five months of strike in 1935 meant higher wages and the 36-hour week for members of the industrial union of the merchant shipbuilding workers of America.

Here is another statement that was put in:

Twin cables 30 inches in diameter support the 57-foot roadway, two rapid transit tracks and foot walks with a clearance of 135 feet above the channel. The entire structure is 8,536 feet long; it took 4½ years to build and cost \$40,000,000. Thirteen workmen were killed in a series of accidents typical of those that occur on any large construction job.

I ask you, Mr. Chairman, is that the type of Guide book material?

Here is another statement that was inserted, instead of stating that there was a strike:

Settlement was made by agreement for an election, through which the union won exclusive bargaining rights. The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee reported the expenditure of large sums for strikebreaking and espionage in the strike and prestrike period.

Do you get the subtlety of that—"The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee reported"—all the La Follette committee does is to get evidence. It did not report the expenditure of money. It got evidence. This statement goes on to say:

Since that time the company has signed with the union a contract providing for a scale of pay that is one of the highest in the industry, and announced a new labor policy, employing former Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady as director of labor relations.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any more excerpts?

Mrs. SHREVE. Those are all.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have given us a pretty good idea of what is going on down there. Let me ask you a few questions.

From your experience and contacts and observations, do you feel that the Federal Writers' Project is being converted into an agency to spread communism?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Mr. Alsberg ever made any statement to you that has led you to believe that he is a Communist sympathizer?

Mrs. SHREVE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Mr. Coy ever made any statement to you that would lead you to believe that he is a Communist sympathizer?

Mrs. SHREVE. Not directly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a fact that the various publications put out by the Federal Writers' Project carry subtle propaganda to array class against class and to promote class hatred in the United States?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a fact that that propaganda is increasing in intensity?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes. I would say that is no longer subtle; it is direct.

The CHAIRMAN. This is no longer subtle; it has now become direct?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any Communists in that department?

Mrs. SHREVE. Recently one member of the staff was recalled from New York. She had incurred the displeasure of the director and was telling various people on the project that she did not know what was going to happen to her.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Mrs. SHREVE. Her name is Ruth Crawford. She has told various people on the project, and these people have been invited in New York to come to the meeting of 36-S, which is a Communist unit in New York City.

It just happened that immediately after her recall, while all this turmoil was going on, she was telling different people that something had happened and Henry was very angry over something, and I was in Mr. Alsberg's office when a telephone call came through from Mr. McGraw, in the New York project. Mr. McGraw does a great deal of confidential work for Mr. Alsberg. Mr. Alsberg does not meet him on the New York project; in fact, he seldom goes to the New York project.

When he goes to New York, which is very often, he meets Mr. McGraw at a restaurant in Greenwich Village.



The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that to be true?

Mrs. SHREVE. People know that in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. That is purely hearsay?

Mrs. SHREVE. That is hearsay, but Mr. McGraw calls up long-distance and I heard the conversation by Mr. Alsberg's secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the conversation?

Mrs. SHREVE. The conversation was to the effect that the wording of it—this is almost a quote, but the wording of it was "the director is highly recommended for service to the party." That was all you could hear.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you listening in on another line?

Mrs. SHREVE. No; but this woman was in front of me. I was sitting alongside of the secretary, and the secretary was talking instead of Mr. Alsberg.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you know just who said that?

Mrs. SHREVE. She sat in front of me; she was saying, "You know what was said was," and then she repeated those words.

The CHAIRMAN. Over the telephone?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes—"recommended for meritorious service to the party."

The CHAIRMAN. Why did she say that?

Mrs. SHREVE. Because she was talking to Mr. McGraw.

Various things have happened and have been talked by different people who have been able to get a little idea from different places as to what this thing was that happened in New York.

It seems that there was a resolution that this girl had introduced—this part is hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not have testimony based on hearsay.

Mrs. SHREVE. There has been just enough said in our presence at various times so you can pick up little things.

There was a resolution of some kind which this secretary was referring to; but she did say—and here is the important thing in this conversation with Mr. McGraw in New York—that when Mr. Alsberg appeared before the Dies committee his defense will be that he has never investigated into the political activities of any employee.

There was only one conclusion to get from that—that it had something to do with a build-up for his appearance.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anything else that you can add?

Mrs. SHREVE. A great many things come to my office in the regular routine, and this is one. This is a copy of a memorandum which went to all State directors last May, enclosing a suggested news release, and the release was asking for the promotion of certain magazines which are rather radical, the Nation, the New Republic, and the New Masses. This is a copy of the news release as it came to me, with a memorandum, and at the bottom of it it says, "Not sent W. & P. Dir." The copy was not sent to Mrs. Woodward. The routine prescribed that everything that goes out from the State director must have a copy sent to Mrs. Woodward for her files. A copy of that was not sent to her for her files.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything here of particular interest?

Mrs. SHREVE. I do not think that under Government frank we are ever expected to promote other publications, especially the New Masses.

The CHAIRMAN. This press release is headed: "Federal Writers' Project, 1734 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D. C." It says:

Word comes from Washington that four magazines are planning special sections devoted to the off-time creative efforts of writers of the Federal Writers' Project. Both the Nation and the New Republic are publishing miniature anthologies of poetry by project members in one of their May issues.

We will give the memorandum and the press release to the reporter and ask that it be copied in full in the record of the hearings at this point.

(The memorandum and news release referred to are as follows:)

## MEMORANDUM

MAY 5, 1938.

To: All State Directors of the Federal Writers' Project.  
From: Henry G. Alsberg, Director.

We are enclosing herewith a news release which we hope you can distribute to newspapers in your State. We wish to make it clear to the public that all of the literary material being published by the four magazines mentioned in the news item was written off time and only at the responsibility of the magazines concerned. The publication of the enclosed item will undoubtedly help to make this fact clear.

Jerre Mangione: ESN.

Not sent W. & P. Dir.

Cc—Kennan, Babcock, Finger, and Couch.

Please release immediately.

FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT,  
1734 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

Word comes from Washington that four magazines are planning special sections devoted to the off time creative efforts of writers of the Federal Writers' Project. Both the Nation and the New Republic are publishing miniature anthologies of poetry by project members in one of their May issues. Poetry Magazine is devoting its entire July issue to verse by Federal writers, and the New Masses has just published a 32-page supplement, made up of stories, sketches, Americana, and poetry, written off time by project workers. It is believed that this unusual demand for creative work of the Federal Writers' Project resulted from the publication of American Stuff magazine, which was published last month through the auspices of Direction magazine. American Stuff, a 128-page publication sponsored by the guild's committee for Federal Writers' Publications, consists of short stories, essays, poetry, and folklore written by members of the project outside of office hours. It includes eight lithographs by members of the Federal Art Project, and retails for 25 cents. Copies of it may be purchased through the guild's committee for Federal Writers' Publications, 285 Madison Avenue, in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mrs. Shreve, the Government frank was being used to advertise certain special publications, including a well-known Communist publication.

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes; that shows a strange sympathy.

Mrs. LAZELL referred to the new program being planned by Mr. Gaer. There was a memorandum dated September 10 from Mr. Gaer to Mr. Alsberg for a one-volume guide to the United States. There is a copy of the projected guide, and here is Mr. Alsberg's subsequent release to the State directors, dated October 29, in which he lays out the new program for the coming year, and that has not been submitted to his superior officer.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a memorandum, dated September 10, 1938, to Mr. Alsberg from Joseph Gaer, subject, "One-volume guide to the United States of America." Here is the tentative table of contents, with the title, and it says:

I am attaching five carbon copies to be distributed to various editors to get their reaction, and as soon as the comments are received we should have a conference on this book.

Mr. MASON. Was there such a conference held?

Mrs. SHREVE. There have been a great many conferences.

Mr. MASON. On that book. He says there will be a conference held.

The CHAIRMAN. On page 7 we find the following:

Indexing and appraisal of material in our files so as to make it available for policies of further publications by the project and for eventual deposit with tax-supported institutions for use by scholars. Preliminary work of taking inventory of this material has already been initiated upon instructions from the Washington office.

Mrs. Shreve, what else can you add to what you have said?

Mrs. SHREVE. A great deal of correspondence has come into my office that goes on about matters between the State directors and Mr. Alsberg's office, and copies of a great many things come into my office. I am explaining that so you will not think I have gone out of my way to get this material. It is these things that come across my desk relating to our business.

There is a letter here in which Mr. Alsberg asks Miss Crawford:

Have you had any success in getting from Hansel Hieth her picture of the Workers' Alliance meeting at North Platte, for inclusion in the Nebraska Guide?

The Nebraska people did not want that picture in there. They had objected to its being in.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a copy of the letter that came through?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes; that is a copy.

The CHAIRMAN. We will insert that in the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

AUGUST 26, 1938.

MISS RUTH CRAWFORD,  
Federal Writers' Project,  
New York City.

DEAR MISS CRAWFORD: Please see if you can get rejected pictures from Viking. We should like also to have if possible the original pictures from which engravings were made for the Iowa and Minnesota Guides. We want these in order to have enlargements made from them for exhibition purposes. They will be exhibited as illustrations which appeared in the guides.

Have you had any success in getting from Hansel Hieth her picture of the Workers' Alliance meeting at North Platte, for inclusion in the Nebraska Guide?

The Farm Security Administration has an excellent photographic department, and a number of expert cameramen. They are quite willing to help us out on the pictures, but the trouble is that their work runs rather to the gloomy side and features the rural slums, eroded soil, cut-over lands, etc. We get our best coverage from professional news cameramen in the States.

An all-States memorandum is about to be sent out, asking State offices to let us know of any prospective celebration in connection with which they plan to publish a guide. We will specifically ask the Viking States to reply immediately to the memorandum.

The prospects for the New York State book do not look so cheery from here. The tours are badly written and inadequate. It is doubtful if we can get them classed up before the first of the year. If Mr. Wainger told you that the essays will be ready in October, they will undoubtedly be the first section completed.

The Newark Public Library is still toying with the sponsorship of the New Jersey Guide. They are now tossing about their last few objections to the Newark copy, and when we snatch those away from them the chances look promising of our settling the sponsorship shortly after Labor Day.



Here is the latest report on an old controversy. The Florida music essay has just emerged from the files. It bears the record that it was handed to you by Mr. Wood on November 4, 1937, and sent by you to files on November 6, 1937. Remember?

Very truly yours,

HENRY G. ALSBERG,

*Director of the Federal Writers' Project.*

P. S. : We have just received your letter of August 25. The information above should answer your question about the New Jersey Guide. When you say you were expecting word on what you were to do about art work, do you mean art work for the New Jersey Guide? It is our impression that we have kept you informed of our arrangements to get art work for the Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, and Kansas Guides. We understood that you were to make arrangements with the New York City Art Project to have drawings made for the New Jersey book.

We are having the enlargements requested by Viking for the Nebraska Guide, done here. The other two groups of photographs for which Viking asked either better prints, or retakes of the same subject, were returned to Nebraska.

Herewith are carbon copies of letters to Mr. Gable and Mr. Frederick in re Nebraska photographs and art work.

You might assure Viking that we are making every effort to get human interest and topical pictures.

H. G. A.

Mrs. SHREVE. In the news release you had awhile ago, it spoke of American Stuff. That was supposed to be an off-time project, done by project workers. Many of those workers spent their project time, for which they were paid, doing the things which appeared in American Stuff.

No one knows how that publication is financed, but the publishers who are doing many of the State books, the Viking Press, that has the largest part of the contracts for these publications, did American Stuff. We do not know under what arrangements that was, and I think that is something that would bear looking into. The contracts also do not carry out the obligations put upon the project by the operating procedure. I am going to give you a copy of the operating procedure, W-8 and the amendments to it, and in that operating procedure there is a provision that all sponsors of State guides must be tax-supported bodies or other nonprofit organizations. We have some very peculiar sponsors. We have sponsors composed of one or two people who have a name like the Bret Harte Association of California. As a Californian, I never heard of it; in fact, I have not found anyone else who ever did. It was simply to get out a book.

There is one concern in Baltimore known as United States Route 1 Highway Association that sponsored one of our books.

They get royalties from these books. The United States Government has not yet had any royalties, although procedure W-8 provides that royalties shall be paid into the United States Treasury. That will bear looking into. I simply know that things are not in accordance with the procedure.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we only have authority to investigate un-American activities, so even if there is any violation of the rules that does not properly come under our jurisdiction, unless we connect it with some un-American activities.

Mrs. SHREVE. Except that it may be possible to show certain alliances and certain efforts to make a racket of it by these people, when you publish other things like American Stuff. It may be that these contracts have been made in such a way that thousands and even mil-

lions of dollars have been spent to prepare publications, and those things have been donated to certain printers, and in turn those printers are going to publish things like American Stuff, and the special issue of Poetry Magazine to which no one was permitted to contribute except people who are known to be members of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Communist Party?

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes; all of its radical stuff.

The CHAIRMAN. You find that Communists and their sympathizers have considerably more influence in the writers projects than any other class?

Mrs. SHREVE. They have better salaries; they have higher positions, regardless of experience.

Mr. MASON. I would like to ask one of two questions. What do you know, from your experience in the Department, about the employment of additional help within the last year or so that, from your judgment, was unnecessary and is superfluous now?

Mrs. SHREVE. Every person who has come in on the regular staff—that does not mean people who are on our part-time staff, people who are taken from the W. P. A. rolls—but every person to my knowledge, that has come into the Washington office since last May or June has been unskilled and unnecessary, and every one of those is attached to some radical organization, if you judge by the material that they want to put in and their actions in writing or in editing.

Mr. MASON. Could these guidebooks and the other work that is planned by the Federal Writers' Project be gotten out without any of that help that has been employed since last May?

Mrs. SHREVE. Oh, yes. We got them out before. Mr. Coy is the chief one. He was put in entire charge of the editorial work. He was given the top position over everyone who had been there for a long time, over men who have had marvelous experience in publishing and in writing, and who have made names for themselves in the literary world; this man, without experience—well, the only experience he claimed was that he was an editor for the Federated Press, which, if you will investigate it, is an outlet for various labor organizations to send out their news release.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no objection to a transcript of this testimony going to the President, have you?

Mrs. SHREVE. Not at all. Mr. Marvin McIntyre had a letter from me last week in which I explained very fully that I tried to keep these publications clean, as far as my work touched them, and that I was being punished for my stand.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get any answer from him?

Mrs. SHREVE. I was down at the White House the other day and Mr. McIntyre had sent a letter to Mr. Harry Hopkins, enclosing the letter I sent to him. I do not know what the outcome of it will be, but I know I am going off the pay roll on the 27th of the month.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Mrs. Shreve.

Mrs. SHREVE. This is something exceptional. This is a photostat I had made of the original publication that went back to California, with the hammer and sickle under "W. P. A.," and it is published by the project's unit, Communist Party. It was sent me by someone in California. A great deal of material comes to me. I had the four pages photostated.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put this in full in the record.  
(The document referred to is as follows:)

#### W. P. A. PERSPECTIVES

Vol. I, No. 2

Issued by the Project's Unit-Communist Party

#### WORKERS STOP WAGE CUTS

The cuts have been rescinded and the threat of shorter pay checks and curtailment of the activities of your Projects has been temporarily removed. The \$1,000 man-year ruling was the most serious threat that we have faced so far and its defeat marks the first time that the July cuts have not taken place on schedule. They did not take place because for the first time all our unions represented on the projects joined in common action to achieve a common goal, bringing pressure of sufficient political importance that it had to be listened to.

Now we are entering an important election campaign. The Congressmen and Senators elected this fall will determine the fate of the FINE ARTS BILL at the next session of Congress. The State Assemblymen, Senators, Governor, and other officials which are chosen will determine the State relief set-up. We project workers must see to it that by continued united action of our unions, the FINE ARTS BILL, which will establish a permanent Gov. Bureau of Fine Arts, and a more humane and liberal relief administration in California are made issues in the campaign. A well-organized campaign by our various unions and civic organizations can secure the inclusion of these issues in the platform of every liberal and progressive candidate.

By securing affiliation of our various unions with LABORS NONPARTISAN LEAGUE, by our becoming active in the League or the COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL UNITY or other progressive assembly district clubs, we workers can do much toward electing progressives who will be sympathetic to the Projects in the fall elections.

The tactic of reaction and monopoly, knowing a majority of the people will no longer follow their leadership, is to split the forces of progress—to divide and rule. Therefore, unity is the watchword—unity among project workers—unity among us with all other progressive and liberal forces.

#### NEUTRALITY WHERE IS THY SHAME?

A crowded thoroughfare in Shanghai, Peking, or Canton:

A market place in Barcelona or in a nearby Spanish village:

Old men, young women, gay children, talking, shopping, playing. There is no thought of hate or strife in all of these.

Suddenly the drone of airplane motors. A speeding squadron appears over the city, marks well the spot, swoops down, releases levers.

There is smoke and dust as they climb back into the skies and disappear. Smoke and dust and no more.

Crumpled buildings and twisted streets and holes belching gas.

Broken bodies and mangled human limbs and fragments of bleeding flesh.

From the living come screams and wails of terror and agonized moans: fear for themselves, sympathy with the injured, grief for the dead.

Yet, there was no thought of hate or strife in all of these. They were not soldiers. They were not even military reserves.

They were merely human beings living in a land desired by the rulers of Fascist Japan, Italy, and Germany.

This was their crime: that they and their fellows desired LIBERTY AND LIFE.

This was their tragic fate: that they and their fellows happened to be the FIRST VICTIMS of war machines which are being tested for use against the rest of us.

YOU AND I FELLOW AMERICANS, ARE TO BLAME!

It was our responsibility as human beings to lift the embargo on LOYALIST SPAIN and bring a speedy end to the carnage of the invaders.

LET US WRITE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, SEC. OF STATE HULL, and our CONGRESSMEN in support of the O'CONNELL PEACE ACT eliminating our shameful unneutral NEUTRALITY.



SUBSCRIBE TO THE "DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD"

For Security, Democracy and Peace. The only paper on the West Coast that is the voice of the people! Rates: by mail, one year, \$6.00; 6 months, \$3.00; 3 months, \$2.00; one month, 75 cents. Local office: 301 Groose Building, 124 West 6th Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR EDITOR: Excitement ran high on the Theatre Project when the first copy of the W. P. A. Perspectives written by Communists on the Projects, came out. Everybody had them sticking out of pockets, out of Scripts. One or two officials liked 'em so well they went about collecting 'em for souvenirs—Hot stuff right out of Russia. And in this first number was something to read, something that pertained to every single person on the Cultural Projects.

Did you ever stop to think of and listen to the people we work with?

Back in '29 to '33 something happened—nobody had anything to eat, to wear, to do, to sing about. The economic crash hit us Artists as it hit the steel-workers, Ford makers, and farmers. Roosevelt came along and created W. P. A. It helped a great deal, but—

"I was Big Time in 1928, now I'm in the Typing Pool."

"I sold \$15,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds for Uncle Sam in 1917, I did it over the foot lights. I got pushed down to gateman the other day."

"My husband got a cold on the Stage last week. He wouldn't stay home to get well. Said he had to "sign in" or lose his job. He died Saturday night. I don't know what to do."

Do you know that Roland, Bill, and Alpheus are in Spain fighting with Spanish Loyalists for World Democracy?

CONFIDENCE GAL.

## WHO ARE THE COMMUNISTS?

It would be a simple matter to publish a list giving the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of all members of the Communist Party on W. P. A. Cultural Projects. This, however, would make these people the target for attack and frame-up by all the reactionary elements on the projects and such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, the L. A. Times, Etc. An orgy of red baiting would result thereby disrupting the advancement of the great cultural achievements now being made by W. P. A. Projects, and all progressive minded people interested in the culture of America. It is therefore readily understood why names are not published. How are you then to know WHO ARE THE COMMUNISTS? What do they do? How do they act? What do they stand for?

If you know a worker who is interested in and actively engaged in making more jobs for the unemployed and in making your job more secure by taking part in UNITED PROGRESSIVE ACTION—well, yes; this person MAY be a Communist.

If you see a worker who is sacrificing his or her time and efforts in the promotion of PEACE QUARANTINE THE AGGRESSOR action—such a person may also be a Communist.

If you know a person who is interested in GOOD GOVERNMENT and who is hard at work in the field striving to achieve UNITY of all PROGRESSIVES behind candidates whose records prove that they will fight to PROTECT and EXTEND DEMOCRACY—here again you have a person who MAY be a Communist.

But if you know a worker who is out in front boldly fighting for ALL these things—JOBS, SECURITY, PEACE, AND DEMOCRACY, one who is freely giving his time, effort, money, and in some cases even his life—then we would say that THAT person is either an OUTSTANDING Communist or should join the Communist Party AT ONCE because these are the things the Communists are straining every nerve to achieve today, JOBS, SECURITY, PEACE, AND DEMOCRACY.

Do Communists stand for overthrow of the government by force? We quote Article VI, Section 7, from the Constitution of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.—"The Communist Party of the U. S. A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction, or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow, any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. standing un-

qualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy."

*People of California unite to defeat the Tories of today in the elections of 1938*

#### VOTE FOR

Anita Whitney, State Controller.

Leo Gallagher, Secretary of State.

Pettis Perry, Board of Equalization, Fourth District.

Orla E. Lair, Congressman, Eleventh District.

Lou Baron, Congressman, Thirteenth District.

Emil Freed, Congressman, Fifteenth District.

LaRue McCormick, Congressman, Sixteenth District.

Wherever a Progressive is nominated in the primary election, the Communist Party will withdraw its candidate, to achieve maximum unified strength behind a single candidate to defeat reaction and secure—

#### JOBS, SECURITY, PEACE, DEMOCRACY!

Hear the Communists KFVD every Wednesday and Saturday at 6:45.

Do you know that: The total number of college students in France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and Japan is 400,000. But the Soviet Union alone, with 550,000 students, has more than these four great European states and Japan lumped together. The Soviet universities turn out 100,000 specialists a year, and there is still a great shortage of them. Not a single scientist or artist is unemployed there.

W. P. A. PERSPECTIVES is issued by Communist Party members on the cultural projects. This is your bulletin. We invite you to contribute by letter to its development with your suggestions, and criticisms.

Communist Party Headquarters, 124 W. Sixth

#### % Federal Project Branch

Maybe Donald Duck, Micky Mouse, and Snow White are "reds," but—  
Are dancers on cultural project taking orders from Moscow?  
Does project employment mean full stomachs but empty art?  
Can you eat a red herring?

Hear the Truth About the "Red" Scare—Learn the Real Facts About the People in the Cultural Professions

You are cordially invited to an open branch meeting cultural units of the Communist Party.

Time: Tuesday, September 27, 8 p. m.

Place: First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. Eighth Street (near Vermont).

Hear Matt Pellman, organizational secretary, Los Angeles County, Communist Party

Questions—Discussion—Refreshments—Get acquainted after the meeting

Come on time—Admission free—Bring a friend

#### TESTIMONY OF JEREMIAH TAX

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. TAX. Jeremiah Tax.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you work, Mr. Tax?

Mr. TAX. Federal Writers' Project.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been working there?

Mr. TAX. About 5 months.

The CHAIRMAN. From what State do you come?

Mr. TAX. I was born in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in Washington?

Mr. TAX. About 6 years.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. TAX. Twenty-three.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a graduate of any college?

Mr. TAX. University of Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever work for the Government before you worked for the Writers' Project?

Mr. TAX. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your duties on the Writers' Project?

Mr. TAX. I read proof under Mrs. Shreve.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that?

Mr. TAX. I read material that goes into the guidebooks which have already been set up in proof form, in galley proof form or page proof form.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the testimony of the two preceding witnesses, have you not?

Mr. TAX. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you add to that testimony?

Mr. TAX. I cannot add anything in fact, because anything that I have noted in the galleys and in the material that was to go into the guidebooks, I have taken up with Mrs. Shreve and she has made copies of all of them, and she has given her testimony. All I can add is that I can answer "yes" to every question that you have asked on whether or not the stirring up of race hatred and the stirring up of class struggle between labor and capital, between the working classes and the owning classes, is being disseminated in the United States through those guides. I can answer "yes" to that every time.

I have read proof of the Minnesota Guide Book, the Montana Guide Book, and the New Jersey Guide Book, and in each instance I have noticed the insertion of material which definitely had no place in a Government book, specifically for the purpose of printing facts.

In every one of those books I have noticed, not only in the essays which deal with labor or with commerce or with industry, but throughout all the books, throughout the tours, descriptions of buildings, descriptions of monuments, there is inserted definite, absolute propaganda for the labor movement against capital and toward stirring up hatred between the two classes. And as I have noted these things I have given them to Mrs. Shreve and she has told you what she has done with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they appeared notwithstanding, most of them?

Mr. TAX. I have only read proof on three books and none of those books has been printed yet, I believe; the Minnesota, the New Jersey, and the Montana books.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with what communism is, are you not?

Mr. TAX. Oh, yes, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the tactics and strategies of the Communists?

Mr. TAX. I certainly am. A member of my family is a member of the party. That is why I know.



The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with their propaganda and the language that they use?

Mr. TAX. I have read it all.

The CHAIRMAN. And their phraseology?

Mr. TAX. Exactly. That is one other thing I wanted to mention.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the Communist phraseology and tactics and strategy compare with what has been inserted in these guidebooks that you have read?

Mr. TAX. I have noticed, especially in the New Jersey Guide Book, in the labor essay, where expressions like overtime work and the like, ordinary everyday words in usage in the English language, have been deleted, and expressions like "the stretch-out," which means compulsory overtime work, have been used. Each time the New Jersey people have used in their labor essays simple, ordinary language on the subject they have been changed.

The CHAIRMAN. To a communistic phraseology?

Mr. TAX. To a communistic phraseology; I would say in all cases, but if not in all cases, certainly in the labor phraseology. It has not been impartial phraseology.

The chief horror of this whole thing to me is not whether or not we can actually prove these things exist, whether we can give you documents or not, but that a situation does exist in what is manifestly a relief project sponsored by the Government of the United States with money taken from its Treasury, which is put into the Treasury by the taxpayers—that such a situation can exist where people trying to put out a clean set of books setting forth American institutions, describing them, and describing legal set-ups—that that has to be the subject of direct communistic attack and propagandizing.

I do not believe it has been mentioned before, but in the New Jersey Guide Book there is a criticism of the legislative set-up. The legislative set-up in New Jersey is patterned exactly after the legislative set-up of the United States of America. That is, there is one house, the senate, and one house, the house of representatives; one which is based on equal representation, that is, a certain number; two senators from each State and one senator from each county in the State; and the other representations as to population. There is a direct criticism of that form of government in New Jersey, because it does not lead to adequate representation of the counties in New Jersey which have more population than the others. In other words, it is a direct criticism of the form of government of the United States, implying that a State like Nevada should not merit two senators in one house and a representative or one or two representatives in the lower house. That is a direct criticism of the New Jersey legislative system. There is no reference made to the United States Government system, but the two are patterned exactly alike.

Mr. MASON. May I ask why was criticism of the form of government in New Jersey dragged into a guidebook?

Mr. TAX. That is my point. It had no place there to begin with. These guidebooks are for the purpose of describing America. They are for the purpose of describing the American Government, American buildings, American history, the American labor movement, the history and development of American culture, art, and literature.

Mr. MASON. And not criticizing it?

Mr. TAX. And not criticizing it; well, criticism according to a proof-reader's point of view is editorializing. It is just as unfair to say criticism; that is editorializing. And in New Jersey there is direct editorializing on the subject of the form of government of the State, and not describing it.

Mr. MASON. May I ask if the New Jersey Guide Book is now in print?

Mr. TAX. It is in type; that is, proofs have been pulled.

Mr. MASON. Are there any of these guidebooks that you people have been talking about, where this material has been inserted, now in print so that we can get the finished copy?

Mr. TAX. So far as I am concerned, I would very gladly bring them here. I was perfectly willing, when I read the New Jersey Guide Book, to take those galleys out of the office and bring them back. My position up there is a little unique, as compared with Mrs. Lazell's and Mr. Shreve's, in that I am on the W. P. A. rolls; my salary up there amounts to about \$19 a week, the loss of which, while it would mean an awful lot to me at the present time, is not sufficient to sooth my conscience, or anything like that, and I would be perfectly willing, if I could—I do not know whether those things are still there—take them out of the office and bring them here, either for copying or for transcription or for——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you would not want to violate any law, and the committee would not have you do that. I doubt seriously if they will ever be printed in view of this investigation, Mr. Mason.

Is there anything else you can add, Mr. Tax?

Mr. TAX. On the subject of phraseology; yes. In all three of the guidebooks that I have read the labor essay is premised—the premise of the labor essay is that the history of labor in all of these States has been a struggle and a war between, on the one hand, capital, and, on the other hand, labor. That is, there is no attempt to give the history, but rather for you to look at the history through the premise that at the bottom it is all a struggle or a war between two factions, and not a development, not a business of cooperation, not a question of mediation.

There is direct criticism in the New Jersey Guide of a labor organization called the Knights of Labor, the death of which organization it is stated in the New Jersey Guide is attributed to the fact that they favored conciliation rather than militancy. That is still in the Guide, the last time I saw it. That is the whole premise behind anything of any communistic nature that goes in there, that you must see it——

Mr. MASON. As a class struggle?

Mr. TAX. As a class struggle, at the bottom. There is no question of the history or of a development of any movement, but as a struggle, a struggle for higher wages, a struggle for the right to strike. That is what I mean by phraseology. Everything follows from there. If you accept the first premise, it is all very logical. It is all very logical for companies to have tear gas in their vaults and employ people for espionage and employ strikebreakers and have hidden arsenals; it follows very logically, because if there is a war, certainly each side has got to fortify itself. So if you accept the first paragraph of each one of those labor essays, the rest follows logically.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the whole question is presented from the communistic viewpoint and angle rather than from a legitimate labor angle?

Mr. TAX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you want to add?

Mr. TAX. No; except I certainly would like to volunteer if anything more is done. I am rabid on the subject right now. If there is anything else I can ever do, I would be very happy to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. We certainly appreciate your patriotism in coming here and giving us the facts. The chair wants to express his appreciation to each and every one of you.

Mrs. SHREVE. Mr. Chairman, may I be recalled for one statement?

### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MRS. FLORENCE SHREVE

Mrs. SHREVE. On November 16 the New Jersey galleys were taken from my office and given to Mr. Jerre G. Mangione, and he took them to New York to the publisher. They gave him this letter to take along:

NOVEMBER 16, 1938.

JERRE G. MANGIONE,

*New York City Federal Writers' Project, New York City.*

DEAR JERRE: We are sending you herewith galleys 68-127 of the New Jersey State Guide. These galleys include all the copy on the 21 cities of New Jersey, the corrections of which you will please take up with Viking.

*Major corrections.*—Bayonne, Camden, Hoboken, Jersey City, Morristown, Newark, Oranges and Maplewood, Passaic, Paterson, Perth Amboy, Princeton, and Trenton.

*Minor corrections.*—Atlantic City, Bordentown, Burlington, Elizabeth, Hackensack, Mt. Holly, New Brunswick, Freehold, and Salem.

It is possible that a few of the 12 cities' treatments marked for major corrections might better be reset in their entirety. If Viking decides upon this course, please let us know immediately, and we will have the material retyped. The nine treatments marked for minor corrections have been proofread and are ready for page proofs.

We appreciate the delicacy of this mission entrusted to you, but feel sure that you will handle it in your usual tactful manner. Remember that you have full plenipotentiary powers, subject to recall of course. Let us know immediately the verdict.

Yours truly,

HENRY G. ALSBERG,

*Director of the Federal Writers Project.*

I suggest, Mr. Dies, that the committee subpoena the galley proofs from Viking Press, that accompanied this letter, and have those galley proofs in your own hand, and you will have the grandest evidence you can ever want.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are they?

Mrs. SHREVE. The Viking Press in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. They have the galley proofs?

Mrs. SHREVE. These are the galley numbers. You want the galleys with all the insertions that were added in Washington.

Mrs. LAZELL. Contrary to the usual procedure they were not read by me or sent to Mrs. Woodward.

Mrs. SHREVE. Yes; contrary to the usual procedure they did not even pass my hands.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that statement?

Mrs. SHREVE. They did not have my entire supervision. They did not go to Mrs. Lazell and they were not read by Mrs. Woodward.



The CHAIRMAN. Where are all those galleys?

Mrs. SHREVE. They are all in New York in the office of the Viking Press.

The CHAIRMAN. That is only for one State?

Mrs. SHREVE. They have about 15 States they are working on.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask Mrs. Lazell one more question. We will recall you, Mrs. Lazell.

#### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MRS. LOUISE LAZELL

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a fact that these galleys were sent to the Viking Press without going through the usual procedure?

Mrs. LAZELL. Without my seeing the additions, and contrary to the usual procedure. The galleys were not sent to me for additional policy reading of the new material; neither were they sent to Mrs. Woodward for her approval.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much.

Mrs. SHREVE. Mr. Chairman, I would like also to make this one further statement: That on Tuesday night of this week I was called to the telephone and a male voice informed me that if I dared testify before the Dies committee my life would not be worth 2 cents. My own family does not know that, but I reported it immediately to the police department.

Mr. MASON. You have reported it?

Mrs. SHREVE. I have reported it.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned.)









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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARINGS BEFORE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

### H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

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#### SUPPLEMENT TO VOLUME 4

DECEMBER 15, 1938

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

---

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1939





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Feb 29, 1940

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II

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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a witness here from out of town this morning—well, all of the witnesses are from out of town—and he won't take but just a few minutes; and if Dr. West and Bishop Leonard don't mind, I will put this witness on just for a few minutes.

You are in no particular hurry, Bishop?

Bishop LEONARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. West, you would not object?

Mr. WEST. How is that?

The CHAIRMAN. I say we have a brief witness here we want to put on for a few moments to clear up a little matter, and you would not object?

Mr. WEST. No.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. CONSODINE, COUNSEL FOR CONSUMERS' RESEARCH, INC.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Consodine, will you please give us for the record a brief statement of your professional background and experience.

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir. But may I state, first, that I am here under subpoena of this committee; and if it were not for that subpoena, I would refuse to testify; and also, on the thought that these affairs pertain to a client's business, I would take advantage of the attorney-and-client privilege, except I know that privilege must be taken advantage of by the client and not by me.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CONSODINE. So, recognizing this committee's power over me by virtue of the subpoena, I am testifying for that reason and no other.

The CHAIRMAN. We understand.

Mr. CONSODINE. In answer to your question, I am counsel for Consumers' Research, Inc. I understand that is the reason I am here. I am a graduate of the Boston College of Harvard Law School, and a member of the bar of Massachusetts and New Jersey, and am practicing at the present time in Newark, N. J.

Formerly, I was engaged in newspaper work for the Hearst newspapers for 8 or 9 years, on the International News Service, the Boston American, the Boston Advertiser, and later on with the Portland (Me.) Evening News.

At the present time I am practicing law in Newark, N. J.; I am also a member of the faculty of Seton Hall College in South Orange, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. A. J. Isserman, who has been represented before this committee as a Communist by at least two of our witnesses, has charged in letters to the committee and in statements to the press that Mr. J. B. Matthews, a witness who appeared before the committee, falsely testified regarding the facts of a settlement of a National Labor Relations Board case.

Will you please tell us, Mr. Consodine, what your relationship to this Labor Board case was.

Mr. CONSODINE. The Labor Board case to which you have reference, as I notice from newspaper articles, is the Consumers' Research matter with the National Labor Relations Board. For that company I am general counsel.

In that matter I acted for them in several details, although not before the Labor Board until the time of settlement came.

As I understand the conflict and testimony between Mr. Matthews and Mr. Isserman, it pertains primarily to a statement that the money was delivered in a black bag for the settlement. That statement is true. The money was delivered to my office in a black bag, and, as I understand from newspaper articles, Mr. Matthews did not state it was delivered to the Labor Board, or to Mr. Isserman, counsel for the opponent, in a black bag.

The CHAIRMAN. The testimony was he testified, of his own personal knowledge, how it was delivered to you, and it was his understanding it was delivered to Mr. Isserman.

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was not based on any knowledge on his part.

Mr. CONSODINE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money was it?

Mr. CONSODINE. In all there was \$2,000, sir, but \$500 of that was to be used for the settlement of a certain matter involving a suit against Consumers' Research, on a contract. Therefore, that \$500 had nothing to do with this particular matter.

I have before me my firm's checks, one to Abraham J. Isserman, attorney, for \$500, dated November 20, 1937, on the face of which is written "Settlement as per letter agreement" and on the back of which the first endorsement reads "Pay to the order of Arthur Kallet. Abraham J. Isserman, attorney." Below that appears Mr. Kallet's endorsement.

That is the check that has nothing to do with this matter before you.

The other check is dated November 20, 1937. That is my firm's check to the order of Abraham J. Isserman, attorney, in the sum of \$1,500 and on the face of the check is written "Settlement as per letter agreement" and on the back of which is endorsed "Abraham J. Isserman, Attorney." Below that "For deposit." Below that, and scratched out, is written "Jay" and the symbol for "and" and



then "Isserman" and under that "Spec"—standing for "Special," I believe. And those two lines are crossed out. Then below that appears "Isserman & Isserman, Trustees."

I will hand this check to you, sir, for you to look at it.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the \$1,500 was in the form of a check signed by you and payable to Abraham J. Isserman, on February 20, 1937, for \$1,500 and, marked on there "Settlement as per letter agreements"; signed on the back "Abraham J. Isserman, Attorney" and also signed "For deposit" and then scratched out—

Mr. CONSODINE. It looks like "Jay," sir.

The CHAIRMAN. "Jay Isserman, Spec." That is scratched out and, under that, is "Isserman & Isserman, Trustees."

Now do you have the letter of agreement?

Mr. CONSODINE. I believe I have, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You can get to that in a minute, but answer this first—

Mr. CONSODINE. If I may interrupt you, sir, as I understand that endorsement to the trustee's account, that is the ordinary attorney's trustee account in which he keeps money for his clients, or which is put in escrow with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Isserman was representing these strikers, was he not?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell something about that Consumers' Research strike?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Explain it to us.

Mr. CONSODINE. As I say, I represent Consumers' Research as general counsel. In the early part of that strike I received a telephone call that there was a good deal of trouble at the plant and would I come up. It is about 16 miles from my office. I drove up with my law partner, a former member of the legislature of New Jersey and former judicial officer up there. When we reached the plant we could not get in without the State police helping us to get through the picket line. There were about 300 pickets outside of the plant, although there were only about 20 people on strike. Finally the State police got us in, but under the New Jersey law they had to stand idly by in a labor-strike difficulty, and even though a man be murdered they could do nothing under the law.

After we got in there, we were sorry we did, because in the next 2 hours there were about 200 windows broken, several hundred automobiles demolished and others damaged. I would say there were at least 3,000 rocks thrown into the building, revolvers were fired, and all this time there was no assistance from the State police or anyone else.

We put through telephone calls to the then-Governor Harold Hoffman but were unable to get any help from him.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that strike led by Communists?

Mr. CONSODINE. That strike certainly was led by Communists, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that of your own knowledge?

Mr. CONSODINE. I know that from statements made in court, to my knowledge, and denied. I will be glad to put a few of those into the record, sir.

They also, I may say, formed the basis on which I advised the settlement of this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to get that settlement more in detail, but I want to get the picture first.

Do you know the names of Communists who led that strike?

Mr. CONSODINE. One in particular, sir, was a woman named Jenkins, who testified, either orally or by affidavit in the chancery court, that she worked for the Daily Worker which is, without doubt, a Communist newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. She testified to that effect in the trial?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, after you went to the scene of the strike, was anything accomplished then in the way of a settlement?

Mr. CONSODINE. Following that, sir, the company brought a petition in chancery court of New Jersey for an injunction. That was granted, although it availed very little.

Following that, the strikers filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board, and then this thing dragged out in a cat-and-dog battle for many months.

It was then that the question of settlement came up. It was raised to me by Mr. Isserman's associate, Mr. Kappelsoln, several times. I finally, after looking over several documents, most of which I have here, and reading various affidavits, advised my clients it would be better for them to settle than to continue this fight and carry it to the Supreme Court; because the best they could get would be the worst of it; if they won, they would be bankrupt, because they were not a large organization, but were doing a service work rather than manufacturing work. The situation struck me somewhat in the nature of a poker game. We were the last two players in the game, and it was a question whether we should call the Labor Board, for the reason the cards were all stacked against us, while all of the manufacturers in the country stood back and hoped we would win our case.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, you advised your clients it would be better to settle than to prolong the controversy?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir. I advised that on these bases. In a petition in this matter, filed in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals by Shelton Pitney, who there appeared as counsel for Consumers' Research, the following statement is made. And to give you the background of that statement, a petition had been filed by the strikers with the Board against the company, and in paragraph 8 of his petition, Mr. Pitney states:

Shortly thereafter said regional director communicated by telephone with respondent and requested that respondent's officers confer with her in New York concerning the said charge and thereupon such arrangements were made in lieu of a New York conference that one Ben Golden—

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a well-known Communist?

Mr. CONSODINE. I do not know whether he is a Communist or not, sir. I think later on I may bring up something bearing on this.

Shortly thereafter said regional director communicated by telephone with respondent and requested that respondent's officers confer with her in New York concerning the said charge and thereupon such arrangements were made in lieu of a New York conference that one Ben Golden, an assistant regional director or associate of said regional director, was deputized by her to consult with respondent's officers at its offices aforesaid. Respondent's officers thereupon furnished to said Golden documents and data requested by him, and after study

of the same and at a second conference with one of the respondent's officers, held in the city of New York, said Golden stated that in his opinion there were no grounds for the said charge, and, instead, that it was clear to him, the said Golden, that the charge was the result of a conspiracy by Communists to capture or destroy respondent. Thereupon said Golden suggested that steps be taken to bring about an arbitration between respondent and its said strikers, and that he be named as the arbiter, and expressed the view that if selected as arbiter, the strikers would be unable to object because he was a Government officer. Said Golden advised respondent to accept such suggestions and programs and stated that it would be to respondent's best interest to do so because he had personal knowledge that the regional director had committed herself to use every power at her command to find the respondents guilty of the charges filed against it. Said Golden also requested a prompt answer because, failing such, he would be unable to keep the charges and the prosecution thereof away from the regional director.

The CHAIRMAN. Those statements are in the petition?

Mr. CONSODINE. In the petition in the circuit court of appeals.

The CHAIRMAN. By Mr. Pitney?

Mr. CONSODINE. By Mr. Shelton Pitney.

The CHAIRMAN. As attorney for Consumers' Research?

Mr. CONSODINE. As attorney for Consumers' Research.

The CHAIRMAN. And in that petition he sets forth this conversation, which is the conversation reported by Mr. Matthews on the stand when he testified?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That Ben Golden had contacted the Research counsel and advised them that the thing to do was to compromise this case or to arbitrate?

Mr. CONSODINE. To pick him as arbiter.

The CHAIRMAN. To pick him as arbiter—and they had better pick him as an arbiter, because this woman who as the head of the N. L. R. B. had already committed herself to find against the Research counsel?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir. And Golden further said, after reading various papers, that the charge to the Labor Board was as the result of a conspiracy by Communists to capture or destroy respondent, Consumers' Research. And I believe he knows something about communism, so he probably knew what he was talking about.

The CHAIRMAN. That petition, now, was filed in the chancery court?

Mr. CONSODINE. No; in the Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States at Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. What resulted from that petition?

Mr. CONSODINE. Well, we settled, after this petition was filed, without the action coming before the court. This was one of the things that led me to advise settlement. Among other things that led me to advise settlement was Mrs. Herrick's speech over station WEVD—"E. V. D." standing for Eugene V. Debs—on December 31, 1935, by Mrs. Herrick, the regional director of the New York office of the Labor Board, and in that speech she stated that:

In the New Jersey hearing of the Consumers' Research strike, the noted liberal who is the presiding genius of that enterprise admitted the employment of private detectives armed with revolvers and tear-gas bombs; admitted that the local constables were in his pay, and that a supply of sawed-off shotguns were stored in his factory.

At that time the matter was before Mrs. Herrick; she was sitting as a judge; yet she went on the radio with a statement like that, and the statement itself is 70 percent lies and 30 percent inference.



The CHAIRMAN. Was that based upon your statement you were unwilling to have the case arbitrated or passed upon by her?

Mr. CONSODINE. We felt we could get no justice there, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, you felt the cards were stacked against you?

Mr. CONSODINE. We knew the cards were stacked against us. Now, if I may add this—this happened after the settlement itself, but it is a straw in the wind. In a statement on January 14, 1938, as reported in the New York Post of that date, Mrs. Herrick stated:

Whenever I get a case from New Jersey, I construe these words "interstate commerce" until I sometimes wonder what Chief Justice Hughes might think of it.

There were things like that published all during the course of the strike and, while that happened afterward, it was part of the picture.

Then I have a letter received by Mr. Schlink, the head of Consumers' Research, from a lawyer friend of his who was interested in the company. I can give you a copy of this.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, suppose you just give a copy of it to the reporter.

Mr. CONSODINE. I think, sir, it is important enough to read in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. CONSODINE. It is dated 27 June 1937, and addressed "Dear S."

The CHAIRMAN. Who is "S"?

Mr. CONSODINE. "S" is Schlink, president of Consumers' Research. The letter reads:

Will Maslow telephoned me this week to say that he had inherited the Consumers' Research case from Mrs. Herrick. Maslow was formerly with the commissioner of accounts and has recently gone to work for the National Labor Relations Board in New York City.

Maslow tells me that when Mrs. Herrick asked him to take over the case he advised her that in his opinion he was disqualified because he was active in the interest of the strikers during the strike. According to Maslow, Mrs. Herrick replied he was no more disqualified than she was and Maslow is now in charge of the case with statement that he does not think he is any more biased in this case than in others. He says that he has a bias against the employer in any and every case. Maslow asked me if I would have Garfield (who was attorney representing Consumers' Research) get in touch with him to work up settlement. Maslow said that he and the Board would doubtless approve any settlement that was satisfactory to Isserman.

Quite obviously, Maslow has been talking to Isserman and, apparently, the Board has no interest in the case other than to pull Isserman's and Consumers' Research chestnuts out of the fire. I have already told Garfield all about this. Maslow is somewhat more intelligent than Mrs. Herrick and, if Garfield correspondence continues, I don't think that the record will become quite as biased as Mrs. Herrick could make it. My own notion is that from now on the situation should be handled by conference rather than by correspondence. This will take time and if Maslow is willing to make an offer to Garfield, subject to your approval, he can probably be urged to put it in writing. You can then decide whether you want to turn it down and fight. I know Maslow well and I shall try to see him informally this week to see what else he can find out about the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it was based upon all those facts that induced you to advise settlement?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was eventually the decision of the N. L. R. B. relative to material damages to the strikers?

Mr. CONSODINE. The eventual decision was an order ordering reinstatement of the strikers and ordering the payment of \$3,000 to three of the strikers.

The CHAIRMAN. You received a letter from Elinore Morehouse Herrick, dated May 20, 1937, did you?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; and in that letter she stated the strikers must be offered reinstatement, and the Board also ordered payment of over \$3,000 to three strikers.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any or all of those strikers reinstated by Consumers' Research?

Mr. CONSODINE. None of them ever were reinstated by Consumers' Research.

The CHAIRMAN. What other compensation was ordered by the N. L. R. B. on behalf of the strikers?

Mr. CONSODINE. We were ordered to make payment of the sum of \$3,106.75 to Messrs. Heasty, Kilpatrick, and Rogers.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. CONSODINE. They were three of the strikers, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were ordered to make that payment to the strikers?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this sum of \$3,106.75 paid to those three men?

Mr. CONSODINE. No, sir.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Consodine, I have before me some documents which were enclosed with a communication from Mr. Isserman. I see that one of them is a copy of a letter from you to Mr. David A. Moscovitz, of the National Labor Relations Board. In your letter to Mr. Moscovitz you stated that—

Paragraph 4 (c) has been amicably adjusted by the payment of \$1,500, which also covers other matters.

Was it paragraph 4 (c) of the Labor Board's order which stipulated that the sum of \$3,106.75 was to be paid by Consumers' Research to Messrs. Heasty, Kilpatrick, and Rogers?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; it was that paragraph 4 (c) which so stipulated.

The CHAIRMAN. But in your letter to Mr. Moscovitz, if I understand plain language, you do not say that these three men, Messrs. Heasty, Kilpatrick, and Rogers had received that sum of \$1,500; you say that the payment of \$1,500 also covers other matters. Is that true?

Mr. CONSODINE. That is true, sir. There is nothing in my letter to Mr. Moscovitz which indicates the exact portion of the \$1,500 which was to go to Messrs. Heasty, Kilpatrick, and Rogers. From the language of my letter it is clear that the portion of the \$1,500 which was to go to these three men is not fixed. Their part of the \$1,500 might have been anything from 1 cent to 1 cent short of the \$1,500. In other words, the record of the settlement leaves the matter of what those three men got entirely in the dark.

The CHAIRMAN. How could we establish the amount of the payment to these three strikers in fulfillment of the Labor Board's order as embodied in the paragraph 4 (c)?

Mr. CONSODINE. The only possible way of knowing what the three men got would be for your committee to subpoena Mr. Isserman's canceled checks, or to subpoena the three strikers. Has not Mr. Isserman offered to give you the three canceled checks in the statements he has been making to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Not that I recall.

Mr. CONSODINE. That is what I would do, if I were in his shoes—offer the checks to you in proof of how much was paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will expect him to do that, then.

Now, have you any idea as to what the "other matters" were, other than the fulfillment of the Labor Board's order in paragraph 4 (c) which your payment of \$1,500 covered?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir. I can give the secretary a memorandum, but they covered some other matters, including a libel suit that was groundless, and a suit on a contract for \$500, which I have mentioned, which was a good suit, and a suit for injuries for \$250,000, which was absolutely groundless and on which, I understand, the plaintiff got \$50 out of that \$1,500 as his share.

The CHAIRMAN. He got how much?

Mr. CONSODINE. \$50 out of the \$1,500. I understand that, but I cannot prove that.

The CHAIRMAN. These strikers got \$50?

Mr. CONSODINE. One of them, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the strikers got \$50 out of the \$1,500 and the other two you do not know what they got?

Mr. CONSODINE. The one who got that \$50 was not one of the three; he was a man who brought a groundless automobile accident case against Consumers' Research.

The CHAIRMAN. So the settlement of \$1,500, specifying "other matters", actually included a number of other things besides the settlement stipulated in the N. L. R. B.'s decision that \$3,106 be paid three strikers?

Mr. CONSODINE. Oh, yes, sir; quite a few other matters.

The CHAIRMAN. So that, in other words, the power of the N. L. R. B. was used to compel the Research counsel to settle a number of other matters?

Mr. CONSODINE. In effect; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that when Mr. Isserman says that the N. L. R. B. case was settled for \$1,500, then he is not stating the facts? Is not that true?

Mr. CONSODINE. He is not stating the entire truth, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there ever any conversations not a matter of record which would have led you and Mr. Matthews to believe that the portion of the \$1,500 which the three strikers received was very small?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir. Over a period of several months, there were such conversations which indicated that the compensation to the three strikers would be very small; indeed, these conclusions were based on remarks by Mr. Isserman that there had been more expense and more work attached to this case than any strike they had had in a long time, and things of that sort. But, as I have said, only the canceled checks of Mr. Isserman would show what these men received, if anything. I do not know if they got anything. They might have received the whole \$1,500; they may not have got a dime, and only the canceled checks of Mr. Isserman will show that.



The CHAIRMAN. But you do know the settlement included "other matters" besides that?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; quite a few other matters.

Other attorneys who were at one time or another associated with me in the Consumers' Research matter have included Mr. Garfield, a young, able attorney of New York, and Mr. Shelton Pitney, one of the outstanding lawyers of New Jersey, who informed me the settlement of the strike was outrageous, in view of the sizable expense to which the Government had gone in prosecuting the case against our client, and in view of the triflingly small material damages which the strikers ultimately were awarded. Mr. Pitney, whose father was a member of the Supreme Court of the United States, and who was counsel in the case of the Consumers' Research before the Board has stopped me a number of times to remark about the outrageous nature of the settlement.

Another counsel associated with Mr. Pitney warned me against compounding a felony by the nature of the settlement.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, this attorney told you that if you agreed to this settlement it would be compounding a felony?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. That you would be a partner with the N. L. R. B. in perpetrating a fraud upon those strikers.

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. But you felt, in view of the attitude expressed by Mrs. Herrick and what you thought was evident bias, that was the only thing you could do?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir. My reply to him was I did not see how a felony could be compounded with the Government as a partner to the settlement, or a felony, and I have here a telegram from the Government, dated November 30, 1937, addressed to me, in which it was stated:

Re tel terms of settlement in Consumers' Research, Inc., matter have been approved by the Board. Board will institute proper proceedings withdraw case from third circuit.

That is signed "Nathan Witt, National Labor Relations Board."

The CHAIRMAN. So that the National Labor Relations Board was bound to have known that this \$1,500 settlement was covering a number of "other matters" that the Board had no jurisdiction over whatever?

Mr. CONSODINE. They could not help but know it, sir.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Well, you are a lawyer.

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the N. L. R. B. have any right to use its powers to bring about a settlement in reference to lawsuits or litigation that does not appertain to the jurisdiction and province of the N. L. R. B.?

Mr. CONSODINE. No, sir. No Federal board or State board has ever had that power until the Labor Board came along.

The CHAIRMAN. How was the money delivered to you by your client, Consumers' Research?

Mr. CONSODINE. As I said, it was delivered to my office, I believe, on a Staurday morning in a black bag and deposited in a safe in my office; thereafter on a Monday or Tuesday it was deposited in my trustee account.

The CHAIRMAN. It was delivered in cash?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about Mr. Isserman's type of legal—well, I won't get into that phase of it.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask about this—

The CHAIRMAN. Just 1 second, until I get through with this.

So that the testimony of Mr. Matthews, that is, the testimony of his personal knowledge, which he testified definitely about, to the effect the money was delivered to you, is correct testimony?

Mr. CONSODINE. I have not read his testimony, sir, but that is the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. And you, in turn, delivered this to Mr. Isserman?

Mr. CONSODINE. By check, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you accompanied that check with a letter in which you made the specific statement it was to include "other matters"?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you and Mr. Isserman talked about these other matters?

Mr. CONSODINE. Oh, yes, sir; quite frequently.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he write you a letter about those other matters?

Mr. CONSODINE. I could not say offhand. I will be glad to look through my papers and give the secretary whatever I can find.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you do that?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We want all the documentary proof we can get to sustain that statement.

Mr. CONSODINE. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any documentary proof you have in the way of letters, telegrams, or anything else, if you will leave them here, we will see that you get them back. Just give them to the reporter, so that those letters and documents can be incorporated in the record along with your testimony.

Mr. CONSODINE. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you had discussed with him these other matters?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he had informed you very plainly he wanted this settlement to include those other matters?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And so that the entire judgment of \$3,106.75 and all these other matters you have referred to—all that was settled for \$1,500?

Mr. CONSODINE. All of it was settled for \$2,000, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For \$2,000?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; five hundred in one matter and fifteen hundred covering all the other matters.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

And there is no evidence that the strikers ever got any part of that?

Mr. CONSODINE. None that I know of, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your information is that one of them got \$50?

Mr. CONSODINE. That one striker received \$50.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, so far as that part of the decision that ordered the Consumers' Research, Inc., to reinstate these men was concerned, that was never carried out?

Mr. CONSODINE. Never, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any explanation of why that decision was never carried out?

Mr. CONSODINE. We would not do that, sir. That was part of the settlement that we would not take any of those men back, and we told them that.

The CHAIRMAN. But it was not incorporated in the agreement openly?

Mr. CONSODINE. No, sir; not openly, but the discontinuance——

The CHAIRMAN. But you mean that you and Isserman talked it over and agreed that if you paid \$1,500 to settle these matters, even extraneous matters that were included in the understanding between you and Mr. Isserman, that the men would not be reinstated?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was never reduced to writing?

Mr. CONSODINE. Not that I remember, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the Board ever did enter any settlement agreement?

Mr. CONSODINE. No, sir; there was no settlement agreement entered in the matter, other than correspondence and a discontinuance of the circuit court action. But perhaps this may help you, sir. I did, the day prior to that telegram which I just read to you from Mr. Witt, of the Labor Board—I sent this telegram to the Labor Board:

Please advise collect telegram if terms of settlement in Consumers' Research, Inc., matter as agreed on by all parties and approved by your New York regional office and submitted to you are satisfactory and, if so, when order will be entered. Am awaiting word in order to disburse funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they wire you back?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir. That was the telegram which I read into the record a few minutes ago, in which they said it had been approved by the Board.

The CHAIRMAN. That it has been approved by the Board?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not the Board had before it all of the information in reference to these other matters?

Mr. CONSODINE. I assume it must have, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you draw the conclusion that the Board was doing what Isserman wanted them to?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; very clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. From your conversations and contacts with Isserman, was it plain to you that Isserman was speaking for the Board and knew what he was talking about?

Mr. CONSODINE. That he knew what he was talking about, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And it all turned out the way he told you it would?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you in advance that this money, if this settlement was made, to take care of these other matters, as far as the Board was concerned, that the whole matter would be dropped?

Mr. CONSODINE. He said that everything would be arranged before the Board and there would be no difficulty on it at all.



The CHAIRMAN. And you would not have to reinstate those 40 strikers?

Mr. CONSODINE. That is right, sir. My recollection now is, and I have that letter before me, the letter of November 18, 1937, confirming the settlement, and as to paragraph 4 (d) of the Labor Board's order, which refers to the reinstatement of all workers, the letter of settlements reads:

Paragraph 4 (d) has been substantially complied with because all employees referred to have declined reinstatement.

We did not offer it to them; we would not take them back, and we settled that distinction without a difference by putting in that language, "that the employees referred to have declined reinstatement." But they knew we would not take them back under any consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not it was true that the employees had ever declined reinstatement?

Mr. CONSODINE. No, sir; I do not know whether that statement is true or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who sent the money to your office?

Mr. CONSODINE. It came down from Consumers' Research. I imagine Mr. Schlink sent it, sir, but I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schlink was the man who handled all the money, was he not?

Mr. CONSODINE. He was president of the corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. He was president of the corporation, and he sent a messenger down with the money?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you immediately deposited the money?

Mr. CONSODINE. I think it came in too late on a Saturday for deposit, and it was deposited on Monday. That is my impression.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why it was sent in cash?

Mr. CONSODINE. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you give any of the money in cash to Isserman, or was it all by check?

Mr. CONSODINE. It was all by two checks, sir, the one which you have for \$1,500, and the other one for \$500, which I have here.

The CHAIRMAN. The five hundred, you said, was in settlement of a libel suit?

Mr. CONSODINE. No; the five hundred was on a contract action.

The CHAIRMAN. That had nothing to do with this?

Mr. CONSODINE. That had nothing to do with this, except it was included as a part of the \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And the \$1,500 included a lot of matters that did not have anything to do with this strike?

Mr. CONSODINE. Included a lot of matters growing out of the strike, but which had nothing to do with the Labor Board case.

The CHAIRMAN. Had nothing to do with the decision of the Labor Board?

Mr. CONSODINE. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now will you go through your file and pick out every document you think we should have, and, if you want them returned to you, when we are through with them, we will be glad to return them for your files.

Mr. CONSODINE. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But every document that you have there that supports your statement, we want put in here; because Mr. Isserman has challenged us and made a number of statements to the press, and we want to get all of the facts in reference to this settlement.

Mr. CONSODINE. Might I mail your committee photostatic prints, rather than to leave the original papers?

The CHAIRMAN. You can take that up with the secretary.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Consodine, I would like to ask you a couple of questions. You said that the Department knows that the riot held at the plant was led by Communists?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You named one of them?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; Susan Jenkins.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you name some others?

Mr. CONSODINE. Offhand, I cannot. I can find them from the various pleadings filed with the case. One of them active in the strike was a man named Walter Nielson, who, while not a Communist, he was a man in the country without right, and I believe some endeavors were made to have him sent out of the country, but, as in the other cases coming under Miss Perkins, nothing has been done.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you recall whether at the time you passed over to the National Labor Relations Board the information that this riot was led by Communists?

Mr. CONSODINE. Oh, yes, sir; many times.

Mr. THOMAS. You named the Communists at that time?

Mr. CONSODINE. I am quite sure they were named.

Mr. THOMAS. So, the National Labor Relations Board knew the riot was engineered and led by these Communists?

Mr. CONSODINE. Yes, sir; as I said, Mr. Golden, one of their deputies, told our people, and we put it in the court that it was a Communist play to get control of the organization, and that was put in the pleadings in court.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what organizations Mr. Isserman belongs to?

Mr. CONSODINE. I do not, sir. I know this, he does represent the C. I. O., that he has represented the A. F. of L., and recently dropped as counsel, I think, on the theory that you cannot carry water on both soulders, and he has and does represent the American Civil Liberties Union in New Jersey.

Mr. THOMAS. I cannot recall just what the case was, but he received comments in the newspapers not so long ago as I recall it. Was he not an officer of something?

Mr. CONSODINE. The only other thing I remember, sir, is the probe of the city of Newark government under which all of these city officers are under indictment today. His firm was mentioned there on the question of the payment of a large sum in cash, and I believe the testimony was that they put it in the safe and drew on it, and it never went into the accounts at all. I can get that tesimony. That is Warren Johnson's probe that you are no doubt familiar with.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much.

**STATEMENT OF BISHOP ADNA WRIGHT LEONARD, RESIDENT  
BISHOP OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PITTSBURGH,  
PA.**

The CHAIRMAN. Bishop Leonard, will you please come around. We appreciate your kindness in permitting us to hear this other witness first. Will you give us your full name for the record?

Bishop LEONARD. Adna Wright Leonard, resident bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the ministry, Bishop?

Bishop LEONARD. I have been in the ministry about 38 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a native of Pennsylvania?

Bishop LEONARD. No, sir; I am a native of Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very grateful to you for appearing here this morning, Bishop. Proceed with your statement.

Bishop LEONARD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee on un-American Activities, the world-renowned scientist and educator, Dr. Robert A. Millikan of Pasadena, looking upon society, says, "The subversive forces from within will either kill liberty or kill civilization, unless the American people create an educated and intelligent electorate." He says that a demagogue in politics is a menace to the country and warns against the revolutionary persons and groups who are creating so much disturbance. He also says that most of them come from abroad and that some legislation should be enacted to curb these revolutionary influences.

The struggle of the centuries has been in a large measure the wrestling from arbitrary and irresponsible power these methods and means by which man has been deprived of his freedom. In this continuous warfare for human rights and freedom vast numbers of men and women have sacrificed all that was near and dear to them. We are now living in a day in which powerful governments have ruthlessly disregarded the achievements that men have made through the centuries guaranteeing human freedom. Intolerance is substituted for toleration, the degradation of races and classes for equality before the law, and the administration of justice by impartial tribunal goes by the board. Men, women, and children are beaten, mutilated, herded into prison camps, and murdered at the whim or upon the word and permission of arrogant and selfish people who are drunk with power.

When such statements are made we naturally think of countries like Russia, Italy, Germany, and their present rulers, and take the complacent attitude that conditions obtaining across the sea do not concern us here in the United States.

This is an utterly mistaken notion, for the false and destructive propaganda emanating from these countries is already threatening the very existence of the democracies of the world. Furthermore, it would appear from the investigations that have been made that the peace of the United States has been greatly disturbed by agents of certain foreign governments whose activities in this country are being uncovered by Federal and State authorities. Inasmuch as grave dangers confront us as a Nation it is imperative that we major not only in curative policies and programs but also in preventive measures. It is imperative that American basic ideals be strengthened in the minds and hearts of the American people.



With these things in mind it is my privilege, Mr. Chairman, to accept your invitation to appear before this committee and to make such statements and offer such suggestions as seem to me important.

First, let your committee be continued and, if necessary, let there be a congressional appropriation for carrying on the work of your committee even more thoroughly and searchingly than has already been done.

Second, let the proceedings of this Special Committee on Investigation of Un-American Activities find a permanent place in the Congressional Record, or if that be impossible, a book should be published at Government expense for general distribution to the American people.

Third, it is important that the confidence of the American people be reestablished in the Federal Government.

Further experimentation in legislation having in it many of the basic elements of the nationalisms of other countries should cease for as long as this policy continues the attitude of businessmen all over the country in the matter of purchases, commitments, and new business will continue to be that of timidity, hesitation, and fear.

Mr. W. J. Cameron, in one of his addresses over the Nation-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System from Detroit, has well said:

American business is only one of many forms of American enterprise. Everything useful looks big in America because the innate and unstoppable enterprise of the American people does everything in a big way. A man once made a better plow. Millions of farmers already had plows, but, enterprising, they wanted better ones—and those farmers made a great business epic. With a plow and a tractor still better, they will create another business epic and repopulate the farms. Forty years ago, only the occasional and well-to-do family wanted or could afford private transportation—horse and buggy. Then a man made an automobile—six times as expensive as a horse and buggy; a thing wholly untried and new, a thing that required a domestic population inexperienced with machinery to become amateur engineers and mechanics—and yet, immediately, millions of enterprising Americans from farm, town, and city reached out and demanded automobiles. This ever-fresh and ever-free spirit of enterprise possessed by the American people at large is what makes the American business epic. It is there.

Enterprises which if given an American opportunity would unquestionably send the curve of financial prosperity upward. For too long a time the community of industry and commerce have by reason of uncertain and experimental legislation faced a severely circumscribed field of operation, promotion, and development. Industry and commerce should be encouraged and not discouraged by fanciful and impractical legislation.

This whole matter should be an economic rather than a political question and should have nothing to do with parties or personalities. If Government is to monopolize the field of industry and commerce it will not only impede the Nation's recuperative power but will tend to make permanent certain conditions that are both un-American and undemocratic. Furthermore, every effort should be made by the Federal Government to curtail expenditures rather than to discover ways and means for imposing new taxes that are already reaching the saturation point of American financial resources.

Let me repeat that it is of vital importance to the welfare and perpetuity of our Nation that there be established by Congress an immediate curtailment of the expenditures of the tax money of the

people. This can be accomplished if we are to have an independent and intelligent Congress.

Fourth, some measures should be taken at one by the Federal Government to secure the name, record, and residence of every man, woman, and child who lives under the protection of the American flag. Other nations have systems of registration that are so carefully and scientifically carried out as to make it possible when occasion arises to know who is who, as well as who is where.

Fifth, under what is known as the W. P. A. Department of Service of the Federal Government it is frequently stated that in the total number of unemployed receiving aid through the W. P. A. large numbers of people are non-American citizens. One great national daily paper has stated that one in every eight who look to the W. P. A. for some kind of relief employment is not an American citizen. I cannot, of course, affirm the accuracy of this statement but refer to it in proof of what is undoubtedly a condition in this country that creates an almost unbearable burden upon the taxpayers of this Nation in supporting large numbers of people who have come from other countries and who may be classified as aliens. The American people would not wish to work a hardship on those who have found their way to this country from other nations and who are dependent upon the American people for their livelihood. Nevertheless, the time has arrived when the Federal Government must be true to its trust and all persons who have no right to be here and who are becoming an increasing burden upon the American people should be deported under the laws of our Nation.

With reference to the Department of Labor, and with no disrespect to the present Secretary of that Department, I express the hope and wish that a man might be appointed to that important office. Such a man should be nationally known, one who has had large experience in dealing with the complicated questions of capital and labor and one who, as Secretary of Labor, might render in that Department the statesmanlike service that Mr. Hill is rendering as Secretary of State.

Sixth, it is of tantamount importance that the basic ideals of the American democracy be retained intact. The priceless boon of human freedom must be maintained at any cost. Freedom of choice, freedom to think, freedom of conviction, freedom of conscience, freedom of worship—these are priceless things for which man in all ages has been willing to live and if need be to die. Individual liberty under constitutional government in general involves freedom of the person in going and coming, equality before the courts, and security of private property.

This brings us therefore to the question of freedom. I realize that this is no place for a dissertation upon the philosophy of human freedom. Nevertheless if additional suggestions are to be made there must be established a background or basis for such suggestions. Does freedom mean absence of restraint? There is no such thing in the absolute sense of the term. A man alone in the wilderness would not be free. His environment would condition the things he could do. His freedom would be limited and would be the result of a process of discipline. From primitive man to the present time there has been a struggle between freedom and restriction and it has always been in proportion to the threat to liberty. The unrestrained exercise of freedom by the individual would lead to physical and mental disin-

tegration and that would end in ruin. The process of choice carries with it not merely acceptance but exclusion and that is limitation. A society in which there are no restraints by the Government would be nothing less than anarchy. Freedom therefore requires restraint. The question is, what shall be the nature of the restraint?

John Stewart Mills laid down the principle that government should attempt nothing that individuals could do for themselves. He also declared that government should regulate individual behavior only in realms where the action of the individual was capable of harming others. It is a recognized fact that no constitution can be framed so as to meet all eventualities. Some provision must be made to meet the ever-changing conditions of society. This is the very thing for which the United States Constitution makes provision. The freedom of the individual is imperiled today because democracy is threatened by types of nationalism that deny the existence and character of God and the rights of the individual. A nationalism that breeds intolerance to the citizen and denies to him the right to do, or to say, or even to think that which runs counter to the nationalistic creed and to nationalistic ambitions is the enemy of true democracy. The world is witnessing today persecutions meted out against those persons who go contrary to the nationalistic will. The entire field of freedom is involved here. Nationalisms like those of Russia, Italy, Germany, and Japan are the sworn enemies of democracies. An article that appeared in Harper's Magazine, the July number, 1937, quoted Mussolini as saying, "Liberty is a rotten carcass and democracy is a putrefying corpse."

The communistic attitude toward freedom is in keeping with the same idea as that of the Italian Dictator and the Stalin government. In keeping its activities very largely under cover communism is doing so for the sheer purpose of expediency and its delay is strategy.

These three nationalisms, communism, fascism, and nazi-ism—in other words, the theory and practice of the totalitarian state—are the enemies of religion, of democracy, and of the rights and liberties of the people. The Constitution of the United States guarantees free speech, but it does not guarantee to alien, irresponsible doctrinaires the right to come to this country and roam at will, seizing upon world-wide discontent and capitalizing it by spreading their godless theories throughout our land. Such persons preach the utter destruction of democratic institutions.

Organized capital is not free from egregious social crimes and sins. Selfish interest and social profit for the few at the expense of the many have been causes of much unhappiness and human woe. We believe in labor's right to organize, in the principle of collective bargaining, in labor's right to choose freely its own representatives, to receive a living wage, to work under healthful conditions, to provide for the family, home, and education, and to have comforts in keeping with the progress of the day. In bringing about these desired ends, however, labor has no right under the laws of the land to seize other men's properties, prevent other men from working, or commit sabotage in any form. Labor should discourage in every possible way designing agitators and cunning propagandists who deceive the very elect and in the name of labor create turmoil, bitterness, class hatred, and thus pave the way for revolution. Why should aliens in this country be permitted to give expression to those theories of the state



and of the social order which, if established and put into practice, would take from them the very liberties that they now so definitely misuse?

In giving support to organizations calling themselves youth and peace movements they deliberately aim to deceive the people. They tell us the United States is headed for Fascist leadership and in the next breath advocate the support of the united front. It is an unfortunate fact that large numbers of Liberals have been misled and deceived by this cunning propaganda. In their opposition to war and fascism they seek to establish a communistic form of government which has but one goal in view and that is communism. They seek to disrupt the American Federation of Labor, to divide the ranks of those who oppose communism, and, in the official words of a Communist, to seek "the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalistic order for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In addition to freedom of speech a free press must also be carefully protected. Over most of Europe the printing presses are now in chains, and even in our own country there have been indications that some writers and speakers have manifested a disturbing readiness to submit to certain types of suppression. The newspapers of America form a great industry. There are more than 12,000 publications, and, theoretically at least, each publication is an exponent of free speech in the United States. Forty-two million copies of newspapers daily find their way into the possession of the American people. This does not include many more weekly and monthly magazines that are published by the millions. Had Russia or Italy or Germany had a free and untrammelled press, conditions would not be what they are in those countries. We need high-grade, courageous, unhampered, patriotic newspapers and news-distributing agencies as a protection against the incursions of foreign destructive nationalisms.

Was it not Senator Minton who not a great while ago introduced a bill which was greeted with joy by Nazi newspapers which provided among other things that it would be a felony punishable by fine and 2 years of imprisonment for an editor or publisher to criticize the Government or its officials by knowingly stating an untruth? The significant fact in this particular incident is not that such a bill was defeated, but that a Member of the United States Senate should present in any serious way such a bill for the consideration of the Congress of the United States.

The American newspapers as a rule are tolerant of the opinion of others and give large space at all times to an expression of opinion from any reader provided that expression of opinion is not libelous, vituperative, or so wordy as to make it utterly impractical to print. The freedom of the press must be maintained.

Having mentioned the value of the press and the importance of keeping it free and untrammelled, it is important that the American people know to what extent the Federal Government has become a competitor to private business and whether or not the more than 70 publications coming from the Government Printing Office are actually educational and informational. Stating it more definitely, are these publications not intended for propaganda purposes?

Anyone interested in this matter and who desires to come to his own conclusions will find more than 70 publications exclusive of mimeographed material for which subscriptions are received by the

Superintendent of Documents. The subscriptions received supply only a fragmentary amount of the actual cost of producing these publications and the result is the already overburdened and distressed taxpayer is compelled to furnish the money to meet this growing item of expense.

The character of some of these publications is calculated to deceive the very elect. By subtle statements and in divers ways class hatred is encouraged, collectivism is advocated, and the values of a paternal government are exalted.

I urge a thoroughgoing investigation of the bureaus and departments of the Federal Government that have to do with these publications. Who are connected with these departments of the Government; what is the personnel of these groups; and what political and economic vagaries do they espouse? Are they exponents of the basic and essential principles of the American democracy or are they seeking to indoctrinate the citizens of this country, from childhood to adult life, with a philosophy of the state and of the social order that would if put into effect mean the utter destruction of those priceless blessings included within the scope of what we call democracy?

Furthermore, is the use being made of the radio by our Federal authorities in keeping with the requirements of their various offices or are those who are expected to serve unselfishly the best interests of the people using the radio to further their own peculiar views and to advance under deceptive phrases schemes of a radical and destructive type?

It should be borne in mind that section 54, title 5, United States Code, definitely states that:

No money appropriated by any act shall be used for compensation of any publicity expert unless specifically appropriated for that purpose.

Is this section of the United States Code being obeyed? If not, why not?

It will be recalled that on December 15, 1791, what is known as the Bill of Rights was ratified. It will be well if every American citizen would read that famous document.

There must also be academic freedom. Concerning this subject there is much misunderstanding. It is a commonly used and generally misunderstood term. President Nicholas Murray Butler has said, concerning academic freedom:

There are some who think that it means freedom to be a bore, freedom to insult anyone who is disliked, freedom to undermine the foundations of the institution which provides the individual with his occupation and material support, freedom to assault and assail anything which may not make constructive appeal to the uneducated, undisciplined, and untrained mind.

The term "academic freedom" is supposed to have originated more than 200 years ago in the Universities of Halle and Gottingen. The fundamental meaning of true academic freedom has always been "the freedom of the scholar to pursue his investigations in his chosen field, to form his own ideas in that field, and to express them freely in speaking and writing."

It does not, however, give to the teacher or the professor the right to capitalize his position in an educational institution by teaching and advocating those theories and principles calculated to undermine or destroy the national fabric.

It is my opinion that the Government has not only the right but it is the responsibility of the Government to require of our teachers of youth that they affirm a fundamental loyalty to the Constitution of the United States and that they will abide by the requirements, limitations, and demands of the said Constitution. This would apply to all teachers and professors in secular as well as in church-related schools and colleges.

If someone says that is the curtailing of freedom, he simply does not understand what the natural limitations are in this realm.

Academic freedom makes it incumbent upon the teacher or the professor to present the facts without prejudice and passion and to examine and present all sizes of each proposition.

Academic freedom also protects the university teacher outside the classroom so long as he restricts himself in his utterances to his findings in the field in which he is qualified to speak. In all other utterances outside the classroom he has the freedom common to all citizens. He will be careful, however, in his utterances if they are divergent from those of the institution with which he is connected to take full responsibility for what he says in order that the institution that gives him his support and living may not be held responsible for any statement of fallacious or unbalanced view to which he may give expression.

Someone has well said, "It is not freedom to say what you think without thinking what you say."

When any large number of people are deprived of economic independence, when large numbers of them become dependent upon the dole of the Government, and when the community of business and financial interests are so limited or curtailed as to take away initiative, it is but a short step to the achieving of the ends for which alien nationalists strive and that is the complete overthrow and destruction of democracy. This carries with it not merely the curtailment of the church but all that religion stands for in the realm of human life. In other words, this involves the freedom for which our fathers gave their lives, which freedom they earnestly endeavor to pass on to future generations.

This battle for freedom may have to be fought all over again. On the horizon of our national life we detect the beginnings of fanatical interference with private life, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, and occasionally by direct and indirect methods the stifling of the freedom of the pulpit. We are, whether we desire it or not, in a struggle to be free. Our American heritage will not be destroyed so long as we have free churches, free schools, free speech, a free press, and the personal rights of the individual adequately protected by the administrators of the laws of our land.

Nothing could be more fitting than for every patriotic citizen to reconsecrate himself to his country's welfare and make the closing words of Lincoln's undying Gettysburg Address his own:

That we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

The CHAIRMAN. Bishop Leonard, we are indeed grateful to you for your very constructive statement.



Mr. THOMAS. Bishop Leonard, in my opinion, you made one of the finest statements made before this committee. I participate like that part of it relative to the dissemination of propaganda by our Government agencies today. Perhaps I like that because I have made somewhat of a study of it myself. I think the dissemination of propaganda by our Government today is both un-American, illegal, and certainly unduly costly, and I want to congratulate you on bringing it to the attention of the committee.

Bishop LEONARD. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much indeed.

Bishop LEONARD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Dr. West.

Dr. WEST. Yes, sir.

**STATEMENT OF DR. JAMES E. WEST, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE,  
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, AND EDITOR OF BOYS' LIFE, NEW  
YORK CITY**

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Dr. James E. West?

Dr. WEST. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. You are chief Scout executive of the Boy Scouts of America?

Dr. WEST. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Now proceed with your statement.

Dr. WEST. I would like to add, Mr. Chairman, that I am also editor of Boys' Life, because I am especially proud of that.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in Boy Scout work, Doctor?

Dr. WEST. Twenty-eight years, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Twenty-eight years?

Dr. WEST. Twenty-eight years; yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, I am happy to respond to the invitation to be here today, and I somehow wish that I might attempt to cover the field, as it impresses me, in the same way, or along lines as has Bishop Leonard. However, the request that was presented to me was that I make a statement about the activities of the Boy Scouts of America, and in doing so I am very happy to relate it to the work of this committee in this manner: We believe that in the Boy Scouts of America, the United States of America, we have a group of crusaders who are very diligently, very enthusiastically, and, in some cases, almost militantly dealing with those elements in society which could be classified as subversive to the best interests of our democracy. I do venture to bring to the attention of the committee a fact that has impressed itself upon me.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, Doctor, before you get there, what we are primarily interested in, of course, is un-American activities and any constructive suggestions to promote Americanism in this country.

Dr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I note that your statement largely deals with the Boy Scout movement. I might suggest this, that you file your state-

ment, which will appear in connection with your evidence, and that you permit us to ask you some questions generally with reference to the subject. Would that be agreeable to you?

Dr. WEST. That would be agreeable to me; but first let me, if you will, please, make a statement that I have on my heart.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Dr. WEST. I would like to suggest for the consideration of your committee the inclusion in the scope of this responsibility the large army of Americans who, while themselves wholly unsympathetic with the various "isms" that are commonly referred to, are not themselves disposed to do much about it. Indeed, as I look at America's problems today, one of the outstanding of all of the problems is the complacency, the indifference, if you please, of a large number of men and women who, very much like the son or daughter of those who have never had to and who inherit, don't know how to do.

America's glorious record, based on the fundamentals in our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, is not understood by a large proportion of Americans today, and not only do they remain indifferent but they avoid responsibility. I think it is to the shame of America that in this democracy there are so relatively few who are carrying the load of promoting those things which make for a better America.

I think it is unfortunate that there are relatively so few who give of their substance on a voluntary basis for the things which are worth while in America.

Indeed, it is perhaps true that until we had the income tax there were a large number of people who were not really conscious of the fact that we had a Federal Government. They did not register, they did not vote, and they did not feel called upon to be bothered with those things which have to do with making our democracy real and vital. They do, it is true, at times express a knowledge of some one factor of the Bill of Rights, but that is when it touches them.

They do not fully comprehend the great responsibility which every man, woman, and child in America has, if democracy is to be real and vital and if we are to stand up against these subversive influences which are undoubtedly at work in America.

Again, I am sorry to say that the percussions of what is taking place in the Old World today are having a rather unfortunate effect upon some of those who have not been properly schooled and grounded in a thorough understanding of what America is, and they are careless in some of their expressions and careless in their thoughts, and to me it constitutes a major problem in the life of our democracy.

I believe that the work of this committee, and I believe that work of the rededication committee, of which I am happily one, has made some progress in assuring a larger field of activity and thinking on the part of the American people, but I do not believe the job will be done until it is fair to say that it is the exception where men and do not understand and appreciate the responsibilities of American citizenship.

I said at the outset that our group represented an organization which are really crusaders. It is not well understood that the essences of the Boy Scouts of America is the devotion and interest of men who, because of their appreciation of America, the National,

State, and local government, give volunteer service. Today we have an army of 269,000 men who not only volunteer to give service, but who contribute from their own income to the expenses of the organization. They pay their own expenses, this group of 75,000 or more men who serve as scoutmasters and assistant scoutmasters. Who are they? They are a cross section of the best type of citizenship of America. They are men who believe in democracy. They are men who want to do something to prove their belief in democracy by supplementing the work of the home, the church, and the school by doing something about it. They give from 5 to 30 hours a week in volunteer service. Not only do they give in volunteer service, but they pay their own expenses, and they pay dues to the national organization because they recognize that the national organization must be supported, and in addition to that group there is another group of some 12,000 who serve as scoutmasters, men who, like the scoutmasters, give from 5 to 30 hours a week in volunteer service, devoted to a cause, crusaders for a better America.

Supplementing that group are the men who serve as members of local councils, men who serve as members on the national council, and men who serve on our national executive board, and men who serve as officers. We have men in such capacities, who make it their business to give almost as much time to the value of this program for character building and citizenship training as they give to their own business, and these factors do give us a basis for assurance, a basis for feeling that we do have a line of defense here in America that can be depended upon, and I, for one, have no concern as to the ultimate outcome, because I believe those who are working unselfishly trying to develop the right attitude of mind on the part of growing youth are so legion and so effective that we are making progress, and that progress will be made, so long as we keep our eye set on maintaining the fundamentals as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and our Bill of Rights.

It may amaze the committee to learn by way of illustration what I mean as to the effect of the influences, as to what is taking place in America, if I bring to your attention a communication that I received within the year from a group who called themselves "militant Christian patriots." I should like to read that letter, as it is brief. It reads:

Several members of our organization have called our attention to the fact that a Jew, Mr. Joe Penner (Pirnbaum) has been selected as entertainer on the occasion of the presentation of awards known as the court of honor, to be held in the Pasadena Civic Auditorium on Thursday, March 31.

We are asked to register a protest against such a selection. The majority of Boy Scouts are Christian boys and should therefore be surrounded by everything Christian. You should be aware of the fact that Jewry organizes Jewish boys and girls in special Jewish youth organizations into which Christian youth is never admitted. The segregation has been organized by them. Christian parents have therefore the right to demand that everything provided for their children should be on Christian lines.

As national head of the Boy Scout movement, will you not make it a paramount duty to see that national, State, and local Scout leaders are instructed to avoid recurrence of such incidents as the one against which we have been requested to protest.

Mr. Chairman, may I just give you briefly what I said in reply, because it illustrates what I have in mind in stating this problem



as to what I believe to be a real subversive influence in America today.

Your letter reveals such an amazing point of view that I simply acknowledged its receipt and took advantage of the first opportunity to bring it to the attention of our national executive board.

After their consideration, I have been requested to write you in such a way as to show that your request that I, "as national head of the Boy Scout movement, make it my paramount duty to see that National, State, and local Scout leaders are instructed to avoid the recurrence of such instances" is out of order, and impossible for us to countenance, first, because we believe it to be thoroughly un-American, and second, because it would do violence to certain fundamental principles of the Boy Scouts of America.

It is amazing that one who attempts to represent an organization which claims to have commendable purposes should reveal such misunderstanding as evidenced by your letter, and the activities of those who protested against the program of the Pasadena local court of honor.

We here would appreciate it if you would share our letter with your associates with the hope that it may help them to better understand what is involved, and convince them that good Americans should cooperate in an effort to make effective the underlying principles of American democracy and the definitely stated policies of the Boy Scouts of America.

When we established Scouting in America we took the English Scout laws and adapted them to our needs. We added the tenth law, "A Scout is brave;" the eleventh law, "A Scout is clean;" and the twelfth law, "A Scout is reverent." He is reverent toward God, he is faithful in his religious duties, and respects the convictions of others in matters of custom and religion.

In my judgment the twelfth law is one of the finest features in the whole scheme of Scouting. It is more than an idealistic pronouncement. It is our statement of principle, which has served as a basis for the adoption of the Boy Scout program by major religious bodies, since it guarantees complete respect for all faiths, emphasizes the necessity for an adequate religious experience for each individual Scout.

Read the Constitution of the United States of America, familiarize yourself with your leaders who have been vital factors in the life of America, and you will find that the basis for instructing the youth of America is first, reverence toward God; second, faithfulness in their religious duties; third, which is essential to democracy, that we respect the conviction of others in matters of custom and religion.

Then I go on, and I quote from our Constitution, and I will put that in the record.

(The letters referred to of date March 24, 1938, and June 14, 1938, were filed with the committee as "Exhibit 1, West," Washington.)

Dr. WEST (reading):

With these principles as our foundation we have consistently applied them in our procedures. No local Scout council has ever been chartered by us in which there was not representation of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish people of the community. Therefore, it is evident that we are unable to comply with your request to exclude boys and adults of any religious faith or culture from participation in the activities of our local councils, Scout troops, and Cub packs. On the contrary, the local councils and the national council of the Boy Scouts of America would be neglecting our fundamental obligation, if in all our public gatherings we did not welcome and encourage participation of the representatives of all religious groups.

It is our conception that this principle of religious liberty is inseparably interwoven with our fundamental principles of American democracy, and we cannot understand how a group of American citizens who call themselves "Christian patriots" can dedicate themselves to the aims and purposes reflected in your letter of March 24, and your repeated protests to local Boy Scout officials in the State of California.

Furthermore, you should understand that in accordance with the constitution and bylaws of the Boy Scouts of America, the Pasadena local council proceeded squarely and wholly within its authority in developing its program for its local court of honor.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, in connection with that organization we had occasion to investigate it together with 135 organizations chartered under the laws of our various States that were brought to the attention of this committee. We checked 54 of them. We never checked the rest of them because of lack of time and money. We found that 54 were disseminating the same type of propaganda that this organization was disseminating, and we have all of their names in the record, and some of the literature itself, pieces of literature mailed all over this country to spread racial and religious hatred, which we have condemned as utterly un-American.

Dr. WEST. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, in passing, that I was amazed this morning to see in a New York paper that a probe or anti-Semitic drive was started. As a matter of fact, we have collected all of this information and gathered in this record the things they have in this newspaper. So that that only illustrates what is going on with reference to a number of organizations in the United States. Some of the pieces of literature of these organizations even have the swastika on them, and some use the same phraseology that Hitler used in Germany.

Dr. WEST. Mr. Chairman, I submit this in itself is evidence that it is about time we, as a Government, do something about it. We heartily commend what Bishop Leonard had to say about making available to the country in some form the information which has come to the attention of this committee in order that the people may be fully informed, and may be fully warned as to the dangers that are right within their midst, and they are unconscious of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Doctor, is it not true that some of your best Scouts are Jewish boys?

Dr. WEST. Absolutely.

Mr. THOMAS. And is it not true that some Jewish boys turn out to be some of our best citizens?

Dr. WEST. It is a fact. I might say this, as I made clear in my formal statement, the Scout movement would have no appeal to me personally, nor do I believe it would have appealed to many of the other leaders, if it were not the fact that we pride ourselves in insisting upon having this program made available to all boys regardless of race, or creed, or social condition. It is with great satisfaction that we reported to our board meeting at its last meeting that a study made in our cities of 500,000 population and over reveals that 31 percent of our members in those cities are among what we call the less-chance group, thus showing that we are reaching down and making a wholesome program available to those who are not so fortunate as others are in our scheme of things here in America.

The CHAIRMAN. What you are really doing is putting into practice real Americanism.

Dr. WEST. That is our purpose, and I might say, Mr. Chairman, that over the years in excess of 8,000,000 boys have had the benefit of this program. Today let me say that America can depend upon this group of young men, some of them now Members of Congress, to stand foursquare in upholding the ideals of our American system and the democratic form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean since the movement started you have had 8,000,000 Boy Scouts?

Dr. WEST. Yes; 8,000,000 who have been or are now Boy Scouts—8,400,000.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Boy Scouts do you have now?

Dr. WEST. We have 1,216,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind telling the committee—of course, I know as a personal matter—but for the sake of the record, what do the Boy Scouts do to promote Americanism?

Dr. WEST. Well, in the first place, one of the attractive features of Scouting is that it is a game. We bring a boy into a Scout troop and put him into a patrol. He becomes a member of a small gang and has a boy leader. We encourage the gang instinct, for the purpose of, while developing the boy individually, making him conscious of the fact that it is the community or group that must be taken into consideration. We give him a uniform, not for the purpose of glorifying him but for the purpose of influencing him educationally in helping to make him feel, first, that he is a member of a worldwide brotherhood, that he belongs to an organization that has ideals and obligations, and that as a Scout in uniform he must stand up and defend those things; his thoughts and his deeds must be in accordance with the ideals of the Scout movement.

Then we put him under the leadership of a trained man. Nobody can be enrolled in Scouting in any form who is not an American citizen. We require that he declare formally his allegiance to the American Constitution. We require that he declare that he believes in God, although we do not designate what his faith may be. Then we give them a man who is a leader and trained in the fundamentals, and this man skillfully leads this group of boys in patrols and groups, so that the boy leaders do a large part of the job. We give them a program of activities all related to our motto, "Be prepared," and also all related to our obligation to be helpful to others at all times.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instances where the German-American Bund in California has tried to permeate the Boy Scout movement—penetrate it?

Dr. WEST. I have no knowledge of that. I have no knowledge of any of these subversive interests doing anything that does more than intensify the determination of our groups to do better. As I say in my formal paper, one byproduct of the present situation, so far as our organization is concerned, is it has intensified the interests of those who are on the firing line, and at the moment we are experiencing a greater increase in membership, influence, and interest than at any time in our history. At the board meeting held last Wednesday I reported that for the first 10 months of this year we showed an increase of 13.4 percent, which is the highest in the whole history of Scouting.

Mr. THOMAS. Right along those same lines, Dr. West, have you any knowledge of any governmental agency working into a position where, in time, it might have control of the Boy Scouts?

Dr. WEST. We do not have. We think that the various Government activities under the National Government have very carefully so far avoided anything in the way of formulas or programs comparable to the Boy Scout movement, and we have no knowledge of anywhere.

Mr. THOMAS. Has there not been some activity on the part of the National Youth Administration in that direction?



Dr. WEST. Not in the line of covering the Scout movement. I might continue for a minute in answering your question, Mr. Chairman. This program of activities here is related to the motto and the obligation to be of service. In other words, they are not of such a character as to help boys to do things who know how to do things, not about things. They are worked out so that when the boy achieves certain things he becomes a tenderfoot Scout, and when he achieves certain other things, he becomes a second-class Scout, and then if he passes all the tests for a first-class Scout he becomes a first-class Scout. Then he becomes a star, life, or eagle Scout after that according to his opportunity to develop himself in the program, and according to the nature of the leadership and the opportunity he has to apply himself. He has the opportunity to explore some 106 different merit badge subjects covering the field of boy hobbies, and also covering the field of interest along vocational lines. They help boys to discover the things that they can do with more satisfaction and with the least resistance, and often are the means of leading a boy to a vocation that is going to be his lifework, but the important element in Scouting is ideals, the Scout oath and the Scout law.

You asked how we contribute to defending Americanism. We do defend Americanism and good citizenship by having the boy accept his obligation as a Scout which is:

On my honor, I will do my best—

1. To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout law;
2. To help other people at all times;
3. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.

Then we have the 12 Scout laws, and all of them are in this statement. They require a daily good turn. The required daily good turn is an essential factor in Scouting. It is one of the most profoundly sound educational factors in the whole scheme. It instills and develops a habit and attitude of mind on the part of the boy to think of helping other people. It combats the normal instinct of the individual to be selfish, and if we are successful, as we are in many cases, the majority of cases, I would say—it creates in the boy capacity to care about something beyond himself. It makes him conscious of his neighbor. It makes him conscious of his community needs. It makes him conscious of his responsibility to serve, and as a result we have, as these young men enter into citizenship, a group of law-abiding participating citizens. That is what America needs, is participating citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, I speak for myself, and I am sure for every member of this committee, when I say that there is not any organization in America that is doing more, in our judgment, to promote Americanism and to combat these subversive forces than the Boy Scouts of America. You are for an affirmative program. Some organizations are simply "anti-this" or "anti-that," but you have a program here that is constructive and affirmative, and I am sure that the committee has a very deep appreciation for the wonderful work that your organization is doing in promoting Americanism.

Dr. WEST. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think, Doctor, that information that comes out from this committee in reference to these subversive activities is of aid to organizations like yours?

Dr. WEST. I think the leaders of our organization would certainly profit by having the information.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to file this statement here with us. Do any of you gentlemen have any questions to ask, or is there something else that you want to offer, Doctor?

Dr. WEST. Yes; I have just one other statement I would like to include in the record.

First, I would like to include in the record, if I may, an editorial which I have written for the January issue of our own magazine, entitled "What Can We Do About It?" This is based upon just exactly what was in the mind of the President of the United States when he made that statement condemning what happened in Germany. "I venture to suggest," I say, "that every reader of Boys' Life, every member of the Boy Scouts of America, every citizen of this great democracy can and should do something about it. In Scouting here in America, we have a twelfth Scout law to guide us:

A Scout is reverent. He is reverent toward God. He is faithful to his religious duties, and respects the convictions of others in matters of custom and religion.

We can all live and vitalize this law by our daily thoughts and actions. We can in discussions, where there is even a suspicion of lack of tolerance and understanding, invite attention to the twelfth Scout law and stoutly uphold it as a sound democratic American principle. It expresses in a few words what our forefathers—yes, those who sought freedom of speech and the right to worship God in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience—had in mind when they came to America and insisted upon the founding of this great democracy so as to perpetuate as a right and privilege and responsibility all that this law involves. Indeed, is it not fair to say that tolerance is the very keystone of democracy? More than 8,000,000 Scouts and Scouters have accepted this and other Scout laws for guidance in dealing with life's problems.

We can render a very vital service to mankind by using this law in this emergency as our text; yes, as our platform for straight thinking and vigorous expression of opinion in condemnation of those who do not harmonize their speech and action with what this law involves.

(The complete text of the article above referred to was marked "Exhibit West, Washington, No. 2" and filed with the committee, being an editorial from Boys' Life of January 1939.)

Dr. WEST. I would like also to put into the record this final statement: There has recently been developed in connection with our program for senior Scouts an extension of this service and citizenship idea. Our records show that at the end of 1936 there were 200,000 boys and young men who have passed their fifteenth birthday serving in the Boy Scouts of America. The aim of the Boy Scout movement is to give them personal help in developing character and training for citizenship and giving them opportunities to serve as "participating citizens," even before they attain their majority and can vote. In the spirit in which the Athenian oath has served a useful purpose in stirring people everywhere to better citizenship there has been developed for these young senior Scout citizens, in addition to their obligations under the Scout oath and promise and laws, the following:

#### SENIOR SCOUT CITIZENSHIP DEDICATION

1. I will continue to live the Scout oath and law.
2. I will keep myself familiar with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States—with its Bill of Rights and obligations.

3. I will respect and obey the law—to further that true freedom and security for all, which comes with liberty under the law.

4. I will wholeheartedly cooperate in the responsibility of my home, and will participate in the civic and social activities of my school, church, neighborhood, and community, and, when legally qualified, I will regularly register and vote in community, State, and national elections.

5. I will deal fairly and kindly with my fellow citizens of whatever race or creed, in the spirit of the twelfth Scout law and its faith in God, and America's guarantee of religious freedom.

6. I will work for America and will guard our heritage—its liberties and responsibilities—realizing that the privileges we enjoy today have come as a result of the hard work, sacrifice, faith, and clear thinking of our forefathers, and I will do all in my power to transmit our America, reenforced, to the next generation.

(The text of Dr. West's prepared statement submitted to the committee is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY DR. JAMES E. WEST, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE, BEFORE THE DIES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 15, 1938

I am here in response to your invitation to present a statement as to the activities and scope of the work of the Boy Scouts of America. The Boy Scout movement operates here in America pursuant to a charter granted by Congress under date of June 15, 1916. Preceding this, it operated as an organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on February 8, 1910.

Scouting as an organization came to America as a result of the experience of Mr. William D. Boyce, who while in London in 1900 was impressed with the sincerity and earnestness of a street urchin who undertook to do him a good turn. The good turn and service to others are, as you know, fundamental in the program of Scouting. The Boy Scout movement in England was founded 2 years earlier than ours—in 1908—by Sir Robert Baden-Powell and had for its objective, in addition to character building and citizenship training, very definitely the purpose of overcoming the enervating influence and softening effect of the conveniences and luxuries of our modern life. As he said at the time, he found in dealing with young men who came to him in South Africa for service in the constabulary, with which he was connected, that they were soft and flabby, lacking independence, initiative, and resourcefulness, and they, figuratively speaking, expected to be “tucked in at night.”

Scouting has prospered in America as in no other country in the world. It was at one time in operation in practically all parts of the world. Because its fundamental principles are directly opposed to the ideals of governments in Russia, Germany, and Italy, it has been prohibited by law in those countries. Indeed, I am sorry to relate that in Austria one of the first steps taken after the events of last spring was to imprison in concentration camps all leaders of the Boy Scout movement on the basis that they were allied with an international movement, and were, therefore, likely to serve as spies for other countries.

Of a grand total of 2,812,074 world membership of Scouts and scouters, cubs, and cubbers reported by the International Scout Bureau in July 1937, the Boy Scouts of America had 1,107,588 or nearly 45 percent.

Since its organization in America, in excess of 8,000,000 men and boys have carried out the program. At the present time the membership of the Boy Scouts of America is 1,221,338, of which 926,001 are boys and 269,621 men. Of the men, all but 1,188 are serving as volunteers. That is, their interest in boys, their interest in their community, the State and the Nation is such that they give of themselves in volunteer service. Indeed, they pay their own expenses and each of them pays a \$1 registration fee each year for the support of the national organization, of which 50 cents is set aside for a subscription to a publication known as Scouting which goes to every leader. In recent years the movement has grown with greater rapidity than at any time except during the World War. The increase in membership in the first 10 months of this year is 13.4 percent over what it was a year ago.

The Scout program reaches a number of age groups. We have cubbing for boys 9 to 11 years of age with an attractive home-centered program of activ-



ities; we have scouting for boys 12 years of age and upward. At 15 a boy may become a senior Scout and qualify either as a sea scout, if he is interested in water activities and boating, or an explorer scout which has an adventurous program of advanced camping and outdoor activities and hobbies. Then we have roving for Scouts 17 years of age and upward, or when he is 18 a young man may become an assistant scoutmaster and give leadership in his own or another troop, and when he is 21 serve in any leadership capacity for which he is qualified.

Over 20 percent of all the young men in America between the ages of 18 and 21 are now or have been at some time members of the Boy Scouts of America. At the present time we enroll as members 1 of every 4 boys at some time during the period of his eligibility. Surveys made in 2,000 different communities indicate that about 3 out of every 4 boys would like to be Scouts if they had the opportunity; that is, if there were properly organized troops or packs with trained volunteer leadership available. The program is made available through patrols and troops, cub packs, sea scout ships, neighborhood patrols, lone scout tribes (it is also available to individual boys as lone scouts), explorer troops and rover crews. There are today 39,529 of these groups throughout all parts of the United States, including the Hawaiian Islands, Alaska, and Puerto Rico.

These troops and other groups have been organized under trained volunteer leaders and are supervised through what are known as local councils, of which there are now 536 operating under charters from the national council covering practically the whole of the territory of the United States. The local council is made up on a strictly democratic basis with representatives from each of the institutions sponsoring troops and packs within their chartered territory, and each local council must include in its executive board or governing committee, representatives of the business, educational, and religious interests of the entire community. The council must include representatives of the different religious groups—Protestant, Catholic, and Jew. No council is entitled to receive a charter where these conditions are not maintained. Charters are granted for 1 year to councils, and renewed upon presentation of satisfactory evidence of the discharge by the council of their responsibility to operate on a sound financial basis, to provide and maintain adequate training facilities, to provide camping facilities for Scouts and Scouters, as well as the other responsibilities incident to local council operations.

The local council has six major committees:

1. Committee on organization and extension.
2. Committee on leadership training.
3. Committee on advancement.
4. Committee on camping and activities.
5. Committee on health and safety.
6. Committee on finance.

They each have at least one professional employee who has been especially trained for his responsibilities and is known as the Scout executive. According to the size of the territory covered and the nature of the responsibility, there may be one or more assistant executives. The budgets of the local councils are met from year to year by money contributed by parents and the friends of youth, or by allocations from community chests. A total of approximately \$6,500,000 is spent annually in the support of local council activities.

For administrative purposes, the country is divided into 12 regions, following rather closely the 12 Federal Reserve districts, which maintain service stations under specially trained men who for the most part have had experience in local council work. This regional staff is available to help local councils in dealing with their special problems and to stimulate definitely planned programing and achievement. The regional staff and other incidental field work composes a large portion of the operations of the national council, which in turn is made up on a truly democratic basis. That is, each local council is automatically entitled to one member on the national council, and an additional member for every 1,000 boys registered. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the group of 3,878 members of the national council are duly accredited delegates from local councils. The members at large represent the groups of men who for special reasons are in position to contribute to the advancement of scouting on a national basis.

The national council operates through a national executive board of not more than 45 men, which meets from time to time in New York, and it in turn operates through committees and an employed staff. The members of this staff are all specialists. The staff is divided into four major divisions under a

divisional director: Program, Operations, Personnel, Business. There are a Chief Scout executive, a comptroller, and a Deputy Chief Scout executive and assistant to the Chief Scout executive.

The chief Scout executive is the executive officer of the movement, responsible to the executive board, its executive committee, and the president of the organization in the discharge of his duties.

Undoubtedly one factor in the increased strength and growth of scouting at the present time is an evidence of the determination on the part of the group of 269,621 volunteer workers that they will not remain silent to the activities of subversive influences here in America. Again, undoubtedly, much of the activity is a protest to those who question the soundness and security of the ideals and principles of democracies.

The Boy Scouts of America has throughout its nearly 29 years of history carefully guarded against becoming involved in controversial or political questions. However, it is open to all boys, regardless of race or creed. It places special emphasis upon its twelfth Scout law which is: "A Scout is reverent. He is reverent toward God. He is faithful in his religious duties, and respects the convictions of others in matters of custom and religion."

This affords a broad basis and makes possible effective activity with all who are willing to pledge allegiance to the flag and to commit themselves to the Scout oath and Scout law.

The Scout oath is as follows:

"On my honor, I will do my best—

"1. To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout law;

"2. To help other people at all times;

"3. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight."

The Boy Scout program is definitely educational. It appeals to boys because its activities are largely involved with the great outdoors—hiking and camping, and an opportunity to do things rather than to merely know about things. It can be claimed that all educational efforts in America, including the activities of Sunday schools and numerous other agencies are for character building and citizenship training, but the Scout movement has its own distinctive and peculiar way of attaining these objectives differing from all others in certain simple, fundamental essentials. This, in my judgment, accounts for its continued growth and immense appeal, not only to boys but to the general public. More important than this, it accounts for the definiteness and practicability of the service it renders.

The first essential element in scouting is that it deals with boys in small groups—patrols and troops—primarily under boy leadership. That is, the Boy Scouts of America is made available to all boys—farm boys, urban boys, wealthy boys, yes, less-chance boys, as individuals, on a basis which makes them group-minded and helps teach them to sink their individuality and selfish desires and expressions, and learn to operate for the good of the group.

The Scout uniform is supplied not for the purpose of glorifying the boy, or making him attractive, but definitely for the purpose of helping him to lay aside his individual selfish interests and become more group-conscious. Again, in order to give stimulus to the realization that, as a member of a great world brotherhood, he has obligations which, as a Scout, he must be mindful of at all times.

The second essential is trained volunteer leadership. We respect the professional teacher, and leaders of boy activities, but the program of scouting is dependent upon having men who are so definitely interested in helping boys and are so keen about the Scout program, that they give their time without monetary compensation and depend upon their satisfaction through a job well done. America owes a great deal to this group of men. The scoutmasters are keymen in scouting. One of the reasons why we have local, regional, and national organization is for the purpose of recruiting and training these men and helping them to do their job effectively. If they are well trained and skillful, they pass on much of their responsibility to the boys who are selected as patrol leaders, and senior patrol leaders, and junior assistant scoutmasters, so as to make scouting truly a laboratory of training for leadership.

The third essential is the unique way in which we have worked out our activities program. Boys must have an opportunity for activity. In scouting, we provide a program of activities in very attractive form and under conditions where achievement is recognized. For the most part these activities are related to our motto "Be prepared," which, let me state, has no military significance. It means "Be prepared" to live. We do not stress competition, but we

do emphasize reaching a standard and qualifying—not merely knowing about things, but being able actually to do the things involved in the various tests.

A boy starts as a Tenderfoot Scout and must know, among other things, the history of the United States and the customary forms of respect due it; how to tie certain knots, etc. Then he advances to second-class Scout rank and then the first class after meeting requirements that teach him to take care of himself and others. Then the Star, Life, and Eagle.

Then there is a program of merit badges covering 106 subjects. Some of them are of interest as some of them very definitely serve the purpose of pre-vocational guidance in helping a boy to discover himself and in learning what he can do with greatest skill and the greatest degree of satisfaction. Others teach the boy to be of help and use to others, like life saving, first aid, public health.

In all the procedures involved in qualifying for these requirements and receiving the recognition, emphasis is placed upon keeping the boy group-minded and conscious of his obligation to justify the award in the eyes of his comrades, and those with whom he associates in his patrol and troop.

The fourth essential is our own peculiar form of organization requirements. That is, we have back of every troop (or other group) a special committee, a troop committee, composed of three or more men who are sincerely interested in youth, and who are working with zeal for their country through serving its youth and want to see that their troop is operated in a way to ensure the best results. They agree to see that the Scouts have an opportunity for a week or more in camp every year, that it has a suitable meeting place, operates on an approved budget plan, and in accordance with national policies among other responsibilities.

This troop committee, as a rule, represents a sponsoring institution. Over 50 percent of our groups are sponsored by churches, and the balance for the most part by established agencies such as schools, definitely interested in youth. As I have already indicated, the local council, with its various committees and districts, has supervision of the troops and the troop committees in its area. Then the regional organization and the national organization, as I have indicated. And then, for the inspiration and coordination only, we have an international organization with representatives from scouting countries, which is responsible for organizing and supervising our world jamborees, gatherings of Scouts the world, every 4 years, international conferences for leaders every 2 years, and other matters of world importance. The United States is represented on this committee.

The fifth and most important element in the program of scouting is the code. We call it the Scout oath and law and the ideals of service. Every Scout is pledged, on his honor, to make a sincere effort to do his best to live up to his obligations as a Scout. Let me repeat the Scout oath.

"On my honor, I will do my best—

"1. To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout law.

"2. To help other people at all times.

"3. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight."

I also present the 12 Scout laws:

"1. A Scout is trustworthy. A Scout's honor is to be trusted. If he were to violate his honor by telling a lie or by cheating or by not doing exactly a given task when trusted on his honor, he may be directed to hand over his Scout badge.

"2. A Scout is loyal. He is loyal to all whom loyalty is due—his Scout leader, his home and parents and country.

"3. A Scout is helpful. He must be prepared at any time to save life, help injured persons, and share the home duties. He must do at least one good turn to somebody every day.

"4. A Scout is friendly. He is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout.

"5. A Scout is courteous. He is polite to all, especially to women, children, old people, and the weak and helpless. He must not take pay for being helpful or courteous.

"6. A Scout is kind. He is a friend to animals. He will not kill nor hurt any living creature needlessly, but will strive to save and protect all harmless life.

"7. A Scout is obedient. He obeys his parents, scoutmaster, patrol leader, and all other duly constituted authorities.

"8. A Scout is cheerful. He smiles whenever he can. His obedience to orders is prompt and cheery. He never shirks nor grumbles at hardships.



"9. A Scout is thrifty. He does not wantonly destroy property. He works faithfully, wastes nothing, and makes the best use of his opportunities. He saves his money so that he may pay his own way, be generous to those in need, and helpful to worthy objects. He may work for pay but must not receive tips for courtesies or good turns.

"10. A Scout is brave. He has the courage to face danger in spite of fear and to stand up for the right against the coaxings of friends or the jeers or threats of enemies, and defeat does not down him.

"11. A Scout is clean. He keeps clean in body and thought, stands for clean speech, clean sports, clean habits, and travels with a clean crowd.

"12. A Scout is reverent. He is reverent toward God. He is faithful in his religious duties, and respects the convictions of others in matters of custom and religion."

It has been said that the genius of the Scout movement is its daily good turn and the procedure which encourages organized service by its patrol and troop on a community basis.

Naturally the general public gets its impression of service by Scouts from the standpoint of the practical value of the service rendered, as, for instance, in the recent New England flood. Outstanding, practical, heroic service was rendered by Scouts beyond what the casual observer would have believed possible. Such a record was also made as far back as the World War. People spoke with amazement of the fact that in the first 3 Liberty loans, 1 out of every 23 subscriptions for bonds was secured by a Boy Scout. And so I go on with a long list of service and achievement.

Those of us who are promoting Scouting, however, are interested in the daily good turn and organized service for a different reason. The common enemy of mankind the world over, and throughout all history is the human being's inclination to be selfish. Personal greed and selfishness are responsible for most crime and most wrongdoing. People can be divided into two groups—social and antisocial. We say those who cause unhappiness to others are antisocial. The Scout movement, as I have indicated, aims to reduce selfishness and greed, and to make individuals socially minded, group minded. We attempt, through the daily good turn and organized service, to give boys an opportunity and experience of doing something worth while for someone else. With each good turn and each service rendered, the satisfaction to the individual exerts a profound educational influence and broadens that individual's scope of life and its opportunities and responsibilities. Yes; with many of our boys we go even further. We have definite evidence that Scouting develops not only a capacity to care for others, but an intense desire to be of service, so much that many boys who have had Scout training choose their career on the basis of the opportunities it will afford to serve their fellow men, to help their community, the State, and the Nation.

We recognize there is much loose talk and idle discussion about many matters today. Many statements are made that cannot be proved scientifically by facts. But I venture to assert that it can be reasonably established that a great percentage, some figure away above 75 percent, of those who have been exposed to Scouting for a sufficient time so that the program really had a chance to "work," are socially minded, are men of good character, better for the responsibilities of citizenship. They are those who appreciate our democracy. They are not only eager to stand on their own feet and carry their own load, but they endeavor to be helpful to others at all times. Yes, they participate in civic affairs—they are participating citizens. Many of them are vigilantly combatting the subversive influence in America today. Many of them are spurred on to greater activity because of those who are firm believers in the creeds and programs which are negative influences in the life of our democracy, and which are menacing its safety and future.

If I may, I will venture an opinion. A personal opinion, mind you, as one who has had a somewhat unusual life, an invalid orphan boy right here in the city of Washington, a product of the public schools of the city of Washington, a graduate of National University and later, an attorney in the Interior Department, later a practicing attorney; then privileged to contribute to the social program of the city of Washington, yes, and to organize the First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children in 1908; then drafted for service in helping to organize and operate the Boy Scouts of America and giving my best efforts to the service of youth ever since. My opinion is this. America does face a number of real problems. The present-day leadership of America and the pages of history of our country are full of similar cases.

Where else in the world do youth have such opportunity for development? I have been among those concerned because of the activities of the Communists and other groups. I have seen them in action. I am impressed by their zeal and enthusiasm, their happy and self-sacrificing devotion to what they believe in, the care with which they develop plans and carry through. I am confident, however, that this group will not make much real progress here in America. There are other subversive influences which are more dangerous in my opinion. Those influences can be best combatted by insistence upon the raising up of a self-reliant generation of youth of character which understands America's blessings and who will aggressively support our Constitution.

Our group of 269,621 volunteer workers are, for the most part, just as vigilant and just as zealous in their work in the opposite direction for the preservation of the American system and our democracy.

I am more concerned about another factor about which there is little discussion. I ordinarily travel between 40,000 and 50,000 miles a year. My responsibilities keep me in close touch with all of our leaders. I read extensively. I do a great deal of thinking about conditions today. I am definitely concerned because of the evidence here and there, that in America in the last two decades there has been a very definite moral recession—more damaging to the future of our country in the long run than the economic depression with all of its many problems.

America needs to be spiritualized. America needs to be awakened to a realization that fundamentals are fundamentals, and they can only remain as such when we square our daily activities and maintain an attitude of mind which will militantly combat those things which are not in harmony with true democracy—those things which are a manifestation of lack of tolerance, bias, religious and race hatred.

Again I am vitally concerned because of the evidence of lack of knowledge on the part of a large group in America of what a democracy means, of its responsibilities, as well as its privileges. The Bill of Rights, formally woven into our Constitution 150 years ago today, should be thoroughly understood and sacredly maintained not only by governmental action but in individual action; yes, even in conversations and in expressions of attitudes of mind. I sometimes wonder if many of the people of America are not pretty much like the overindulged son or daughter who inherits great wealth and great privilege, but who is so wholly lacking in training that he or she is not equal to the responsibilities which are involved. We refer to them as "pauperized," overindulged, spoiled children. Many Americans justify this characterization. They enjoy so much which is the product of democracy, they enjoy so much which is the product of the success of the United States of America—things that have come to them without effort on their part—they have involved no sacrifices, no hardships on their part. They take it as a matter of course that things will always be well. They are soft and flabby, indifferent. They need to be aroused. Yes; one of America's greatest needs is to have every man, woman, and child in America exposed to those influences which will make them personally, individually conscious of America the beautiful.

As a recent distinguished visitor to America said, "There should be a Nationwide sale of your country to your own people. America is unbelievably undersold to its own citizens. They do not appreciate their assets of personal freedom, latent opportunities, and standards of living which are the envy of the world.

"To me it appears that America is greater than its leadership, whether leadership in government, business, or labor. You are suffering from too expensive hatreds, jealousies, rivalries, and attempted short cuts to Utopia. You are unwilling to admit errors which we all make and which some of us have made and corrected."

In an effort to help impress upon the entire Scout membership the privileges and the responsibilities of citizenship in this wonderful country of ours and a realization of what is guaranteed to them by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the Boy Scouts of America has participated actively in the rededication program so widely adopted and sponsored by various patriotic organizations throughout the country.

It has been the earnest desire of the Boy Scouts of America throughout all these years to make its contribution to the development of participating citizens who know and appreciate America and who can be depended upon to do everything in their power to preserve America the beautiful so that it may be passed on as a heritage to the oncoming generations from decade to decade.

There has recently been developed in connection with our program for senior Scouts an extension of this service and citizenship idea. Our records show that at the end of 1936 there were 200,000 boys and young men who have passed their fifteenth birthday serving in the Boy Scouts of America. The aim of the Boy Scout movement is to give them personal help in developing character and training for citizenship and giving them opportunities to serve as "participating citizens," even before they attain their majority and can vote. In the spirit in which the Athenian oath has served a useful purpose in stirring people everywhere to better citizenship, there has been developed for these young senior Scout citizens, in addition to their obligations under the Scout oath and promise and laws, the following:

#### SENIOR SCOUT CITIZENSHIP DEDICATION

"1. I will continue to live the Scout oath and law.

"2. I will keep myself familiar with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States—with its Bill of Rights and obligations.

"3. I will respect and obey the law—to further that true freedom and security for all, which comes with liberty under law.

"4. I will wholeheartedly cooperate in the responsibilities of my home, and will participate in the civic and social activities of my school, church, neighborhood, and community, and, when legally qualified, I will regularly register and vote in community, State, and National elections.

"5. I will deal fairly and kindly with my fellow citizens of whatever race or creed, in the spirit of the twelfth scout law and its faith in God, and America's guaranty of religious freedom.

"6. I will work for America and will guard our heritage—its liberties and responsibilities—realizing that the privileges we enjoy today have come as a result of the hard work, sacrifice, faith, and clear thinking of our forefathers, and I will do all in my power to transmit our America, reenforced, to the next generation."

The CHAIRMAN. That is very fine, Doctor, and we certainly thank you for appearing before the committee and giving us the benefit of this information.

We have just one other short matter here and then this will conclude our hearings.

Mr. Metcalfe, will you be our last witness? Mr. Metcalfe was our first witness, and we will make him our last witness.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF JOHN C. METCALFE, OFFICIAL INVESTIGATOR FOR THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Metcalfe, you were sworn yesterday?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have occasion to read this newspaper article of December 15 in the Daily News?

Mr. METCALFE. The New York Daily News?

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. State just for the sake of the record, so that the matter can be beyond any doubt, whether or not all of this information was incorporated in the record and given to the public long ago.

Mr. METCALFE. Well, Mr. Chairman, that pamphlet referred to in that particular article was published several years ago. It has been in circulation all over the country for many, many months. It was introduced here a month ago as a piece of documentary evidence about the Silver Shirts' subversive activities throughout the United States. That particular document as discovered was contained in packages



of propaganda which came from the official propaganda institutes of the German Government. They had been shipped to this country. In other words, they had been printed in the United States and then shipped to Germany, and then reshipped from Germany to various American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you are referring specifically to articles written by William Dudley Pelley, who is head of the Silver Shirts, which were found in the packages of propaganda shipped from Germany direct to American citizens; is that not a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; not only of their propaganda published by Pelley, but also this particular pamphlet. In other words, there is nothing whatsoever new in that particular article, nothing that we have not known for months, that has been already a public record here, and that has been fairly well known throughout the country. As I say, it was originally published several years ago.

Now, I might make this observation, that we have not stressed to a great extent these particular items because when we do that we are simply doing exactly what the subversive leaders throughout this country would like to have the people do, and that is, to publish this type of material which helps to promote nazi-ism and fascism in the United States, creating racial hatred, class hatred, and religious hatred, which we deem, of course, un-American, and it is for that reason that we have not read into the complete record every single line in these pamphlets from which we have taken excerpts.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be giving wide publicity through a Government agency of the very propaganda that they are seeking to disseminate?

Mr. METCALFE. What we would be doing in that case would be just saving large printing bills for these subversive leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to clarify that, because it leaves the intimation that this committee, or someone will draw the inference from it, that this committee will not as thoroughly probe as our means permit these various organizations which are engaged in spreading antiracial and antireligious propaganda. As a matter of fact, we have them well indexed, with certain excerpts of their literature, with the names of their officers and of their background and their connections with Nazi Germany; is that that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. And, in addition to that we have on file with the committee entire pamphlets such as that one which is referred to in the New York Daily News.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that concludes all of our testimony.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, I have a matter which I want to call to the attention of the committee, for the purpose of the record. Going back to the testimony of Mr. Homer Martin: I hold in my hand what purports to be a printed copy of the charges filed by Homer Martin against Richard Frankenstien, Ed Hall, Wyndham Mortimer, Walter N. Wells, and George F. Addes, together with affidavits and exhibits in support of these charges, together with testimony taken under examination by Attorney Ellery S. Davidow, general counsel of the International Union of the United Automobile Workers' Association.

Mr. Chairman, I have obtained this copy from a source which I know to be reliable. In fact, that source appeared as a witness before this committee in this hearing, and I want to offer this in evidence, and ask that the committee direct its clerk to have photostatic copies

made and return this to me so that I can return it to the source that gave it to me.

For the information of the committee you will find in this pamphlet the charges made against these four or five vice presidents to the effect that they were too closely associated with the Communists, and the Communists were attempting to run the U. A. W., and were calling unauthorized strikes. The fact is that the charges against these men all through this pamphlet are just like the testimony we have had before this committee as to communism in and out.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Are any of those aliens?

Mr. MOSIER. I do not know, Mr. Dempsey, but I certainly suggest that you read this.

The CHAIRMAN. You offer that as corroborating the testimony of various witnesses?

Mr. MOSIER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, this concludes our public hearings. Whether or not we continue will depend upon what the House of Representatives does about it. The committee has been very much handicapped in the course of this investigation, as is well known. I express the belief that it would be futile to continue this investigation unless we are provided with adequate funds to carry on this work.

I am convinced, as a result of living with this subject day and night for 6 months, that it is utterly impossible for an investigating committee to cope with the clever, well-organized, and cunning subversive forces throughout this country unless that committee can have at its command an adequate staff of trained attorneys, trained investigators, accountants, and other clerical help.

My own attitude would be that unless Congress sees fit to provide us with that assistance it would be futile to undertake to go through the tremendous difficulties again that we have encountered in the past 6 months.

When we consider the fact that more than \$150,000 was provided for the planting of trees in California, when we consider the fact that the monopoly probe spent \$60,000 before it ever had a hearing, and that the La Follette committee and other committees have been supplied with ample funds with no end of assistance from the various departments of the Government, when we consider the fact that we have had to struggle under almost insuperable difficulties, difficulties that the public has never understood fully, I feel that we are justified, as a committee, in saying that we have no apology to offer for what we have been able to accomplish.

Now, we are coming to the matter of the report. We are going to try to prepare, and we are going to prepare a fair honest report based upon competent evidence. We are not going to undertake to write a document embracing our own political views, or our own economic theories, nor are we going to predicate findings upon hearsay testimony, or upon opinions of witnesses. We have in the record a mass of documentary proof and the testimony of many witnesses that is absolutely reliable, because of the fact that when you begin to read this record, as I am now doing, one fact will impress itself upon your mind, and that is that witnesses who testified in Detroit, for instance, would describe situations and plans of sabotage, they would even name names, and then other witnesses in widely separated areas would describe practically the same situation, name the

same names many times, and the same plans, and the same facts, so that while we are not saying that every witness who testified is credible—nor do we vouch for the credibility of every witness any more than a court or a jury does—we have a pretty good idea now. We have had more than 100 witnesses before the committee from all parts of the country, and from all walks of life. We have a very good measure of knowing which ones were biased, or which were exaggerating in their testimony, and which ones were giving us the actual facts. From all of this testimony we are going to prepare a report that is authentic and can be depended upon to be accurate and reliable.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I have received several communications, and I am sure that the chairman has received many of them from certain individuals stating that we are biased, which, of course, we deny. I have received other communications, and I know that you have also from people who feel that this committee has the power to separate from Government employment Communists who are citizens and not aliens. In reply to that I have stated that this committee has no authority, and as a matter of fact we have no right to do so. We have those people, but they cannot be separated from the rolls because of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, it is absolutely true that a Communist citizen will not be deported. If they are on the relief projects, then there is no law under which we would have the right to discriminate against them, nor has this committee ever undertaken such authority. Nevertheless the committee has the right to determine whether communistic activities are being carried on on a project regardless of whether they are being carried on by Communist citizens or aliens, or any place, as far as that is concerned. I mean by that that the officials in charge, of course, cannot discharge Communist citizens who are working on a project. That is a matter of record.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, as a minority member of the committee, the minority side wants to thank the chairman and the majority members of the committee for the consideration which they have given to the minority members.

We also want to congratulate the chairman on the splendid manner in which he has conducted the proceedings. We feel that the proceedings have been conducted in a thoroughly American manner, without favor to any race, creed, or color.

The minority side also hopes that the new Congress will appoint a new committee with very ample funds. We feel that we have just started the job and that the job cannot be completed in a day.

Before I say goodbye, I want to thank all of the members of the majority for the splendid manner in which you have started this, in which we have been able to operate in an impartial and nonpartisan way.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, very much. I might say this too, before closing, that we have received thousands of clues that we have been unable to follow up. We have already information in the office that would require several years of investigation.

I know of nothing else we can add, except to again thank the press and thank the American people who have cooperated with us.

(Thereupon, at 12:45 p. m., Thursday, December 15, 1938, the committee adjourned sine die.)























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